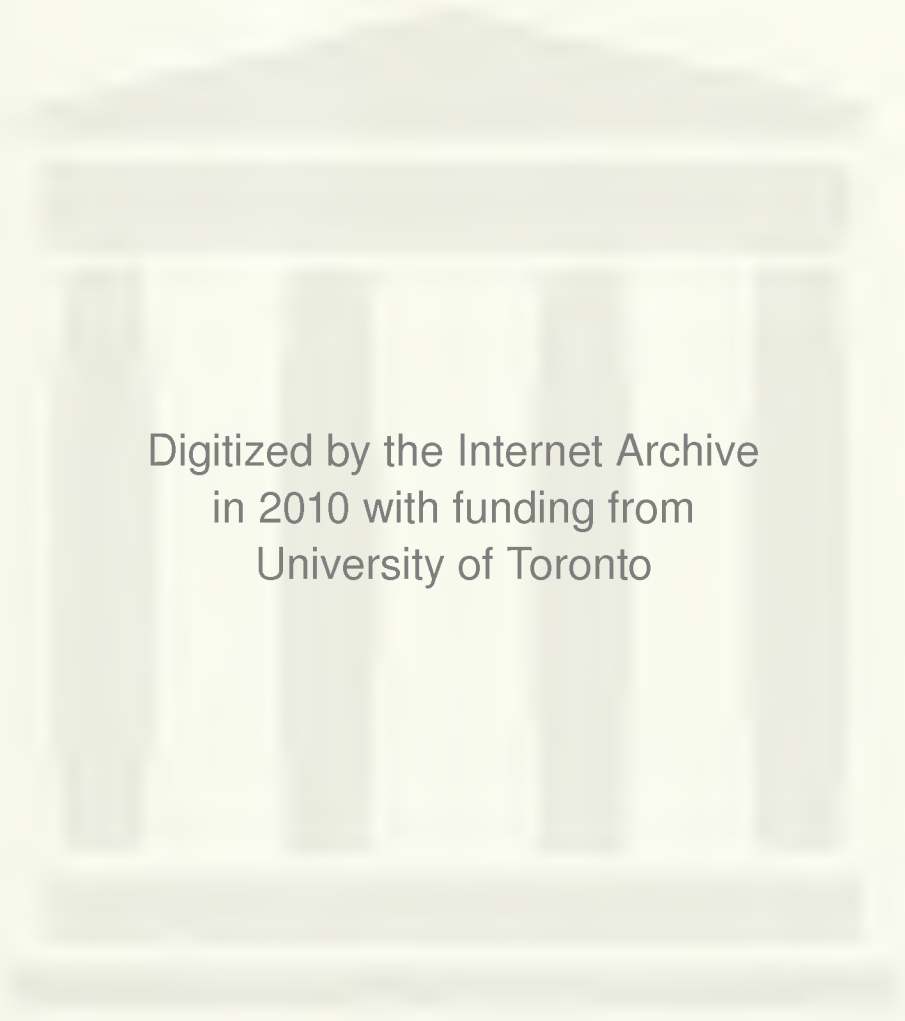


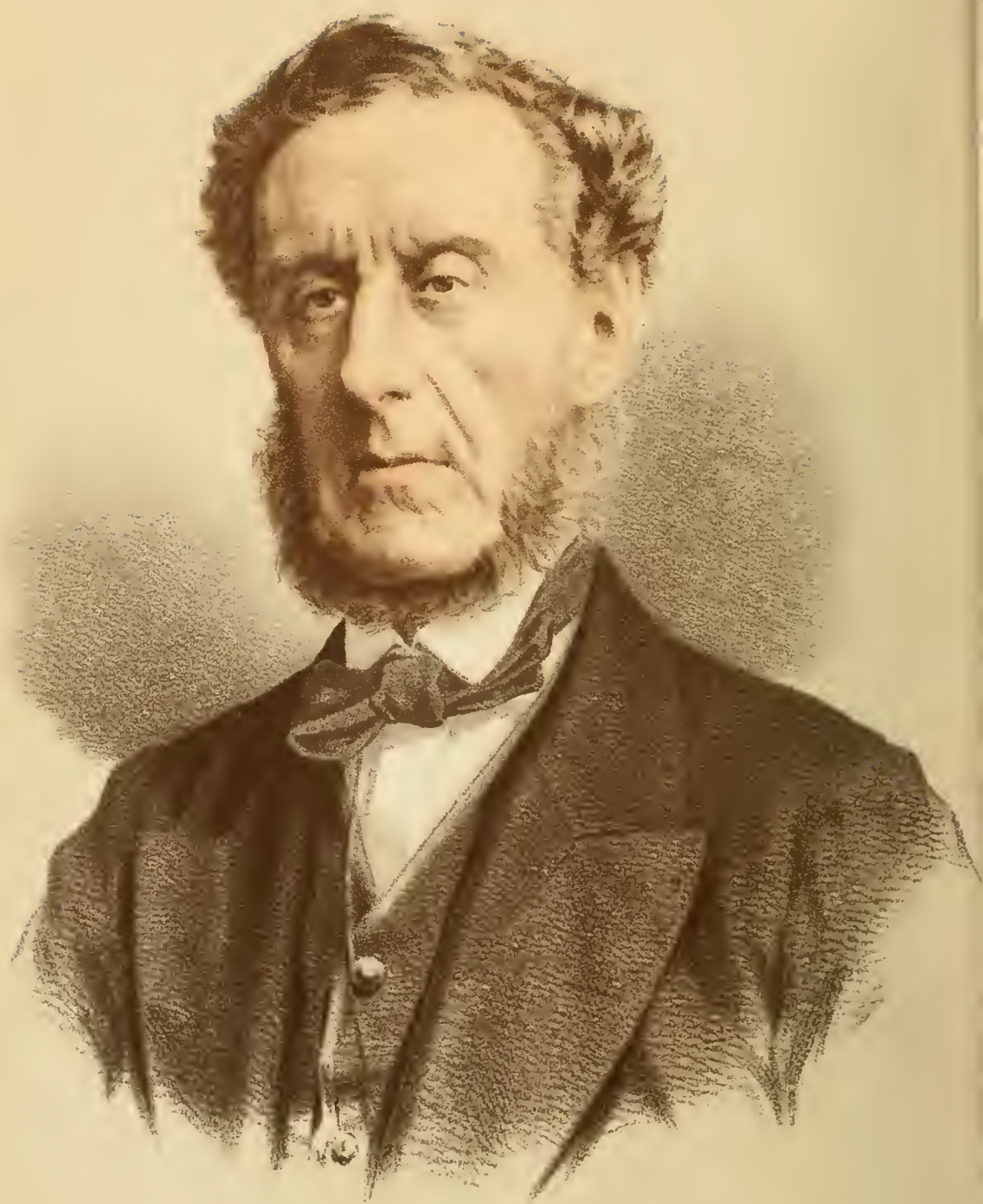


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THE LIFE

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE,

M.P., D.C.L., ETC.

BY

GEORGE BARNETT SMITH,

AUTHOR OF "SHELLEY: A CRITICAL BIOGRAPHY," "POETS AND NOVELISTS," ETC.

VOL. II
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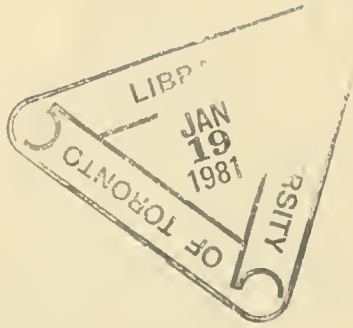
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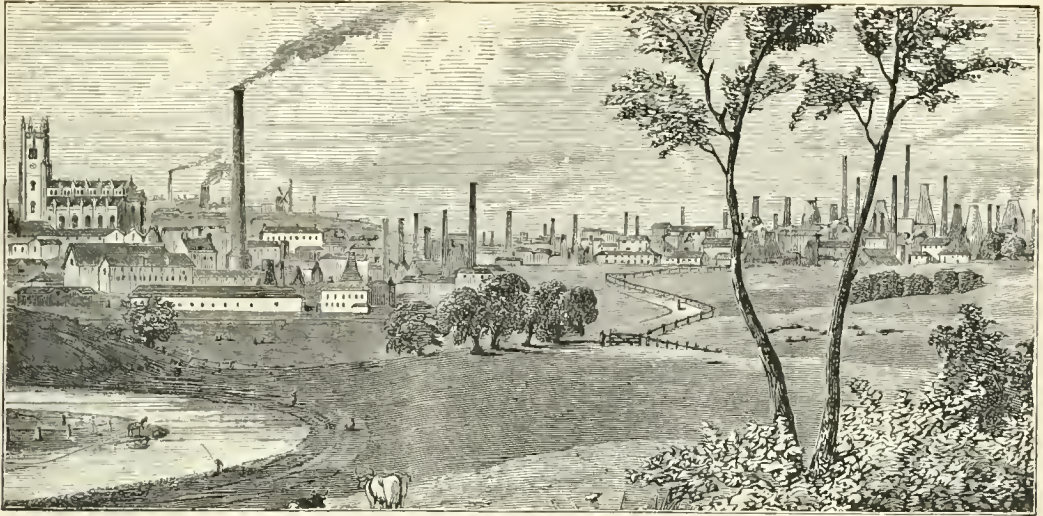
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BURSELM.

THE LIFE

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE,

M.P., D.C.L., &c.

CHAPTER I.

ADVANCING OPINIONS AND FISCAL REFORMS.

Mr. Gladstone and Parliamentary Reform—Address on the Life and Works of Wedgwood—Financial Statement of 1864—Growth of the Revenue—Decrease in the National Debt—Imports and Exports—Further Relief of Taxation—Favourable Reception of the Budget—Government Annuities and Life Insurances—Mr. Gladstone on the Working Classes and the Franchise—Important Declaration—Hostility to the Palmerston Government—Mr. Disraeli's 'No Confidence' Motion—Speech by Mr. Gladstone—Mr. Bernal Osborne on the Ministry—Mr. Disraeli's Motion Rejected—The Chancellor of the Exchequer on the Irish Church—Budget for 1865—Prosperous Condition of the Country—A large Surplus—Great Reduction in Taxation—Letter to Sir Anthony Panizzi.

THE period of three years with which the two ensuing chapters are concerned, namely, that extending from 1864 to 1866, is remarkable as showing the rapid development of Mr. Gladstone's views on the subject of Parliamentary Reform. In the

first-named year he delivered a speech upon the franchise which filled the Conservative party with alarm, but correspondingly elevated the hopes of the Reform party. It was the first note sounded in a conflict which, twelve months later, was to lose Mr.

Gladstone his seat for Oxford University, and finally to culminate in the disruption of the Liberal Government. With the exception of this speech and of the budget, there was nothing to distinguish the session of 1864, or to give it a conspicuous place in the annals of legislation. The year was comparatively uneventful, and the country was at peace. Concurrently with a tranquil condition of public opinion was witnessed a striking advance in the material prosperity and general welfare of the people. The trade of Great Britain, as the official periodical reports demonstrated, continued to advance by those extraordinary 'leaps and bounds' which had marked its course since the first onslaught made upon the commercial restrictions in force twenty years before.

Before dealing with Parliamentary and political questions, however, we pause here to consider an address on a most interesting topic delivered by Mr. Gladstone in the recess of 1863. We refer to his lecture on the 'Life and Works of Wedgwood,' given at Burslem, Staffordshire, on the 26th of October. This admirable survey of the career of a very remarkable man ranks amongst the best of Mr. Gladstone's extra-parliamentary utterances. Although the occupations and demands of political life compelled him, as a rule, to decline all invitations of a local character, he could not, he said, refuse the invitation to co-operate in the foundation of the Wedgwood Institute, at the place which gave him

birth, and on the site of his first factory. Properly regarded, this was not a merely local, but rather a national design, partly because earthenware was one of the great and distinguishing British manufactures, and partly because there were certain principles applicable to manufacture by the observance or neglect of which its products were rendered good or bad. These principles were applied by Wedgwood with a consistency and tenacity that could not be too closely observed in industrial production.

Mr. Gladstone thus spoke of the regulation of trade, and of the utility, cheapness, and beauty of the products of industry :—

To vindicate for trade in all its branches the principle and power of self-regulation, has been for nearly a quarter of a century a principal function of the British Parliament. But the very same stage in our political and social existence, which has taught us the true and beneficial application of the laws of political economy, has likewise disclosed to us the just limits of the science, and of the field of its practical application. The very same age, which has seen the State strike off the fetters of industry, has also seen it interpose, with boldness, for the protection of labour. The same spirit of policy, which has taken from the producer the enjoyment of preferences paralysing to him, and most costly to the community at large, has offered him the aids of knowledge and instruction by whatever means, either of precept or example, public authority could command.

We may consider the products of industry with reference to their utility ; or to their cheapness ; or with regard to their influence upon the condition of those who produce them ; or, lastly, to their beauty ; to the degree in which they associate the presentation of forms and colours, agreeable to the cultivated eye, with the attainment of the highest aptitude for those purposes of common life, for which they are properly designed.

Now, as to their utility and convenience, considered alone, we may leave that to the consumer, who will not buy what does not suit him. As to their cheapness, when once security has been taken

that an entire society shall not be forced to pay an artificial price to some of its members for their productions, we may safely leave the question to the action of competition among manufacturers, and of what we term the laws of supply and demand. As to the condition of the workpeople, experience has shown, especially in the case of the Factory Acts, that we should do wrong in laying down any abstract maxim as an invariable rule. Generally, it may be said, that the presumption is always against legislative interference; but that upon special grounds, and most of all where children are employed, it may sometimes not only be warranted but required. This, however, though I may again advert to it, is not for to-day our special subject. We come, then, to the last of the heads which I have named: the association of beauty with utility, each of them taken according to the largest sense, in the business of industrial production. And it is in this department, I conceive, that we are to look for the peculiar pre-eminence, I will not scruple to say the peculiar greatness, of Wedgwood.

Now do not let us suppose that, when we speak of this association of beauty with convenience, we speak either of a matter which is light and fanciful, or of one which may, like some of those I have named, be left to take care of itself. Beauty is not an accident of things, it pertains to their essence; it pervades the wide range of creation; and, wherever it is impaired or banished, we have in this fact the proof of the moral disorder which disturbs the world. Reject, therefore, the false philosophy of those who will ask what does it matter, provided a thing be useful, whether it be beautiful or not: and say in reply that we will take one lesson from Almighty God, who in His works hath shown us, and in His Word also hath told us, that 'He hath made everything,' not one thing or another thing, but everything 'beautiful in his time.' Among all the devices of creation, there is not one more wonderful, whether it be the movement of the heavenly bodies, or the succession of the seasons and the years, or the adaptation of the world and its phenomena to the conditions of human life, or the structure of the eye, or hand, or any other part of the frame of man,—not one of all these is more wonderful, than the profuseness with which the Mighty Maker has been pleased to shed over the works of His hands an endless and boundless beauty.

And to this constitution of things outward, the constitution and mind of man, deranged although they be, still answer from within. Down to the humblest condition of life, down to the lowest and most backward grade of civilisation, the nature of man craves, and seems as it were even to cry aloud, for something, some sign or token at the least, of

what is beautiful, in some of the many spheres of mind or sense. This it is that makes the Spitalfields weaver, amidst the murky streets of London, train canaries and bullfinches to sing to him at his work: that fills with flower-pots the windows of the poor: that leads the peasant of Pembrokeshire to paint the outside of his cottage in lively colours: that prompts, in the humble class of women, a desire for some little personal ornament, certainly not without its dangers (for what sort of indulgence can ever be without them?) yet, sometimes, perhaps, too sternly repressed from the high and luxurious places of society. We trace the operation of this principle yet more conspicuously in a loftier region; in that instinct of natural and Christian piety, which taught the early masters of the Fine Arts to clothe the noble objects of our Faith, and especially the idea of the sacred Person of our Lord, in the noblest forms of beauty that their minds could conceive, or their hands could execute.

Mr. Gladstone maintained, in fact, that it was difficult for human beings to harden themselves at all points against the impressions and the charm of beauty. He also held that we are bound to take care that everything we make shall, in its kind and class, be as good as we can make it. With regard to the application of beauty to works of utility, the reward was generally distant.

A new element of labour is imported into the process of production; and that element, like others, must be paid for. In the modest publication which the firm of Wedgwood and Bentley put forth under the name of a Catalogue, but which really contains much sound and useful teaching on the principles of industrial art, they speak plainly on this subject in the following language:—'There is another mistake that gentlemen who are not acquainted with the particular difficulties of an art are apt to fall into. They frequently observe that a handsome thing may be made as cheap as an ugly one. A moment's reflection would rectify this opinion.*'

The beautiful object will be dearer than one perfectly bare and bald; not because utility is compromised for the sake of beauty, but because there may be more manual labour, and there must be more thought in the original design.

* Catalogue, p. 92.

'Pater ipse colendi
Haud facilem esse viam voluit.*'

Therefore the manufacturer, whose daily thought it must and ought to be to cheapen his productions, endeavouring to dispense with all that can be spared, is under much temptation to decline letting beauty stand as an item in the account of the costs of production. So the pressure of economical laws tells severely upon the finer elements of trade. And yet it may be argued that, in this as in other cases—in the case, for example, of the durability and solidity of articles—that which appears cheapest at first may not be cheapest in the long run. And this for two reasons. In the first place, because in the long run mankind are willing to pay a price for beauty. France is the second commercial country of the world; and her command of foreign markets seems clearly referable, in a great degree, to the real elegance of her productions, and to establish in the most intelligible form the principle, that taste has an exchangeable value.

But there seems to be another way by which the law of nature arrives at its revenge upon the short-sighted lust for cheapness. We begin, say, by finding beauty expensive. We decline to pay the artists for producing it. Their employment ceases; and they disappear. Presently we find that works reduced to utter baldness do not satisfy. We have to meet a demand for embellishment of some kind. But we have starved out the race who knew the laws and modes of its production. We substitute strength for flavour, quantity for quality; and we end by producing incongruous exuberances, or even hideous malformations, at a greater cost than would have sufficed for the nourishment among us of chaste and virgin art.

So the penalty of error may be certain; but the reward of sound judgment and right action, depending as it does not on to-day or to-morrow, but on the long future, is remote. In the same proportion, it is wise to call in aid all the secondary resources we can command. Among these instruments, and among the best of them, is to be reckoned the foundation of institutes, such as that which you are now engaged in; for they not only supply the willing with means of instruction, but they bear witness from age to age to the principle on which they are founded; they carry down the tradition of good times through the slumber and the night of bad times, ready to point the path to excellence, when the dawn returns again. I heartily trust this institute will be one worthy of its founders, and of its object.

* VIRG. *Georg.* I. 122.

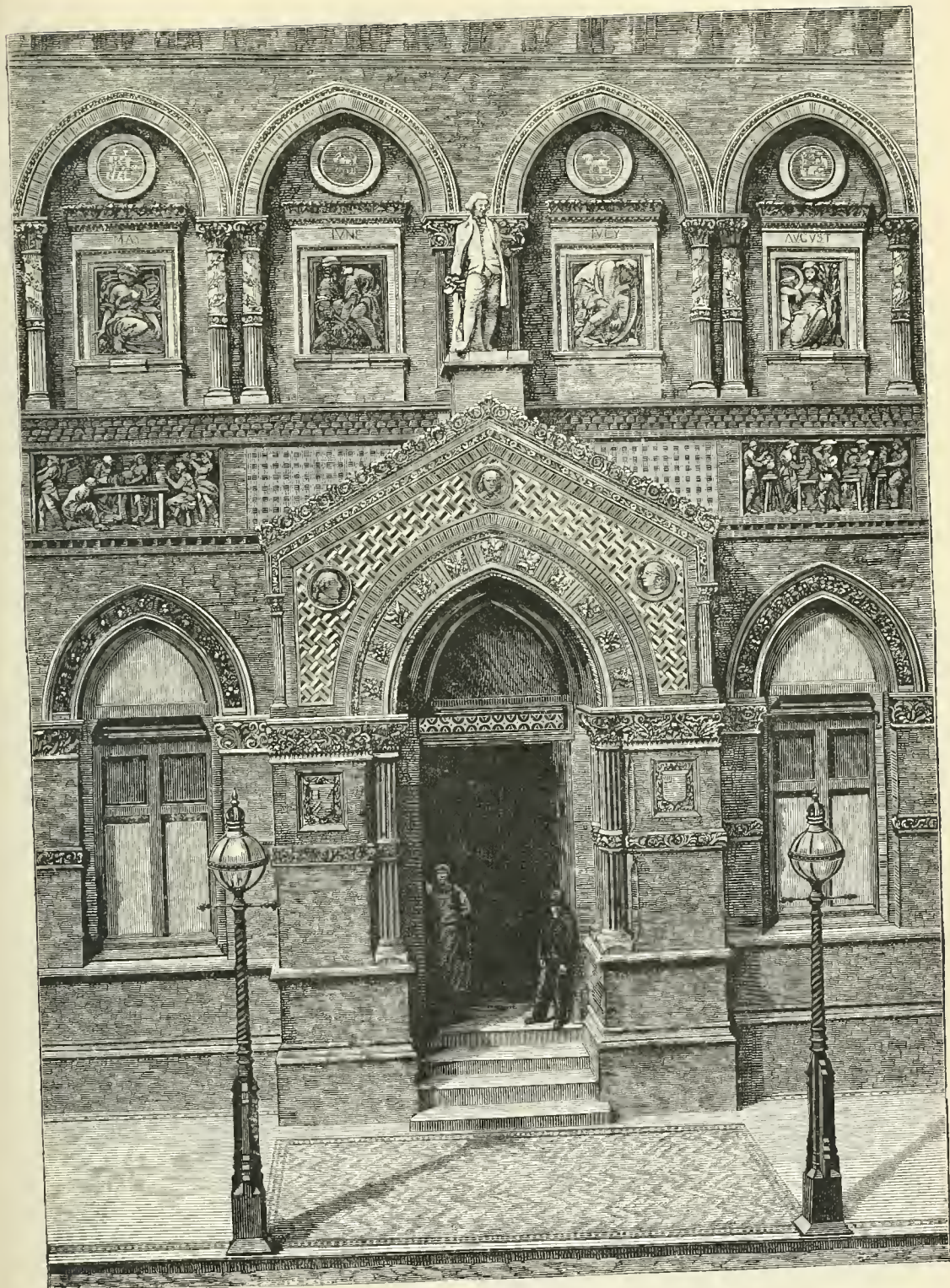
'The sire of gods and men, with hard decrees,
Forbids our plenty to be bought with ease.'

Dryden's Translation.

But now let us draw nearer to the immediate character and office of him whom I may call our hero. His most signal and characteristic merit lay, as I have said, in the fineness and fulness of his perception of the true law of what we term industrial art, or in other words, of the application of the higher art to industry; the law which teaches us to aim first at giving to every object the greatest possible degree of fitness and convenience for its purpose, and next at making it the vehicle of the highest degree of beauty which, compatible with that fitness and convenience, it will bear; it does not substitute the secondary for the primary end, but recognises as part of its business the study to harmonise the two. To have a strong grasp of this principle, and to work it out to its results in the details of a vast and varied manufacture, is praise high enough for any man, at any time, and in any place. But it was higher and more peculiar, as I think, in the case of Wedgwood, than in almost any other case it could be. For that truth of art, which he saw so clearly, and which lies at the root of excellence, was one, of which England, his country, has not usually had a perception at all corresponding in strength and fulness to her other rare endowments. She has long taken a lead among the nations of Europe for the cheapness of her manufactures: not so for their beauty. And if the day should ever come, when she shall be as eminent in taste, as she is now in economy of production, my belief is that result will probably be due to no other single man in so great a degree as to Wedgwood. This part of the subject, however, deserves a somewhat fuller consideration.

There are three regions given to man for the exercise of his faculties in the production of objects, or the performance of acts, conducive to civilisation and to the ordinary uses of life. Of these one is the homely sphere of simple utility. What is done, is done for some purpose of absolute necessity, or of immediate and passing use. What is produced, is produced with an almost exclusive regard to its value in exchange, to the market of the place and day. A dustman, for example, cannot be expected to move with the grace of a fairy; nor can his cart be constructed on the flowing lines of a Greek chariot of war. Not but that, even in this unpromising domain, Beauty also has her place. But it is limited and may for the present purpose be left out of view.

Then there is, secondly, the lofty sphere of pure thought and its ministering organs, the sphere of Poetry and the highest Arts. Here, again, the place of what we term utility is narrow; and the production of the Beautiful, in one or other of its innumerable forms, is the supreme, if not the only, object.



THE WEDGWOOD MEMORIAL INSTITUTE, BURSLEM.
(From a Photograph by Mr F. R. Ryles.)

Now, I believe it to be undeniable, that in both of these spheres, widely separated as they are, the faculties of Englishmen, and the distinctions of England, have been of the very first order. In the power of economical production, she is at the head of all the nations of the earth. If in the Fine Arts, in Painting, for example, she must be content with a second place, yet in Poetry, which ranks even higher than Painting—I hope I am not misled by national feeling when I say it—she may fairly challenge all the nations of Christendom, and no one of them, but Italy, can as yet enter into serious competition with the land of Shakespeare.

After alluding to the reasons why England had hitherto enjoyed a reputation for cheap and not for beautiful productions, the speaker thus proceeded:—

I submit, however, that, considering all which England has done in the sphere of pure Beauty on the one side, and in the sphere of cheap and useful manufacture on the other, it not only is needless, but would be irrational, to suppose that she lies under any radical or incurable incapacity for excelling also in that intermediate sphere, where the two join hands, and where Wedgwood gained the distinctions which have made him, in the language of Mr. Smiles, the ‘illustrious’ Wedgwood. I do not think that Wedgwood should be regarded as a strange phenomenon, no more native to us and ours than a meteoric stone from heaven; a happy accident, without example, and without return. Rare indeed is the appearance of such men in the history of industry: single perhaps it may have been among ourselves, for whatever the merits of others, such in particular as Mr. Minton, yet I for one should scruple to place any of them in the same class with Wedgwood; no one is like him, no one, it may almost be said, is even second to him; but the line on which he moved is a line on which every one, engaged in manufactures of whatever branch, may move after him, and like him. And, as it is the wisdom of man universally to watch against his besetting errors, and to strengthen himself in his weakest points, so it is the study and following of Wedgwood, and of Wedgwood’s principles, which may confidently be recommended to our producers as the specific cure for the specific weakness of English industry. Of imagination, fancy, taste, of the high cultivation in all its forms, this great nation has abundance. Of industry, skill, perseverance, mechanical contrivance, it has a yet larger stock, which overflows our narrow bounds, and floods the world. The one great want is, to bring these

two groups of qualities harmoniously together; and this was the peculiar excellence of Wedgwood; his excellence, peculiar in such a degree, as to give his name a place above every other, so far as I know, in the history of British industry, and remarkable, and entitled to fame, even in the history of the industry of the world.

We make our first introduction to Wedgwood about the year 1741, as the youngest of a family of thirteen children, and as put to earn his bread, at eleven years of age, in the trade of his father, and in the branch of a thrower. Then comes the well-known small-pox: the settling of the dregs of the disease in the lower part of the leg: and the amputation of the limb, rendering him lame for life. It is not often that we have such palpable occasion to record our obligations to the small-pox. But, in the wonderful ways of Providence, that disease, which came to him as a two-fold scourge, was probably the occasion of his subsequent excellence. It prevented him from growing up to be the active vigorous English workman, possessed of all his limbs, and knowing right well the use of them; it put him upon considering whether as he could not be that, he might not be something else, and something greater. It sent his mind inwards; it drove him to meditate upon the laws and secrets of his art. The result was, that he arrived at a perception and a grasp of them which might, perhaps, have been envied, certainly have been owned, by an Athenian potter. Relentless criticism has long since torn to pieces the old legend of King Numa, receiving in a cavern, from the Nymph Egeria, the laws that were to govern Rome. But no criticism can shake the record of that illness and mutilation of the boy Josiah Wedgwood, which made for him a cavern of his bed-room, and an oracle of his own inquiring, searching, meditative, and fruitful mind. From those early days of suffering, weary perhaps to him as they went by, but bright surely in the retrospect both to him and us, a mark seems at once to have been set upon his career. Here is a man, who, in the well-chosen words of his epitaph, ‘converted a rude and inconsiderable manufacture into an elegant art, and an important branch of national commerce.’ Here is a man, who, beginning as it were from zero, and unaided by the national or royal gifts which were found necessary to uphold the glories of Sévres, of Chelsea, and of Dresden, produced works truer, perhaps, to the inexorable laws of art, than the fine fabrics that proceeded from those establishments, and scarcely less attractive to the public taste. Here is a man, who found his business cooped up within a narrow valley by the want of even tolerable communications, and who, while he devoted his mind to the lifting that business from meanness, ugliness, and weakness, to the highest excellence of material

and form, had surplus energy enough to take a leading part in great engineering works like the Grand Trunk Canal from the Mersey to the Trent; which made the raw material of his industry abundant and cheap, which supplied a vent for the manufactured article, and opened for it materially a way to the outer world. Lastly, here is a man who found his country dependent upon others for its supplies of all the finer earthenware; but who, by his single strength, reversed the inclination of the scales, and scattered thickly the productions of his factory over all the breadth of the continent of Europe. In travelling from Paris to St. Petersburg, from Amsterdam to the farthest point of Sweden, from Dunkirk to the southern extremity of France, one is served at every inn from English earthenware. The same article adorns the tables of Spain, Portugal, and Italy; it provides the cargoes of ships to the East Indies, the West Indies, and America.

Mr. Gladstone next cited certain business details connected with Wedgwood, and touched upon the shares which Bentley and Flaxman had in his productions. He also referred to those works which might in general terms be considered partly as imitations and partly as reproductions of Greek art. The real specialty of Wedgwood consisted in the resuscitation of a principle—the principle of Greek art; his force lay in the perception and grasp of the unity and comprehensiveness of that principle, and in the uncompromising adaptation of every material object to its proper end. Yet Wedgwood, in his pursuit of beauty, did not overlook exchangeable value or practical usefulness. ‘The first he could not overlook, for he had to live by his trade; and it was by the profit derived from the extended sale of his humble productions, that he was enabled to bear the risks and charges of his higher works. Commerce did for him what the King of France did for Sèvres, and the Duke of

Cumberland for Chelsea. And I will venture to say, that the lower works of Wedgwood are as much distinguished by the fineness and accuracy of their adaptation to their uses as his higher ones by their successful exhibition of the finest art.’ The speaker cited several specimens of Wedgwood ware in proof of his contention. Yet all Wedgwood’s works, from the lowest upwards, abhorred pretension. He never fell into extravagance or excess. After some other references to the work of Wedgwood, Mr. Gladstone thus alluded to certain characteristics of the man:—

It seems plain that, though uneducated in youth for any purpose of art, he contrived to educate himself amid the busy scenes of life. His Treatise on the Pyrometer shows that he had studied, or at any rate acquired, the science applicable to his business; his account of the Barberini vase proves that he had qualified himself to deal with the subjects of classical antiquity. But nothing can be more characteristic of his mind than the firmness with which, at the close of the Catalogue, the intentions of the firm respecting cheapness of production are declared. He has explained, as I have already mentioned, that the utmost cheapness can hardly be had along with the highest beauty. He goes on to vindicate his prices, as compared with those of others; and concludes his apology in terms which do the firm the highest honour, by declaring plainly, ‘they are determined rather to give up the making of any article than to degrade it;’ a clear proof, I think, that something, which resembles heroism, has its place in trade. With this bold announcement to the world was combined, within the walls of his factory, the unsparing sacrifice of defective articles, which down to this day supply the collector, in many cases, with the test he needs in order to ascertain the genuine work of Wedgwood.

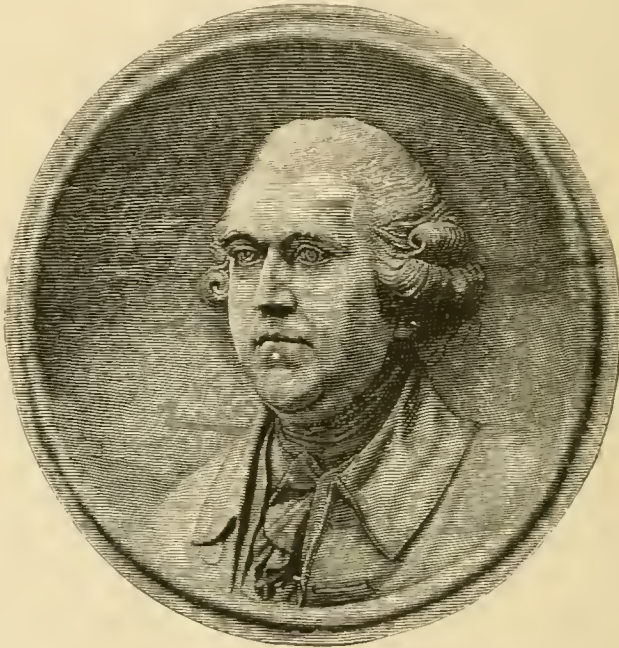
The lightness of Wedgwood’s ware, which is an element not merely of elegance, but of safety; the hardness and durability of the substances; the extraordinary smoothness, and softness to the touch, of the surfaces; their powers of resisting heat and acids; the immense breadth of the field he covered, with the number and variety of his works in point of form, subject, size, and colour, this last particu-

larly as to his vases; his title almost to the paternity of the art of relief in modern earthenware; all these are characteristics which I am satisfied only to name. There are, however, two other points still on my mind: one the general character of his colours; the other his extraordinary merit as a restorer of form in fictile products.

The general character of his colours may, perhaps, be justly described as a strict sobriety imbibed from, and closely following, the antique. He did not attempt to cover the entire field of porcelain manufacture. That which is, perhaps, the noblest

for it. Probably or possibly, the reason for the restraint and sobriety of the colouring of Wedgwood is to be found not in mere imitation, but in the classical and strict severity of its forms.

I hope it will not be thought presumptuous to give utterance to an opinion, that the forms of many among the most costly and splendid vases which were produced at Chelsea, and even at Sèvres, in the last century, were unsatisfactory; sometimes fantastic, often heavy and ungainly, rarely successful in harmonising the handles with the vessel, and upon the whole neither conformable to any strict law



JOSIAH WEDGWOOD.

and most arduous part of all its work, modelling the human figure in the solid, he rarely, if indeed ever, attempted. And we must not look to him for the gay diversity of its colouring and subjects; for its gilding, sometimes so gorgeous and sometimes so delicate; or for the splendid effects yielded, in particular, by its deep blue grounds. In no instance, known to me, does he indulge in showy colour. He has highly glazed vases in admirable taste and of great effect, but usually, I think, the ground is some variety of green or grey. He could not, however, have been insensible to the attractions of such colouring as was produced at Sèvres, or at Chelsea. When we find a general characteristic running through the works of a man like Wedgwood, we may safely assume there was a reason

of art, nor worthy of the material, or of the fine colouring, drawing, composition, and gilding, there and elsewhere so often exhibited in the decoration. On comparing the forms of these vases with those of Wedgwood, although these doubtless have also suffered as to their finer proportions, from shrieking in the fire, I think it is impossible to avoid being struck with his superiority, and feeling that his lifetime constitutes in fictile manufacture nothing less than a new era as to *form*. It is hard to avoid conjecturing that his eye must have noticed, and must in this respect have condemned, the prevailing fashion, and that he must have formed a deliberate resolution to do what I think it is unquestionable he did; namely, to exhibit to the world, in this vital particular, a much higher standard of excellence.

In the course of some general remarks upon the relations between master and workman, Mr. Gladstone observed that although the demand for cheapness pressed hardly upon the condition of the people, yet nothing which depressed the moral or physical condition of the people below the standards of Christianity, of sufficiency,

contented, healthy, and happy population.

The financial statement for the year 1864 was brought forward on the 7th of April; and it was widely anticipated before its delivery that Mr. Gladstone would be able to announce further reductions in taxation. It was not until a later stage in our history that the



WEDGWOOD WARE.

and of health, could in the end be cheap. He concluded his very valuable and suggestive address by expressing the hope that those before him, the successors of Wedgwood, who had during late years earned so much honour for the taste and industry of the country, might profit in all respects more and more effectually by the lessons bequeathed to them of their great forerunner, and find at least one substantial portion of their reward in witnessing around them a thriving,

results of Free Trade were seriously called in question by its strongest opponents. At the period of which we write, 'the effect of twenty years of Free Trade legislation, inaugurated by Sir Robert Peel in 1842, and carried on by his successors in office, had been such that, concurrently with the repeal of a long catalogue of duties and imposts which had previously fettered manufacturers, and excluded most valuable foreign products, the finances of the country presented an aspect of

abundance and stability almost without precedent in our history, and to which no foreign country could offer a comparison. In point of wealth and national credit, indeed, England stood almost alone at this time amongst the nations of the world.' Under the old system of Protection, this magnificent exhibition of strength, stability, and progress in the trade of the United Kingdom would have been an absolute impossibility.

Great solicitude was exhibited as to the distribution of the large surplus which was known to exist, and when the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose, it was in a House closely packed in every part—peers, foreign Ministers, and other distinguished visitors crowding the places assigned to them, while in Westminster Hall there was an assembly which would have filled the Strangers' Gallery three times over. Often as Mr. Gladstone had performed this annual financial feat, there appeared to be no diminution in the interest with which the budget oration was regarded by the public. The Chancellor of the Exchequer began by referring to the condition of the country in 1862-3, when there was a deficient harvest, and when Ireland and Lancashire were suffering from unusual pressure and distress; circumstances had improved somewhat in 1863-4, but still not to such a degree as to make the financial year completely favourable. The actual expenditure that year was £67,056,000, being a million and a quarter less—spread over the different departments—than had been autho-

rised by Parliament. The revenue of the year was £70,003,561, showing a surplus of nearly £3,000,000; but from this was to be taken the expenditure on fortifications, viz., £800,000. Deducting this from the surplus, it still stood at a large figure. The real diminution of taxes in the three last years had been £6,638,000. The revenue had decreased by only £1,760,000, so that taking reduction of taxation into consideration, it had actually increased, in round numbers, by £5,000,000. The revenue had grown since the year 1859 at the rate of £1,200,000, and since 1853 at the rate of over a million per annum. With regard to the liquidation of debt over the last year, Mr. Gladstone stated that a million of Exchequer bonds had been paid off, and other liquidations of the capital of the debt had been effected, which amounted to upwards of three millions. The sum paid for terminable annuities in liquidation of debt was £1,400,000. The decrease in the National Debt since 1855 was £69,000,000, and the charge for interest had now decreased by about six millions a-year. Dealing next with our imports and exports, he showed how within three years they had enormously increased. The total exports last year, including foreign and colonial exports, were £195,000,000, while the exports and imports together for last year were £444,905,000. This enormous movement of British trade represented nearly a million and a half of money for every working day of the year, and the great increase had taken

place since that period when the removal of trammels on trade had been the policy of Parliament. These facts not only demonstrated the vigorous prosperity of the country, but were a pledge that England was to be the champion of peace and justice against all the world. There had undoubtedly been other elements working towards the attainment of this great end, but it was a remarkable fact that at those times, when the Legislature acted in the direction towards the liberation of commerce, the greatest results had followed. In 1853 and 1860, for example, when this policy was pursued, the exports had risen enormously as compared with the respective years preceding. Mr. Gladstone admitted, with respect to the effect of the paper duty, that there had been a great increase in the import of paper, but there were no means of ascertaining that there had been a proportionate decrease in the product of the British manufacture. Still, there had been an immense increase in the demand for the materials for paper-making, while there had been a considerable increase in the export of British-made paper; the price had been reduced beyond the amount indicated by the duty; the diminution in the number of paper-makers, which had been going on until the repeal of the duty, had absolutely stopped; the expense of manufacture had greatly decreased, and all these facts must be taken as proofs that the trade had not suffered to the extent predicted and asserted. An arrangement for a reduction of the

duty on rags was in progress by France. Considering next the spirit duties, he found that there had been an increase in the receipts of above £800,000. The export trade in spirits had increased. There was a change taking place in the national taste for milder liquors. As compared with 1859, there had been an increase of about 55 per cent. in the consumption of wine; the same thing occurred with regard to tobacco. Our total imports from France had more than doubled since 1859, while the exports from England thither had risen from about £9,000,000 to about £22,000,000. Another favourable point in the condition of the country was that, excluding Lancashire, pauperism, if not decreasing, was at least stationary.

Dealing with the estimates for 1864-5, Mr. Gladstone stated that the total calculated revenue was £69,460,000, and the total expenditure £66,890,000—yielding a surplus of £2,570,000. A sum of £10,000, however, would be required for various minor changes and modifications which he enumerated; and the surplus left to dispose of would be £2,560,000. There were, of course, many strong claims for the application of this surplus. First and foremost, the largest and most important reduction he proposed was in the article of sugar, which he held to have the greatest claim to the consideration of the House. At present there was a classified scale of duty on sugar, and opinion and authority were in favour of such a duty in preference to a uniform charge.

After detailing plans of classification which had been mooted, he said he desired that that form of duty should be adopted which should least interfere with the natural course of trade. Mr. Gladstone then stated the various reductions that would be made, the effect of which would be to place the sugar duty at 1s. per cwt. lower than it had ever been. This alteration would cause a diminution of revenue at once of £1,701,900, but the net actual loss for the coming year would be £1,330,000. The surplus would thus be reduced to £1,230,000. There was no intention of proposing a reduction in the malt duty. The Chancellor of the Exchequer then took up the subject of the income-tax, and once more stated his belief that the existence of the tax as a permanent duty was inconsistent with the achievement of a judicious public economy—an object towards which, despite the great and growing prosperity of the country, considering the co-existence of large pauperism with that prosperity, it was the duty of Parliament carefully to direct its attention and its efforts. He did not then ask the House to remodel or to abolish the income-tax, but he proposed to make a reduction of one penny in the amount. The immediate loss by this reduction would be £800,000, and the ultimate loss £1,200,000. This would leave a surplus of £430,000. It was proposed to reduce the duty on fire insurances from 3s. to 1s. 6d., so far as stock-in-trade was concerned; and with a view to test the principle of recovery of the

revenue after reduction of duty, which had been so strenuously asserted, the reduction would take place from the 1st of July. The financial result of this would not be a very heavy loss. The surplus ultimately remaining after the various reductions he had specified would be only £238,000. Such were the Government proposals. He trusted they would meet with acceptance, and that the House would receive them as pledges, on the part of the Ministry, of an earnest desire to co-operate with the Legislature in carrying yet farther forward those purposes, the steady prosecution of which had already done so much for the strength and security of England, for the comfort and happiness of the people, for the honour of the age in which they lived, and for the hopes they entertained on behalf of the times that were to come.

The budget—which was equivalent to a declaration of policy on behalf of the Government, a policy in which peace, progress, and economy were the watch-words—was most favourably received. Notices of opposition on minor points were given, but Mr. Gladstone's resolutions were ultimately adopted without a division. Notwithstanding the continuous assaults which had been made upon the fiscal policy of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, its success could not be denied, and the author of it was now the chief mainstay of the Government. From whatever quarter of the House criticism arose, Mr. Gladstone met it readily and successfully, showing an unprecedented familiarity with all branches

of the public industry and the public revenue.

A motion still further to reduce the fire insurance duty was negatived. On the order of the day for going into consideration of the proposed reduction

paper duty, upon which the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose and protested against any such idea, referring in most laudatory terms to the establishment of a cheap press, and hailing the benefits it had conferred on the com-



MR. EDWARD BAINES, M.P.

in the sugar duties, Colonel Barttelot moved an amendment, 'That the consideration of these duties be postponed until the House has had an opportunity of considering the expediency of the reduction of the duty upon malt. During the discussion on this amendment, a member of the Opposition advocated the re-imposition of the

munity. The surplus was totally inadequate to a substantial reduction of the malt-tax, and if that subject were approached at all it ought not to be in a petty and inadequate manner, or without considering the relation of the tax to the whole system of taxation on the other beverages of the country. Colonel Barttelot's motion was rejected

by 247 votes to 99. A subsequent motion by Mr. Morritt, 'That in case of any modification of the indirect taxation of the country the excise on malt requires consideration,' was lost by 166 to 118. Mr. Gladstone, however, brought forward a proposal by way of concession to the agriculturists, for the remission of so much of the duty as had been hitherto levied upon malt used for the consumption of cattle. The bill was variously viewed by Conservative members, but after considerable debate it ultimately passed both Houses. Two amendments were proposed to Mr. Gladstone's rearrangement of the sugar duties, but both were defeated.

Early in this session the Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced a bill for amending the law relating to the purchase of Government annuities through the medium of savings banks, and to enable the granting of life insurances by the Government. It was explained that, up to the introduction of the bill, sums could be received for deferred annuities only in large amounts, and the object of the measure was to enable Government to take smaller amounts through the post-office savings-banks. No hostility was at first shown to the bill, but subsequently it was violently opposed. On moving the committal of the measure, Mr. Gladstone demonstrated the groundlessness of the fears which had arisen respecting it. The bill prohibited nothing: it simply offered certain facilities for self-help to the poorer classes of the community. The plan

was both safe and just. The Friendly Societies, however, raised a strong opposition to the scheme, and their supporters in the House inveighed against what they termed a 'paternal Government.' The author of the proposal had the effective retort that during his long public life he had never received so many letters as he had upon this measure, from various classes of the community, all expressing approval of, and gratitude for, the bill. After the rejection of an amendment directed against the whole scheme, the bill was referred to a select committee, which, while recommending slight modifications, reported favourably to the House. The Opposition collapsed, and the bill passed the Lower House amid warm approval on both sides. In the House of Lords, also, it was regarded as a measure 'conceived in the true interest of the working classes.' It became law, and it has since been generally acknowledged as one of the most valuable products of a session not very prolific in legislative reforms. Its singularly successful operation may readily be traced from year to year by all who are interested in the welfare and progress of the working classes.

It was during the debate on Mr. Baines's bill for lowering the borough franchise that the Chancellor of the Exchequer startled the House by his declaration upon the question of Reform. Mr. Baines's resolution was defeated by 272 against 216, but it was generally admitted that Mr. Gladstone's speech had given a great impetus to the movement. The right hon. gentle-

man, at the outset, signified cordial concurrence in the proposition that there ought to be, not a wholesale, but a sensible and considerable addition to that portion of the working classes—at present almost infinitesimal—which was in possession of the franchise. ‘We are told,’ he continued, ‘that the working classes don’t agitate; but is it desirable that we should wait until they do agitate? In my opinion, agitation by the working classes upon any political subject whatever is a thing not to be waited for, not to be made a condition previous to any Parliamentary movement; but, on the contrary, is to be deprecated, and, if possible, prevented by wise and provident measures. An agitation by the working classes is not like an agitation by the classes above them having leisure. The agitation of the classes having leisure is easily conducted. Every hour of their time has not a money value; their wives and children are not dependent on the application of those hours of labour. When a working man finds himself in such a condition that he must abandon that daily labour on which he is strictly dependent for his daily bread, it is only because then, in railway language, the danger-signal is turned on, and because he feels a strong necessity for action, and a distrust of the rulers who have driven him to that necessity. The present state of things, I rejoice to say, does not indicate that distrust; but if we admit that, we must not allege the absence of agitation on the part of the working classes as a reason why the

Parliament of England and the public mind of England should be indisposed to entertain the discussion of this question.’ He denied that there was that special virtue in the nature of the middle classes which justified them in drawing a marked distinction between them and a select portion of the working classes, so far as related to the exercise of the franchise. He advocated the extension of the franchise, on the ground that it would tend to advance that unity of classes which was now in happy progress throughout the country.

The general feeling in connection with this speech was that, if the Liberal party had failed in its duty on the subject of Reform in the existing Parliament, after the utterances of Mr. Gladstone, that state of things must undergo a change. Mr. Gladstone’s declaration had naturally a great effect upon the country.

On the 4th of July the hostility to the Palmerston Government, chiefly on the ground of its foreign policy, reached its full height in a formal encounter between the Ministry and the Opposition. Mr. Disraeli brought forward on the day named his ‘no confidence’ motion as follows:—‘To thank her Majesty for having directed the correspondence on Denmark and Germany and the protocol of the Conference recently assembled in London, to be laid before Parliament; to assure her Majesty that we have heard with deep concern that the sittings of the Conference have been brought to a close without accomplishing the important

purpose for which it was convened; and to express to her Majesty our great regret that, while the course pursued by her Majesty's Government has failed to maintain their avowed policy of upholding the integrity and independence of Denmark, it has lowered the just influence of this coun-

Powers.' Mr. Disraeli, in a speech which was loudly cheered by his supporters, maintained that the time had come when Ministers should no longer be allowed to escape their responsibility.

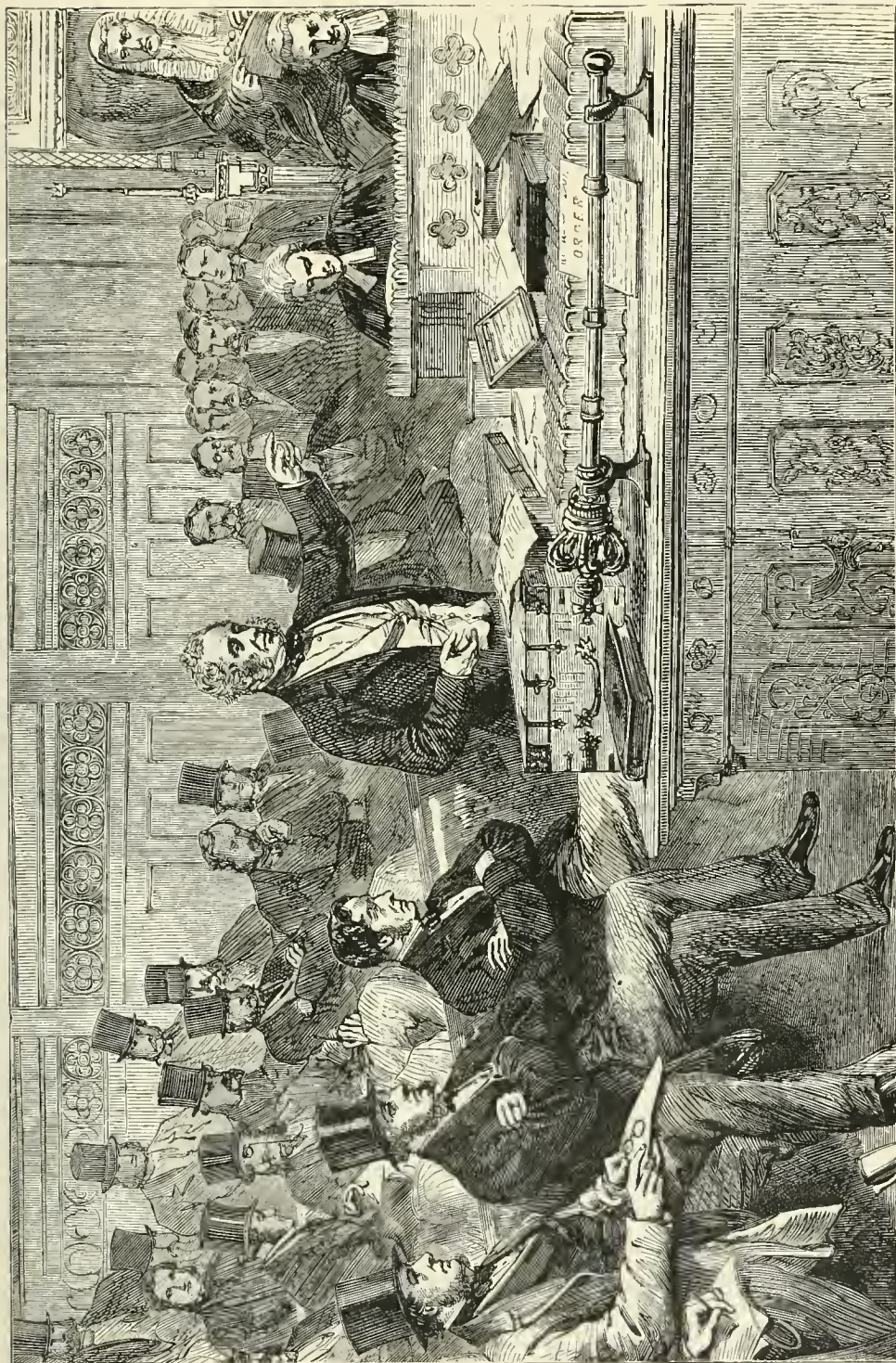
Mr. Gladstone at once accepted the responsibility cast upon the Govern-



THE DANO-GERMAN WAR—ENGAGEMENT BEFORE DÜPPEL.

try in the capitals of Europe, and thereby diminished the securities for peace.' Mr. Kinglake proposed to substitute the following words as an amendment to the last sentence of the resolution:—'To express the satisfaction with which we have learned that at this conjuncture her Majesty has been advised to abstain from armed interference in the war now going on between Denmark and the German

ment, and proceeded to rebut the accusations made by the leader of the Opposition. It was the very first occasion, he said, on which the British House of Commons had been called upon, for the sake of displacing a Government, to record the degradation of the country. Why could not the right hon. gentleman speak plainly in his motion? The terms of the resolution were nothing better than an echo



LORD PALMERSTON MAKING THE MINISTERIAL STATEMENT RESPECTING DANO-GERMAN AFFAIRS.

of the almost ribald language of a few obscure journals of Germany. It was from that source that this intended Minister derived his inspiration. The Chancellor of the Exchequer thus concluded his stirring reply :—

Why does not the right hon. gentleman adopt the language of our forefathers, who, when they were dissatisfied with a Government, addressed the Crown, and prayed that the Government might be dismissed? They said boldly that the conduct of the Government was open to such and such charges, and they prayed that other men might be put in their places. But the right hon. gentleman was afraid to raise that issue. He has, indeed, plucked up courage to propose this motion; but why has he not done it in the proper constitutional form in which votes of want of confidence have hitherto been drawn? Never before, as far as I know, has party spirit led gentlemen in this country to frame a motion which places on record that which must be regarded as dishonourable to the nation. I go back to the time of Sir R. Walpole, of Lord North, and Mr. Fox, but nowhere do we find such a sterile and jejune affair as this resolution. Those charges were written in legible and plain terms; but the right hon. gentleman substitutes language which might indeed be sufficient for the purpose of rendering it impossible for the Government to continue in office, but which cannot transfix them without its sting first passing through the honour of England. For the reasons I have stated I look forward with cheerfulness to the issue which has been raised with regard to our conduct. Nay, more, I feel the most confident anticipation that both the House and the country will approve of the course taken in this difficult negotiation by her Majesty's Government, and that they will reject a motion which both prudence and patriotism must alike emphatically condemn.

In the course of the debate, which was very protracted, Mr. Bernal Osborne grew amusingly sarcastic at the expense of the Government, though he paid at the same time a great compliment to Mr. Gladstone. He likened the Cabinet to a museum of curiosities, in which there were some birds of rare and noble plumage, both alive and stuffed. There had been a difficulty,

unfortunately, in keeping up the breed, and it was found necessary to cross it with the famous Peelites. 'I will do them the justice to say that they have a very great and able Minister among them in the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and it is to his measures alone that they owe the little popularity and the little support they get from this Liberal party.' Describing Mr. Milner Gibson, the hon. gentleman said he was like some 'fly in amber,' and the wonder was 'how the devil he got there.' Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright must have been disappointed in this 'young man from the country.' He had become insolent and almost quarrelsome under the guidance of the noble lord. Should that Parliament decide on terminating its own and their existence, they would find consolation that the funeral oration would be pronounced by Mr. Newdegate, and that some friendly hand would inscribe on their mausoleum, 'Rest and be thankful.' The Government having accepted Mr. Kinglake's amendment, a division was taken with the following result :—For Mr. Disraeli's motion, 295; for the amendment, 313—majority for Ministers, 18.

In the House of Commons, during a debate which occurred at the close of March, 1865, Mr. Gladstone delivered an important speech in connection with the Irish Church. Mr. Dillwyn having proposed a motion, 'That the present position of the Irish Church Establishment is unsatisfactory, and calls for the early attention of her Majesty's Government,' Mr Gladstone

rose and said that, although the Government were unable to agree to the resolution, they were not prepared to deny the abstract truth of the former part of it. They could not assert that the present position of the Establishment was satisfactory. At the close of a lengthy speech, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that he could come to no other conclusion than that the Irish Church, as she then stood, was in a false position. It was much more difficult, however, to decide upon the practical aspect of the question, and no one had ventured to propose the remedy required for the existing state of things. This question raised a whole nest of political problems; for while the vast majority of the Irish people were opposed to the maintenance of large and liberal endowments for a fragment of the population, they repudiated any desire to appropriate these endowments, and firmly rejected all idea of receiving a State provision for themselves. How could the Government, in view of these facts, substitute a satisfactory for an admittedly unsatisfactory state of things? They were unable to do so. Consequently, 'we feel that we ought to decline to follow the hon. gentleman into the lobby, and declare that it is the duty of the Government to give their early attention to the subject; because if we gave a vote to that effect we should be committing one of the gravest offences of which a Government could be guilty—namely, giving a deliberate and solemn promise to the country, which promise it would be out of our power to fulfil.'

The debate was adjourned, but was not resumed during the session. Some months later, in a letter to Dr. Hannah, Warden of Trinity College, Glenalmond, Mr. Gladstone gave his reasons for declining at that time to entertain the question of the Disestablishment of the Irish Church.

First, because the question is remote, and apparently out of all bearing on the practical politics of the day, I think it would be for me worse than superfluous to determine upon any scheme, or basis of a scheme, with respect to it. Secondly, because it is difficult; even if I anticipated any likelihood of being called upon to deal with it, I should think it right to take no decision beforehand on the mode of dealing with the difficulties. But the first reason is that which chiefly weighs. . . . I think I have stated strongly my sense of the responsibility attaching to the opening of such a question, except in a state of things which gave promise of satisfactorily closing it. For this reason it is that I have been so silent about the matter, and may probably be so again; but I could not, as a Minister and as member for Oxford University, allow it to be debated an indefinite number of times and remain silent. One thing, however, I may add, because I think it a clear landmark. In any measure dealing with the Irish Church, I think (though I scarcely expect ever to be called on to share in such a measure) the act of Union must be recognised, and must have important consequences, especially with reference to the position of the hierarchy.

This question, however, was already rapidly pressing forward for settlement—how rapidly Mr. Gladstone himself seemed not to be aware of, and the act of Disestablishment was to proceed from his own hand within a very brief period.

The budget of 1865 was brought forward on the 27th of April, and the prosperous condition of the finances of the country again justified the hopes of a reduction of taxation. The Chancellor of the Exchequer began his statement by remarking upon the contrast between

the opening and closing circumstances of the existing Parliament.

When the Parliament met, we had been involved —although we did not know it at the time—in a costly and difficult war with China. The harvest of the year which succeeded was the worst that had been known for half a century. The recent experience of war had led to costly, extensive, and somewhat uncertain reconstructions; and clouds hung over the continent of Europe, while the Italian war had terminated in such a manner as to occasion vague and serious alarms in the public mind. Since that period those clouds have moved Westward across the Atlantic, and have burst in a tempest, perhaps the wildest that ever devastated a civilised country—a tempest of war, distinguished, indeed, by the exhibition of many of the most marvellous and extraordinary qualities of valour, heroism, and perseverance; and on the whole, perhaps, no scenes have been so entirely painful as that of which the intelligence has last reached us, which now causes one thrill of horror throughout Europe.* But, so far as this country is concerned, we have been mercifully spared. We see the state of the public mind tranquil and reassured, and the condition of the country generally prosperous and satisfactory. The financial history of the Parliament has been a remarkable one. It has raised a larger revenue than I believe, at any period, whether of peace or war, was ever raised by taxation. After taking into account the changes in the value of money within an equal time, the expenditure of the Parliament has been upon a scale that has never before been reached in time of peace. The amount and variety of the changes introduced into our financial legislation have been greater than within a like number of years at any former time. And I may say, lastly, that it has enjoyed the distinction that, although no Parliament ever completes the full term of its legal existence, yet this is the seventh time on which you have been called upon to make provision for the financial exigencies of the country.

Mr. Gladstone then proceeded with the details of his statement. The actual expenditure for 1864-5 had been less than the estimate by about £611,000. The estimate of the revenue for the year 1864 was £67,128,000, while the amount received was £70,313,000, showing an increase of £3,185,000.

* The assassination of President Lincoln.

The actual expenditure of the past year had been £66,461,000, and the revenue being £70,313,000, there was thus a surplus of £3,852,000, or, subjecting it to all deductions, of £3,200,000. The debt paid off in the year had amounted to £5,240,000, while, deducting the charge for fortifications, the real diminution was over £4,000,000. Since 1859 the National Debt had diminished by three millions per annum, and there was a total reduction of nearly eighteen millions during the present Parliament. Dealing with the trade of the country, he observed that the paper trade was in a satisfactory condition, and that our commerce with France continued to increase, both in exports and imports. Although nominally the trade of France had increased in greater proportion than that of this country, yet relatively, and looking to the steady progress of the latter, that had not been the case; while in comparison with Belgium and Holland it had considerably increased. He came to the conclusion that immense advantage had resulted to our trade in the removal of bars, fetters, and impediments from the path of human industry in this empire, as well as in the union of class with class, and, he hoped, of nation with nation. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, not for the first time, that in such a retrospect he could not forbear rendering a tribute to the character and ability of the man who was the main instrument of these great commercial changes — Mr. Cobden. With regard to the charges for 1865-6, Mr. Gladstone stated that the total ex-

penditure was estimated at £66,139,000, being considerably less than for 1864-5. The total estimated revenue was £70,170,000, and there was thus left a surplus of £4,031,000. Coming to

the malt duty was 20 per cent. How much of the malt duty must be taken off to reduce the price of beer one farthing a quart? A little less than one-half. The loss to the Exchequer



MR. J. G. DODSON, CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

the question of the disposal of this surplus, after enumerating various minor reductions, there remained, said the right hon. gentleman, the question of the malt-tax. The total abolition of the duty would be the death-warrant of our whole system of indirect taxation, and the practical question was, what reduction could be made? He allowed that the tax upon beer from

by such a reduction would be in the first year £2,489,000; in the second year, £3,360,000. Now, looking at the relative taxation of malt, as compared with other potable articles, he found that while beer was taxed 20 per cent., the common wines which entered into competition with beer were taxed 50 per cent. There was no argument in favour of the repeal to be derived

from any languor in the consumption of beer; on the contrary, there had been an increase in the use of this national drink as compared with spirits. But if beer ought to be taxed more lightly than wines or spirits, he confidently asserted that tea ought to be more heavily taxed than beer. The tax on a barrel of beer was 20 per cent., that on a chest of tea was not less than 40 per cent., and tea was entitled to a preference in the reduction of duty. He would, however, give the maltster the option of having the duty charged by weight instead of by measure, which would operate as a relief to the growers of medium and lower qualities of barley. He did not say that he looked forward to an indefinite imposition of the malt-tax, but at the present time a large portion of the surplus could not be applied to the reduction of the malt-tax, especially as the incidence of the income-tax remained to be finally settled. The diminution of the duty on tea by 6d. a pound would reduce the price to the consumer by 20 per cent.; the loss to the revenue would be upwards of £2,375,000, but looking to recuperation by consumption, in the present year it would only be £1,808,000. Touching upon the income-tax, he observed that it was now at the lowest point which it had ever reached; but it was proposed to reduce the existing charge of 6d. in the pound by one-third of that amount. The effect would be to reduce the tax to a total of £5,200,000. Its final adjustment might be dealt with by the new Parliament, but if it was thought

desirable to retain the income-tax, 4d. in the pound was the rate at which it might well be kept in time of peace. The reduction of £3,518,000 on tea and income-tax left a margin of the surplus, enabling it to be applied to the duty on fire insurance, and a reduction in conformity with a resolution already passed by the House upon the subject, would be made to 1s. 6d. from the 25th of June; while a reduction would be made in the shilling duty on the policy to a penny stamp. There would be a relief on fire insurance of £520,000. The total reduction of taxation amounted to £5,420,000. The loss in the year 1865-6 would be £3,778,000, and in the following year £1,417,000, making a total for the two years of £5,195,000. There would be an ultimate surplus this year of £253,000, and any invasion of this he earnestly deprecated. There were several claims for a reduction of duty, but he trusted that the House would agree that that of tea was paramount, and he hoped generally that the measures of the Government, in dealing with the financial situation, would be acceptable to the House and the nation.

The budget met with less opposition than had been encountered by any of its predecessors, and gained the warm approval of the country, notwithstanding the inevitable demonstration made in connection with the malt-tax. The Chancellor of the Exchequer's fiscal proposals were embodied in a bill, which passed through the House with scarcely any delay. The decreasing expenditure on the army and navy estimates was

viewed with general and very lively satisfaction. Notwithstanding that the House and the country at large had become accustomed to Mr. Gladstone's masterly manipulation of the national finances, the magnitude of the remissions of taxation in the budget of 1865 excited feelings of pleasant and universal surprise. These financial proposals demonstrated not only the soundness of the calculations made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but also the continued prosperity of the country.

This chapter may appropriately be closed with a personal reminiscence in the shape of a very interesting letter written by Mr. Gladstone to Sir Anthony Panizzi, on the 30th of September, 1865. It appears that the King of Italy had expressed a desire to create Panizzi a senator of the kingdom; but the latter, conscious of his official position, felt great difficulty and delicacy in accepting the high honour intended to be conferred upon him, and applied to Mr. Gladstone, as was his invariable custom, for guidance and advice. Mr. Gladstone replied as follows: 'Upon reading your very interesting letter, I, like you, feel myself in a strait. I am loth to say anything that may lead to even your partial removal from among us; yet I cannot doubt that if a fair regard to your health and personal comfort will permit, you should accept the offer of the King of Italy. I know not

what will be the precise effect on the convenience of the existing Administration or even on the Museum. But without stopping—for I must not stop—to ask, I think that, considering the difficulty and importance of constituting a Second Chamber or Senate, and of doing it in the best manner, and the advantage to it of your character, prowess, long English experience, and thorough knowledge of our constitution, I feel that you have before you a door open for rendering great services to your *other* country in the hour of her need, and that such an opportunity cannot be generously refused, though I hope acceptance will not practically remove you from us. I rather blush while writing this. Perhaps you will consult some other friend. On my own responsibility I mentioned the matter recently to my host. He agrees with me. The great Italian question needs all the strength that can be applied to it. . . . I must not omit to say that while I have written the first part of this letter with very mixed feelings, I dwell with unmingled pleasure on the high and honourable and most just tribute which this offer pays to your character, abilities, and distinctions.' Three years later, Sir Anthony Panizzi, after great pressure, accepted the offer of King Victor Emmanuel, and he was also made a Commander of the Order of the Crown of Italy.

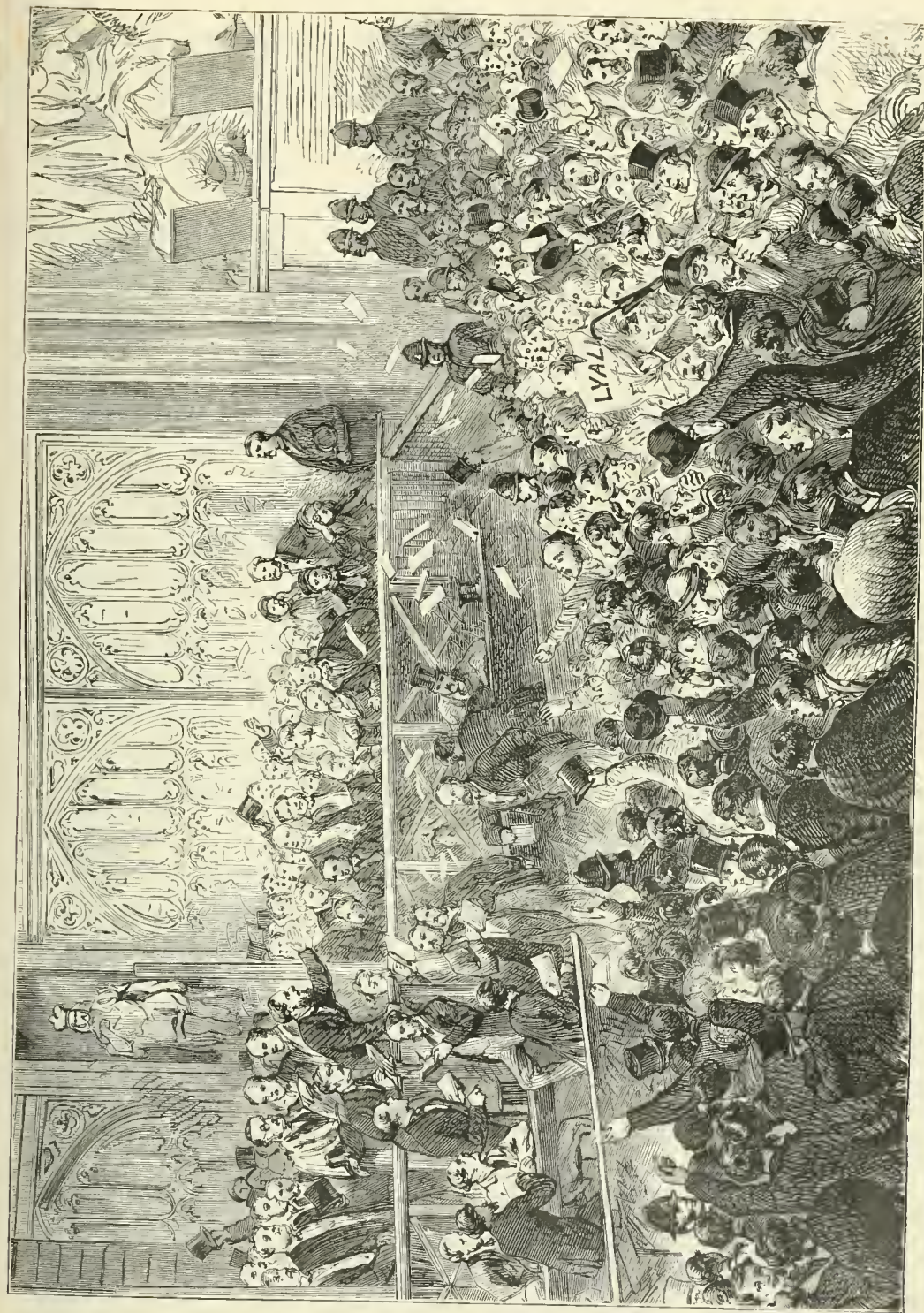
CHAPTER II.

MR. GLADSTONE'S REJECTION AT OXFORD—THE REFORM BILL OF 1866

Dissolution of Parliament—Oxford University Election—Defeat of Mr. Gladstone—Character of the Election—Public Opinion thereon—Archdeacon Denison on Mr. Gladstone's Defeat—The Election in South Lancashire—The Chancellor of the Exchequer at Manchester and Liverpool—Return of Mr. Gladstone—Death of Lord Palmerston—Reconstruction of the Ministry—The New Leader in the Commons—The Budget of 1866—Scheme for the Reduction of the National Debt—Disaffection in Ireland—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—Church Rates—Debate on Continental Affairs—The War between Austria and Prussia—Mr. Gladstone introduces the Government Reform Bill—Digest of the Measure—It is Attacked by Mr. Lowe and others—Mr. Bright's Rebuke of Mr. Horsman—The Adullamites—The Chancellor of the Exchequer at Liverpool—The Reform Struggle continued—Amendments to the Ministerial Scheme—Eloquent Speech by Mr. Gladstone—His Relations with the Liberal Party—Government Victory—Exciting Scene in the House—Redistribution of Seats Bill—Further Reform Debates—The Government Defeated on Lord Dunkellin's Amendment—Resignation of the Ministry—A Derby Administration formed.

ON the 6th of July, 1865, Parliament—having, in a constitutional sense, reached its full term—was prorogued, with a view to an immediate dissolution. The Prime Minister had announced some time previously that this day had been selected for remitting to the constituencies their legislative trust; and many members had issued their addresses for re-election in anticipation of the issue of the new writs. Yet there was no 'burning' question upon which the Palmerston Government appealed to the country for a continuance of its confidence. Parliament had expired in a natural manner, and there were few contests looked forward to with any extraordinary degree of interest. With the exception of the elections for the metropolitan constituencies, there was, indeed, but one electoral struggle which the country watched with peculiar solicitude—viz., that in which Mr. Gladstone's seat for

Oxford University was threatened. It was not a little singular that, while the great body of the people—Liberal and Conservative alike—admitted that the stability of the Ministry was in great part due to the sagacious and statesmanlike measures of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, his re-election was widely felt to be most uncertain. As a natural consequence, the eyes of the whole country were turned in the direction of Oxford. By the irony of fate, a Liberal measure was destined to operate most injuriously against Mr. Gladstone. Only in the previous Parliament an Act was passed on the instigation of a well-known member of the Liberal party, by which the election for the Universities was authorised to be made by means of voting papers, transmitted through the post or otherwise to the Vice-Chancellors, and a period of five days was allowed for keeping open the poll. An uncom-



GENERAL ELECTION: NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES FOR THE CITY OF LONDON AT THE GUILDHALL.

promising Conservative candidate was found at Oxford, in the person of Mr. Gathorne Hardy, to oppose Mr. Gladstone, and the friends of both candidates agreed to give their second vote to Sir W. Heathcote, whose return was not opposed. The nomination took place on the 13th of July, the proceedings being conducted in Latin. Mr. Gladstone was proposed by Dr. Liddell, the Dean of Christ Church; the Warden of All Souls, in an oration of some length, proposed Sir William Heathcote; and the Public Orator, in the absence of the President of St. John's, proposed Mr. Gathorne Hardy. At the close of the first day's poll Mr. Gladstone was in a minority of six as compared with his opponent, Mr. Hardy. The last vote registered for Mr. Gladstone on the first day caused some amount of commotion. The *Standard* of the following morning stated that the Vice-Chancellor was in 'the act of receiving a long string of proxies for Gladstone when a voter appeared to give his vote in person. On being asked his name he gave that of "Samuel Wilberforce," on which one of the gentlemen appointed to watch the proceedings on the Conservative side, inquired, with all due courtesy, if his lordship was aware that the House of Commons had passed a resolution to the effect that peers of Parliament could not vote in the election of members of the Lower House. The Bishop replied that he was perfectly aware of the resolution in question, and again tendered his vote, which (the objection not being pressed) was

received and duly registered.' Several other peers recorded their votes at an early stage for Mr. Gladstone, including the Bishop of Durham and Earl Cowper. On the third day Mr. Gladstone's minority had increased to 74, and on the fourth to 230. A circular was now issued by Sir J. T. Coleridge, chairman of the right hon. gentleman's committee, intimating to the electors still unpledged that there was reason to fear the seat was in danger, and pressing upon them the duty of recording their votes in favour of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. 'The Committee do not scruple to advocate his cause on grounds above the common level of politics. They claim for him the gratitude due to one whose public life has for eighteen years reflected a lustre on the University herself. They confidently invite you to consider whether his pure and exalted character, his splendid abilities, and his eminent services to Church and State, do not constitute the highest of all qualifications for an academical seat, and entitle him to be judged by his constituents as he will assuredly be judged by posterity.' On the last day of the contest the excitement waned, as it was found that Mr. Gladstone had little chance of success. He lessened the majority against him, however, and the numbers were finally declared as follows:—Heathcote, 3,236; Hardy, 1,904; Gladstone, 1,724—majority of Hardy over Gladstone, 180. The total number of votes recorded was 3,850, being nearly double that at any former election. While Mr. Gladstone received

415 plumpers, only 43 were registered for Sir W. Heathcote, and but 16 for Mr. Hardy.*

Mr. Gladstone's defeat was shown to be due to the non-residents. The resident body consisted of some 250 persons, and of these 155 voted or paired for the right hon. gentleman, while only 89 voted or paired against him. Mr. Hardy had a majority in three colleges only—St. John's, Magdalen, and Lincoln—all the important colleges being strongly on Mr. Gladstone's side. The heads of houses were nearly equally divided, 12 voting for Mr. Gladstone and 11 for Mr. Hardy; but the professors were strongly for the former, 24 giving him their support, while only 10 voted for his opponent. Three-fourths of the tutors and lecturers were also on the side of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, so that in this celebrated contest it was not really *Academic* Oxford which rejected him. He lost his seat through that great body of voters who had little sympathy with the Oxford of 1865, as a writer at the time pointed out. The Rector of Lincoln (the Rev. Mark Pattison) stated that of the ten Fellows of that college

seven polled for Mr. Gladstone, and two only for Mr. Hardy. Half the total number of members of Convocation on the college books voted for the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Archdeacon Denison, in his 'Autobiography,' has told the story of Mr. Gladstone's defeat at Oxford, claiming the credit—regarding the matter of 'credit' from the Archdeacon's point of view—of the rejection of the great statesman. As the election occupies a conspicuous position in our political annals, and as the Archdeacon's narrative is in many respects interesting enough, we here append it. Archdeacon Denison, writing in 1877, states that he has known Mr. Gladstone for half a century and that at the close of that period he finds himself in harmony with him for the first time since he published his famous book on Church and State. There are many questions upon which he has differed from him, but Mr. Gladstone's position of recent years appears to him the right, true, and Christian position. He also acknowledges to a very grateful sense of personal kindness towards himself. Then the Archdeacon proceeds as follows with his description of the Oxford University election of 1865:—

'Twelve years ago I was in no manner of public accord with Mr. Gladstone. I had had very solid and sufficient grounds for trying to unseat him for Oxford University in 1853. I had the same solid and sufficient grounds for the like attempt in 1865. If I used the words, "In 1865 I succeeded in my attempt," I am not magnifying myself,

* Amongst the distinguished voters who supported the Chancellor of the Exchequer were the following:—The Bishops of Durham, Oxford, and Chester, Earl Cowper, the Dean of Westminster, the Dean of Christchurch, Professors Farrar, Rolleston, and Max Müller, the Dean of Lichfield, Sir J. T. Coleridge, Sir Henry Thompson, the Rev. Dr. Jelf, the Bodleian Librarian, Sir F. T. Palgrave, the Right Hon. S. Lushington, the Dean of St. Paul's, the Rev. John Keble, the Principal of Brasenose, the Dean of Peterborough, Prof. Conington, the Rev. J. B. Mozley, Mr. E. A. Freeman, Chief Justice Erle, Dr. Pusey, Professor Jowett, Mr. Cardwell, the Marquis of Kildare, and the Rector of Lincoln.

I am only stating the fact, that I had more to do than any other man with the defeat of Mr. Gladstone at Oxford. I proceed to show this. In April, 1864, I was crossing St. James's Park, now he is not going to resign, has not the smallest intention that way. Stafford Northcote will not stand against him, and the end will be that when election time comes, you will



MR. GATHORNE HARDY.

when I fell in with my good friend, Granville Somerset. He had, as I had, voted for Mr. Gladstone more than once, but had given him up as I had. I said to him, "Well, now, about Gladstone. I think you are playing a very foolish game. You keep on saying that, when he resigns, you will put up Stafford Northcote to fill his place ;

have no candidate ready, and Gladstone will walk over the course. We must have a man ready now to put up against him." Somerset quite agreed with me. "Well, then," I said, "let us lose no more time. Do you get together one or two others, four of us will be quite enough to begin with, and let us lay our heads together. Who shall it be?" We

agreed upon Sotheron Estcourt and the Hon. Mr. Lygon. "When shall it be?" "Next Wednesday." "Where shall it be?" "In the Library of the House of Commons." Wednesday morning I had

I had said to Somerset. They concurred, just as he had. "Now," I said, "Estcourt, you are the biggest man among us, and have been a Cabinet Minister; we owe it to Stafford North-



MR. W. E. GLADSTONE.

been with my brother, the Speaker. He had said to me, "What are you going to do about Gladstone?" I said, "We are going to turn him out if we can." I did not tell him that we were going to meet that afternoon in the library of his domain. When we met, I said to Estcourt and Lygon just what

cote to tell him what we are about, and to ask him whether he will let us put him up from this time as against Gladstone. He won't say 'Yes;' but, all the same, we owe it to him to ask him. Will you undertake to do it?" He consented, and we adjourned for a couple of days. When we met again,

Estcourt reported that Northcote would not stand against Gladstone. "Now, then," I said, "let us get together a good meeting in London, from London, Oxford, &c."

"The meeting was fixed for that day week. It was largely attended by members of the House of Commons, and others. I was sitting in the chair of Committee in the Jerusalem Chamber, and adjourned the Committee, that I might go with my dear friend, the Warden of All Souls, to the meeting. I got there only just in time. Mowbray was in the chair. When I got into the room, he said, "Oh, Archdeacon, I am glad you are come; I am just going to put a resolution to the meeting, and I should like you to see it before it is put." He gave it me. It was like a heavy blow in the face, and confused me for a moment; then I got so angry, that I am afraid I was very rude. The resolution began: "In the event of Mr. Gladstone's retiring," &c. The precise foolishness which I had got the meeting together to get rid of once for all. I threw the resolution on the table, saying that I could have nothing to do with it, except to oppose it; adding what I fear was rude enough, but I could not help it, "Gentlemen, I have not the honour of knowing many of you, but I think, and must say, that it seems to me you are mad. If this is all that we are come together to do, we had better have stayed at home." There was silence in the room. I don't remember to have been more angry any day of my life. I sat myself down by Sir

Brook Brydges (Lord Fitzwalter). He said, "What would you recommend?" "Please give me a bit of paper." I wrote my amendment:—"That it is the opinion of this meeting that the return of Mr. Gladstone for the University of Oxford is to be opposed." "Now, Mr. Chairman, please to put that to the meeting as my amendment." In three minutes everybody, I think, in the room held up their hands for it.

'We had now got out of the slough of despond in which we had been floundering since 1853, eleven years, and had planted our feet upon the solid ground, where we could stand and walk. We were now in a position to fix upon our candidate, and to take measures for going to him in such force as to make it difficult for him not to say "Yes." The meeting was not long in fixing upon Mr. Hardy, and in laying the foundation of committees in Oxford and London to collect names to a requisition to him. By the end of the long vacation we had more than a thousand names, and Mr. Hardy consented to be our candidate, as against Mr. Gladstone.'

In concluding his account, Archdeacon Denison says, that if he had come into the room three minutes later, the election of Mr. Gladstone would have been secured. Posterity is likely to take a very different view from the Archdeacon, as to his action upon this occasion. Certainly he and his friends, by compassing the defeat of Mr. Gladstone, rendered a conspicuous service to the cause of Liberalism.

While the rejection of Mr. Gladstone

by the University of Oxford was regarded in some quarters as a signal triumph of Conservative reaction, in other respects it was felt that the opposition offered to him was a most mistaken stroke of Tory policy. Though he always courageously acted upon his convictions, so long as he retained his seat for Oxford University he must have remained to some extent fettered—he could not altogether shake off the silent but deep and unmistakable influence which such a connection must necessarily exercise. The ties had been broken which bound him to his *Alma Mater*, and Mr. Gladstone felt like a man who breathes the fresh mountain air after a close confinement in the crowded city. There were now many questions whose consideration he could approach without the sense of an invisible but restraining influence. By the whole Liberal party throughout the country his rejection was immediately regarded with feelings of exultation—much as (for some reasons) they had desired his return for that distinguished seat of learning which he had represented so long and so well. By a large class of non-resident voters Mr. Gladstone was viewed as too clever to be a safe man, and it was not anticipated that Mr. Gathorne Hardy would forfeit the confidence of this body by any eccentricities of genius. The result of this election had another important effect. ‘The enemies of the University,’ observed the *Times*, ‘will make the most of her disgrace. It has hitherto been supposed that a learned constituency was to some extent exempt

from the vulgar motives of party spirit, and capable of forming a higher estimate of statesmanship than common tradesmen or tenant-farmers. It will now stand on record that they have deliberately sacrificed a representative who combined the very highest qualifications, moral and intellectual, for an academical seat, to party spirit, and party spirit alone. Mr. Gladstone’s brilliant public career, his great academical distinctions and literary attainments, his very subtlety and sympathy with ideas for their own sake, mark him out beyond all living men for such a position. However progressive in purely secular politics, he has ever shown himself a staunch and devoted Churchman wherever Church doctrine or ecclesiastical rights were concerned. . . . Henceforth Mr. Gladstone will belong to the country, but no longer to the University. Those Oxford influences and traditions which have so deeply coloured his views, and so greatly interfered with his better judgment, must gradually lose their hold on him.’ A yet more pronounced expression of opinion came from the *Daily News*, the organ of advanced Liberal thought:—‘Mr. Gladstone’s career as a statesman will certainly not be arrested, nor Mr. Gathorne Hardy’s capacity be enlarged by the number of votes which Tory squires or Tory parsons may inflict upon Lord Derby’s cheerful and fluent subaltern, or withhold from Lord Palmerston’s brilliant colleague. The late Sir Robert Peel was but the chief of a party until, admonished by one ostracism, he became finally emanci-

pated by another. Then, as now, the statesman who was destined to give up to mankind what was never meant for the barren service of a party, could say to the honest bigots who rejected him—

“I banish you :
There is a world elsewhere.”

Such was the view taken by Liberals generally of Mr. Gladstone's defeat. How it was regarded by one important body in the Church may be gathered from a letter which Dr. Pusey addressed to the Editor of the *Churchman*, a journal which looked with the liveliest



MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD, FROM THE CHERWELL.

Mediocrity will not be turned into genius, honest and good-natured insignificance into force, fluency into eloquence, if the resident and non-resident Toryism of the University of Oxford should prefer the safe and sound Mr. Hardy to the illustrious Minister whom all Europe envies us, whose name is a household word in every political assembly in the world.’

satisfaction upon the return of Mr. Hardy. ‘You are naturally rejoicing,’ wrote the Regius Professor of Hebrew, ‘over the rejection of Mr. Gladstone, which I mourn. Some of those who concurred in that election, or who stood aloof, will, I fear, mourn hereafter with a double sorrow because they were the cause of that rejection. I, of course, speak only for myself, with whatever

degree of anticipation may be the privilege of years. Yet, on the very ground that I may very probably not live to see the issue of the momentous future now hanging over the Church, let me, through you, express to those friends from whom I have been separated, who love the Church in itself, and not the accident of Establishment, my conviction that we should do ill to identify the interests of the Church with any political party; that we have questions before us, compared with which that of the Establishment (important as it is in respect to the possession of our parish churches) is as nothing. The grounds alleged against Mr. Gladstone bore at the utmost upon the Establishment. The Establishment might perish, and the Church but come forth the purer. If the Church were corrupted, the Establishment would become a curse in proportion to its influence. As that conflict will thicken, Oxford, I think, will learn to regret her rude severance from one so loyal to the Church, to the faith, and to God.' The author of the *Christian Year* also remained firm to the cause of Mr. Gladstone in 1865, as he had done in 1847.

On the close of the poll at Oxford on the 18th of July, Mr. Gladstone wrote the following valedictory address to the members of Convocation:—'After an arduous connection of eighteen years, I bid you, respectfully, farewell. My earnest purpose to serve you, my many faults and shortcomings, the incidents of the political relation between the University and myself, established in 1847, so often questioned in vain, and

now, at length, finally dissolved, I leave to the judgment of the future. It is one imperative duty, and one alone, which induces me to trouble you with these few parting words—the duty of expressing my profound and lasting gratitude for indulgence as generous, and for support as warm and enthusiastic in itself, and as honourable from the character and distinctions of those who have given it, as has, in my belief, ever been accorded by any constituency to any representative.' Like his illustrious leader, Sir Robert Peel, when rejected by the University of Oxford, Mr. Gladstone was now driven to appeal to a different kind of constituency. The election in South Lancashire was still pending, and at the nomination on the preceding day the name of the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been proposed, in view of eventualities at Oxford. Arriving in Manchester on the 18th, Mr. Gladstone had a conference with the Liberal Election Committee, and immediately afterwards issued his address to the electors as follows:—'I appear before you as a candidate for the suffrages of your division of my native county. Time forbids me to enlarge on the numerous topics which justly engage the public interest. I will bring them all to a single head. You are conversant—few so much so—with the legislation of the last thirty-five years. You have seen, you have felt its results. You cannot fail to have observed the verdict which the country generally has, within the last eight days, pronounced upon the relative claims and positions of the

two great political parties with respect to that legislation in the past, and to the prospective administration of public affairs. I humbly, but confidently, without the least disparagement to many excellent persons from whom I have the misfortune frequently to differ, ask you to give your powerful voice in confirmation of that verdict, and to pronounce with significance as to the direction in which you desire the wheels of the State to move. Before these words can be read I hope to be among you in the hives of your teeming enterprise.'

Mr. Gladstone first appeared on the Manchester Exchange; and from thence he proceeded to the Free Trade Hall, which, though capable of holding many thousands of persons, was densely packed within a few minutes of the doors being opened. 'At last, my friends,' he began his address, 'I am come among you—and I am come, to use an expression which has become very famous, and is not likely to be forgotten, I am come among you, "unmuzzled."'

Here the cheering was so enthusiastic and prolonged that for some time the speaker could not proceed. Quiet having been restored, the right hon. gentleman continued:—

After an anxious struggle of eighteen years, during which the unbounded devotion and indulgence of my friends maintained me in the arduous position of representative of the University of Oxford, I have been driven from my seat. . . . I have loved the University with a deep and passionate love, and as long as I breathe, that attachment will continue; if my affection is of the smallest advantage to that great, that ancient, that noble institution, that advantage, such as it is, and it is most insignificant, Oxford will possess as long

as I live. But don't mistake the issue which has been raised. The University has at length, after eighteen years of self-denial, been drawn by what I might perhaps call an overweening exercise of power, into the vortex of mere politics. Well, you will readily understand why, as long as I had a hope that the zeal and kindness of my friends might keep me in my place, it was impossible for me to abandon them. Could they have returned me by a majority of one, painful as it is to a man of my time of life, and feeling the weight of public cares, to be incessantly struggling for his seat, nothing could have induced me to quit that University to which I had so long ago devoted my best care and attachment. But by no act of mine I am free to come among you. And having been thus set free, I need hardly tell you that it is with joy, with thankfulness, and enthusiasm, that I now, at this eleventh hour, a candidate without an address, make my appeal to the heart and the mind of South Lancashire, and ask you to pronounce upon that appeal. As I have said, I am aware of no cause for the votes which have given a majority against me in the University of Oxford, except the fact that the strongest conviction that the human mind can receive, that an overpowering sense of the public interests, that the practical teachings of experience, to which from my youth Oxford herself taught me to lay open my mind—all these had shown me the folly, and, I will say, the madness of refusing to join in the generous sympathies of my countrymen, by adopting what I must call an obstructive policy.

The same evening the Chancellor of the Exchequer addressed an immense audience in the Royal Amphitheatre of Liverpool, where he met with a similar ovation. In the opening words of his speech, which had a tone of pathos running through them, Mr. Gladstone again paid a tribute to his University, and then went on to deal with the impending election. 'If I am told that it is only by embracing the narrow interests of a political party that Oxford can discharge her duties to the country, then, gentlemen, I at once say I am not the man for Oxford. We see represented in that ancient institution—represented more nobly,

perhaps, and more conspicuously than in any other place, at any rate with more remarkable concentration—the most prominent features that relate to the past of England. I come into South Lancashire, and I find here around me an assemblage of different phenomena. I find development of industry; I find growth of enterprise; I find progress of social philanthropy; I find prevalence of toleration; and I find an ardent desire for freedom. . . . I have honestly, I have earnestly, although I may have feebly, striven to unite in my insignificant person that which is represented by Oxford and that which is represented by Lancashire. My desire is that they should know and love one another. If I have clung to the representation of the University with desperate fondness, it was because I would not desert that post in which I seemed to have been placed. I have not abandoned it. I have been dismissed from it, not by academical, but by political agencies. I don't complain of those political influences by which I have been displaced. The free constitutional spirit of the country requires that the voice of the majority should prevail. I hope the voice of the majority will prevail in South Lancashire. I do not for a moment complain that it should have prevailed in Oxford. But, gentlemen, I come now to ask you a question whether, because I have been declared unfit longer to serve the University on account of my political position, there is anything in that position, there is anything in what I have said and done, in the arduous

office which I hold, which is to unfit me for the representation of my native county?' Before concluding his speech, Mr. Gladstone briefly reviewed the course of Liberal legislation during the last Parliament.

The polling for South Lancashire took place on the 20th, with the following result:—Egerton, 9171; Turner, 8806; Gladstone, 8786; Legh, 8476; Thompson, 7703; Heywood, 7653. The Hon. A. Egerton and Mr. Turner, Conservatives, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer were accordingly declared elected. Of the defeated candidates, Mr. Legh was a Conservative, and Messrs. Thompson and Heywood were Liberals. Mr. Gladstone was at the head of the poll in Liverpool, Manchester, and all the large towns.

The general election resulted in considerable gains to the Liberal party, but during the autumn that party sustained a severe loss by the death of Lord Palmerston. The late Premier had not only been successful in uniting the various Liberal sections in the House of Commons, but had commanded the esteem and forbearance of his Conservative opponents.

The career of the popular statesman with whom Mr. Gladstone was thrown for a long period into intimate political relations, calls for more than a passing record. Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston, K.G., who, for upwards of half a century, took a prominent part in public affairs, and filled most of the principal offices in the State, expired at Brocket Hall, on the 18th of October, 1865, being within two days

of the completion of his eighty-first year. He was the eldest surviving son of the second Viscount, and was born in Park Street, Westminster, and not (as frequently stated) at Broadlands,

following year he was returned for Newport, Isle of Wight, which he continued to represent until elected member for Cambridge. He was appointed Junior Lord of the Admiralty in the



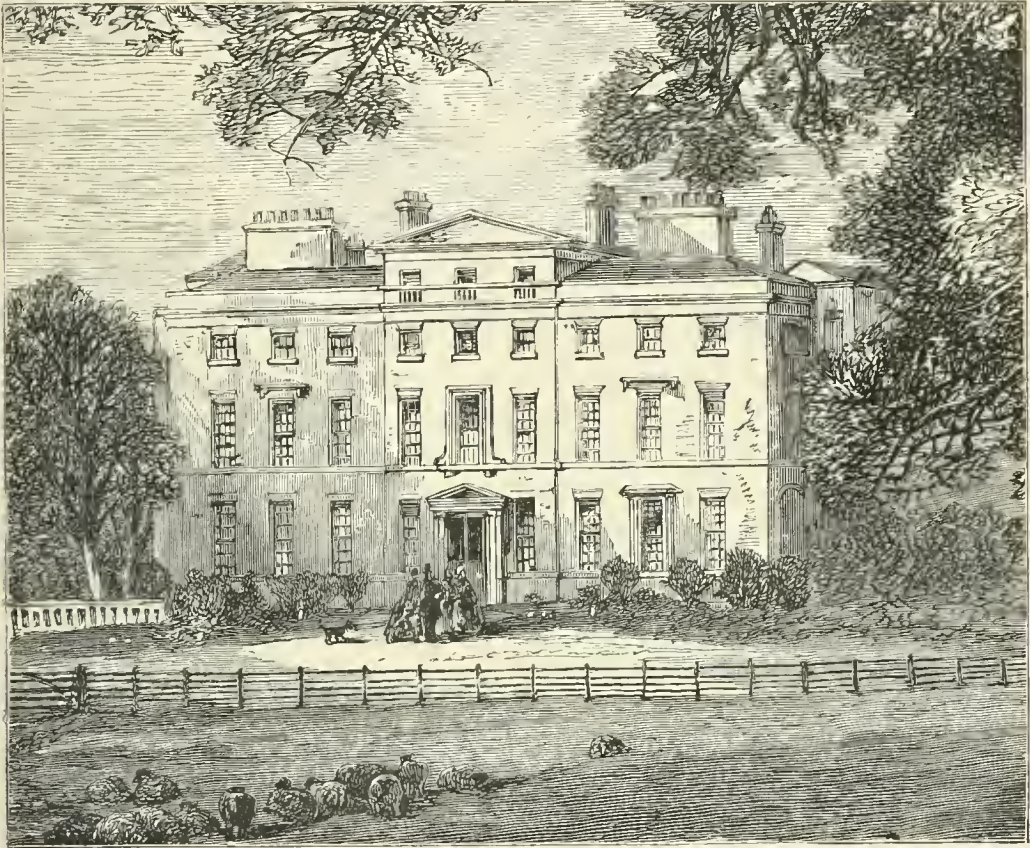
BROADLANDS, NEAR ROMSEY, HANTS, THE SEAT OF LORD PALMERSTON.

near Romsey, the family seat. He succeeded to the title April 17, 1802. His lordship was educated at Harrow, Edinburgh, and Cambridge. In the year 1806, when he was little more than of age, he unsuccessfully contested the representation of Cambridge University with Lord Henry Petty, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. In the

Duke of Portland's Administration; and in 1809 succeeded Lord Castlereagh as Secretary-at-War—a post which he continued to fill until 1828, under the successive administrations of Mr. Perceval, the Earl of Liverpool, Mr. Canning, Lord Goderich, and the Duke of Wellington. While Secretary-at-War, he instituted many valuable

reforms, and the welfare and honour of the British army were ever the objects of his solicitude. Lord Palmerston always gave his support to Catholic Emancipation. Withdrawing from office on the question of the disfran-

as a Foreign Minister, which has made his name a word of exultation to his admirers, and of execration and fear to some foreign governments.' In 1841 Lord Palmerston went out of office with his party. He was a sleepless critic of



BROOMFIELD HALL, HATFIELD, HERTS, WHERE LORD PALMERSTON DIED.

chisement of East Retford, he remained in opposition until November, 1830, when he accepted the post of Foreign Secretary in the Whig Ministry of Earl Grey. From that time forward he was a prominent leader of the Liberal party. It was during the years 1835-41 that 'he attained that reputation for brilliancy, alertness, and omniscience

the foreign policy of Lord Aberdeen, and severely criticised the Ashburton treaty with the United States respecting the settlement of the north-eastern boundary of Canada with the State of Maine. The much-debated question was settled by our giving to the States a strip of territory which had long been considered as British, and which had

been colonised by British settlers, on the faith of being so. In the year 1845, Lord Palmerston publicly announced his conversion to the principle of the absolute repeal of the Corn Laws. When Lord John Russell was entrusted with the task of forming an Administration, Earl Grey declined to render him assistance, unless Lord Palmerston were excluded from office, Lord Grey disapproving of the foreign policy of the latter. Lord John Russell failed in his task, and eventually Sir Robert Peel returned to office, and carried his great Corn Law measure. In the summer of 1846, however, we again witness Lord Palmerston Foreign Minister, in the new Whig Ministry of Lord John Russell. Amongst the difficult questions he was called upon to deal with were the troubles in Portugal; the Swiss question; the revolutionary movements of 1848; the Spanish *imbroglio* of 1848; the Greek question, which had its origin in 1847, and was brought to an issue by the reprisals of 1850; and, finally, the Hungarian war, and the protection of the fugitive Hungarian chiefs. He resigned office in 1851, but in the following year became Home Secretary in the Coalition Government of Lord Aberdeen. On the break-up of that Ministry in 1855, Lord Palmerston became Premier. Two years later a vote of censure was passed by the House of Commons on his policy in China; but upon an appeal to the country the election went in his favour. He was obliged to retire in 1858, however, in consequence of a defeat on the

Conspiracy Bill, which had reference to the attempts upon the life of the Emperor of the French. On the conclusion of Lord Derby's brief tenure of office in 1859, Lord Palmerston once more returned to the post of Premier, which he held until his death. His lordship married, in 1839, Lady Emily Mary, sister of Viscount Melbourne, and widow of Earl Cowper, but having no issue his titles became extinct. Lord Palmerston exhibited singular energy and activity up to within a few days of his death. His last illness, which was brought on by imprudent exposure to sudden cold weather, was very brief, and apparently painless. It was his wish to be interred in the Romsey cemetery—his parents lie in the abbey church—but this desire was overruled, and he was buried at Westminster on the 27th of October, the pall being borne by no less than ten Cabinet Ministers, and the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Cambridge, the representatives of fourteen foreign States, besides deputations from many public bodies, being amongst the mourners.

With regard to the character of Lord Palmerston, a contemporary writer has observed that 'though an eminently popular Minister, he was by no means servile in his deference to the opinions or prejudices of "an enlightened public." He was English, honest, open, plain-spoken in word, and straightforward in his dealings—gay, cheerful, and careless to a fault. No man was more thoroughly above all hypocrisy. Nor was he sedulous on all occasions not

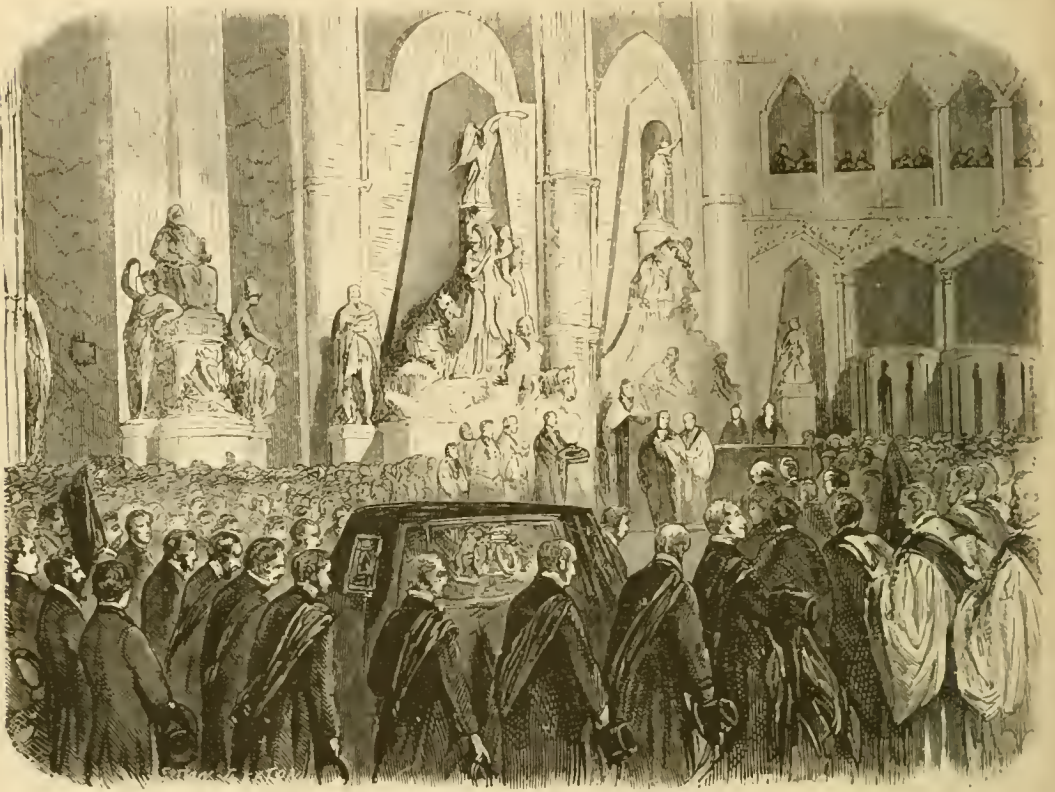
to shock deep-rooted prejudices. The social qualities of Lord Palmerston will long be the theme of remark. A jovial, joecular, and genial man, who is always in good temper with himself and those around him, cannot fail to be popular among his friends and acquaintances. And if any one was genial to the last it was Lord Palmerston. Nothing put him out of temper; no failure could disturb the serenity of his disposition. He had no very strong views to fight for; no stern and rugged line of unswerving policy did he ever propose to himself; but he always took care to seize the tide at the flood, and to swim down along with it, to lay hold of every event as it rose, and to make it subservient to his turn. Hence, without ever actually changing his political creed, he served and fought under various chiefs of opposite politics and principles, so that few can remember the day when his lordship had no official connection with Downing Street. But it must be borne in mind that, even when ultra-Toryism was in the ascendant, Lord Palmerston was "in advance of his age;" and that even then he might have been noticed ranging himself amongst the Grants, Huskissons, and other pioneers of a more liberal and enlightened policy. Like Peel, if he was Conservative from early impressions, he was ever Liberal in his deepest convictions. In the Foreign Office he was the consistent opponent of Absolutism; and wherever a struggle arose for constitutional rights, those engaged in it were sure to have his sympathy, if not his support.'

Upon the death of Lord Palmerston, the Liberal Government was reconstructed, with Earl Russell as Prime Minister, and Mr. Gladstone leader in the Lower House. The earnest temperament of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which led him to regard everything in the most severely conscientious light, with little desire for banter, for trimming, or for compromise, caused some speculation and not a little anxiety as to his management of the House of Commons. To the joviality—in some instances amounting almost to buffoonery—of Lord Palmerston, the new First Minister in the Commons could lay no claim. Politics, with him, ever formed a science of the gravest and deepest moment. The prognostications and complaints of those who declared that he had not the peculiar qualities demanded in a leader must, on the whole, be considered to have failed during the first year of his Parliamentary leadership; and in our generation there has been no more arduous or critical session witnessed than that of 1866.

Before discussing the great Reform measures of the year—which were fraught with the most important consequences—the budget and several questions of importance, in whose discussion Mr. Gladstone took a prominent part, demand attention. Dealing first with the financial statement, it may be remarked (as, indeed, it has been our lot to observe on previous occasions), that the condition of the public revenue was still so flourishing as to afford hopes of a yet further reduction of taxation. On the 3rd of May, the Chancellor of

the Exchequer—causing for the moment a suspension of hostilities between the rival political parties on the Franchise question—laid his annual account before the committee. He expressed his own sense of relief in entering upon a question which would involve no party

£67,812,000, leaving a surplus of £1,898,000. The revenue had been £1,424,000 more than was calculated. The average increase in revenues since 1864 was about a million and a quarter per year. The loss caused by the reductions of last year had slightly



FUNERAL OF LORD PALMERSTON IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

struggle. He had not to announce a surplus of revenue on the scale of the last three years, which had reached an average of three millions and a half; but he should still be able to make reductions not without interest. The estimated expenditure for the past year had been upwards of £66,000,000, but the actual expenditure was only £65,914,000. The revenue was

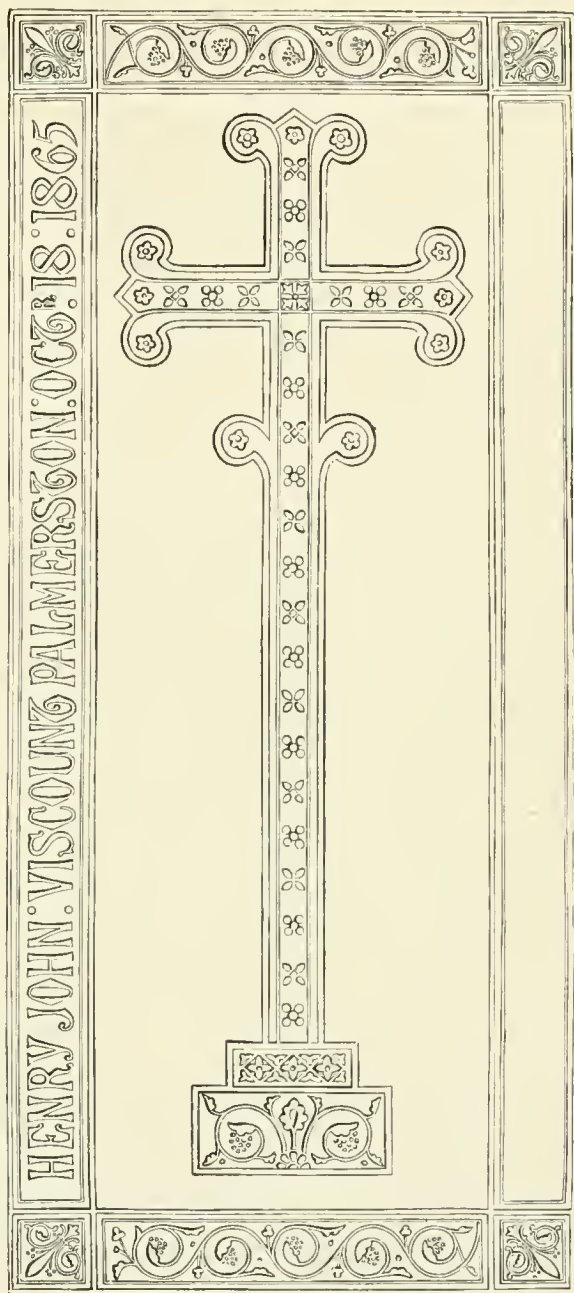
exceeded the estimate. The Exchequer balances had been reduced by unusual liquidations of debt. On the 31st of March, 1865, they were £7,691,000; and on the same date in 1866, they had fallen to £5,851,000. The total estimated expenditure of the coming year was £66,225,000, which, as compared with the expenditure of last year, showed an increase of £78,000. The



JW Barrar

total estimate of the revenue for the year would be £67,575,000, thus leaving a surplus of £1,350,000, which, but for the charges of last year, would have been quite £2,700,000.

Mr. Gladstone next referred to the commercial treaties into which this country had entered in the most disinterested spirit, with a view of inducing other nations to follow our example. The effect of the treaty with France on the export trade of that country had been such that the total increase on all kinds of goods had been from 58 millions and a half of francs to 141 millions. Treaties had been concluded with Belgium, Italy, the Zollverein, and finally with Austria, on the same standard as that with France—no duty to exceed 25 per cent. *ad valorem* on all British goods. This involved two changes in our own tariff, viz., the repeal of the duty on timber and the equalisation of the duty on wine in bottle and in wood. The consumption of timber had greatly increased in proportion to the reduction of the impost. The revenue for the year from this source was £307,000, and this would be reckoned as an entire loss for the year—the repeal to be immediate. The loss from the equalisation of the wine duty would be £71,000. It was further proposed to abolish the duty on pepper, which would involve the loss of £112,000 for the year. Turning to



TOMBSTONE PLACED ON LORD PALMERSTON'S GRAVE,
WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

the duties on locomotion, he did not propose to interfere with the duty on carriages, horses, railways, &c., and as to the duty on post-horses, which

was £266,000, and on public conveyances, especially omnibuses, which was £142,000, he did not propose to deal with them, the question being one of the comfort and convenience of the working classes, as well as of the middle class. The licences would be left as at present, but the mileage duty would be reduced from a penny to a farthing a mile, at a loss for the future of £90,000 a-year. The scale of the licence duty on post-horses would be so reduced as to place the small proprietor on a fair footing with the large, and this would involve a loss of £20,000 a-year. These items disposed of £560,000 out of a surplus of £1,350,000. He should move resolutions renewing the tea duties and the income-tax at 4d. in the pound. With regard to the National Debt, a considerable amount of Exchequer bills had been paid off, and the sum paid in reduction of the debt last year was £5,179,000. The amount of the unfunded debt was now £8,267,000, as compared with over £18,000,000 in 1858.

He was convinced that the time had arrived when Parliament should face the subject of the National Debt. In the ensuing year there would be a large cessation of terminable annuities, not less than £600,000 a-year, which in a degree made the present moment favourable for moving in that direction. Mr. Gladstone then adduced a variety of statistics upon the amount and the fluctuations in the National Debt, which, he said, was exercising an injurious social influence. America

was applying her revenue, as far as possible, to the reduction of her debt; and this was an example to Europe, where borrowing was the growing vice of all European states. With regard to our own debt, we were living in a commercial era of extraordinary magnitude and increase; and our commercial undertakings were now as great, with our thirty millions of population, as those of France and America with their seventy millions of people put together. The cause of our pre-eminence was to be found in the possession and the facile use of minerals, especially coal. It was a question whether this store of coal was practically inexhaustible; even if a substitute could be found, it could not be peculiar to England—therefore, if our coal should become exhausted, the relative pre-eminent commercial position of this country to other nations would be lost. It was calculated that at the end of one hundred years coal would have become exhausted at four thousand feet below the surface. The matter was one worthy of deep consideration. It was idle to think of stopping the supply of coal, to tax it, or to stop its export; and therefore it was obvious that as we could not supply coal at low prices beyond a given time, it was desirable to do something to meet an exigency which must arrive; and this might be done in a manner by relieving the country, as far as possible, of its great mortgage. A good plan of operating on the debt was by the conversion of perpetual into terminable annuities. There was then a sum of twenty-four millions standing on a

deposit account of the trustees of savings banks, the whole of which the State was now bound to pay; and it was proposed to take that sum, which now cost £720,000 a-year, and convert it into annuities terminating in 1885, which would raise the annual charge to one million. If this was done in 1866-7 there would be a charge something above £1,200,000. The following year there would be a further charge on this conversion of £502,000; but of this £293,000 would be relieved by the falling in of other annuities. The total additional charges, making all allowances, would be about £409,000 per annum. It was further proposed that so much of the dividends of the fund which it was intended to create, as were found to be to spare, should be re-invested; and the result would be that in 1885 the charge would be £1,440,000, while there would have been cancelled no less than fifty millions of stock—and from year to year the State would be buyers of stock. The surplus dealt with in making the reductions which he had stated would be £1,064,000, leaving an unappropriated balance of £286,000. In concluding his statement, the right hon. gentleman said the Government had thought it well to cast a glance into the future, and to endeavour in some degree to meet its demands, so that those who came after them might have reason to say that, while making provision for their own immediate wants, they had also taken some concern for those which were to succeed.

These proposals excited little opposi-

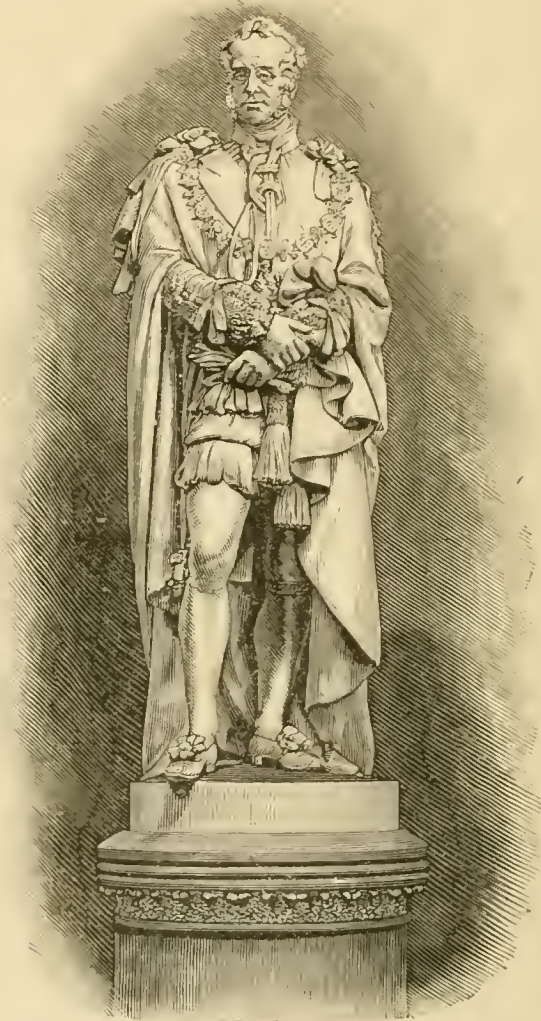
tion. The plan for the conversion of a portion of the National Debt into terminable annuities, with a view to its gradual liquidation, was made the subject of a separate bill, which passed its second reading. Here its progress was arrested. A change of Ministry caused it to be postponed; but later in the session Mr. Gladstone said that he should revive his scheme whenever a favourable opportunity offered.

To commemorate the signal services rendered by Lord Palmerston to his country, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved in the House of Commons an address to the Queen, praying her Majesty to order the erection of a monument to the deceased statesman in Westminster Abbey. In the previous November, when Mr. Gladstone visited Glasgow and was presented with the freedom of the city, he made a touching allusion, in his reply, to the heavy losses which the country had recently sustained in the ranks of official life.

This is no place in which to attempt an estimate of the character of Lord Palmerston, whose career we have already sketched. He enjoyed an unusual degree of popularity both in the House of Commons and the country, though the full grounds for this popularity it would be somewhat difficult to define. To a buoyant disposition, however, he united the especially English virtues of manliness, straightforwardness, and courage. His very frankness in diplomacy—a quality supposed to be fatal to diplomacy—ensured him success at many critical moments; but he had few claims to the highest rank of

statesmanship. The two leaders of the House of Commons admirably summed up his most prominent characteristics on the occasion above alluded to. 'All who knew Lord Palmerston,' observed Mr. Gladstone, 'knew his genial temper and the courage with which he entered into the debates in this House; his incomparable tact and ingenuity—his command of fence—his

delight, his old English delight, in a fair stand-up fight. Yet, notwithstanding the possession of these powers,



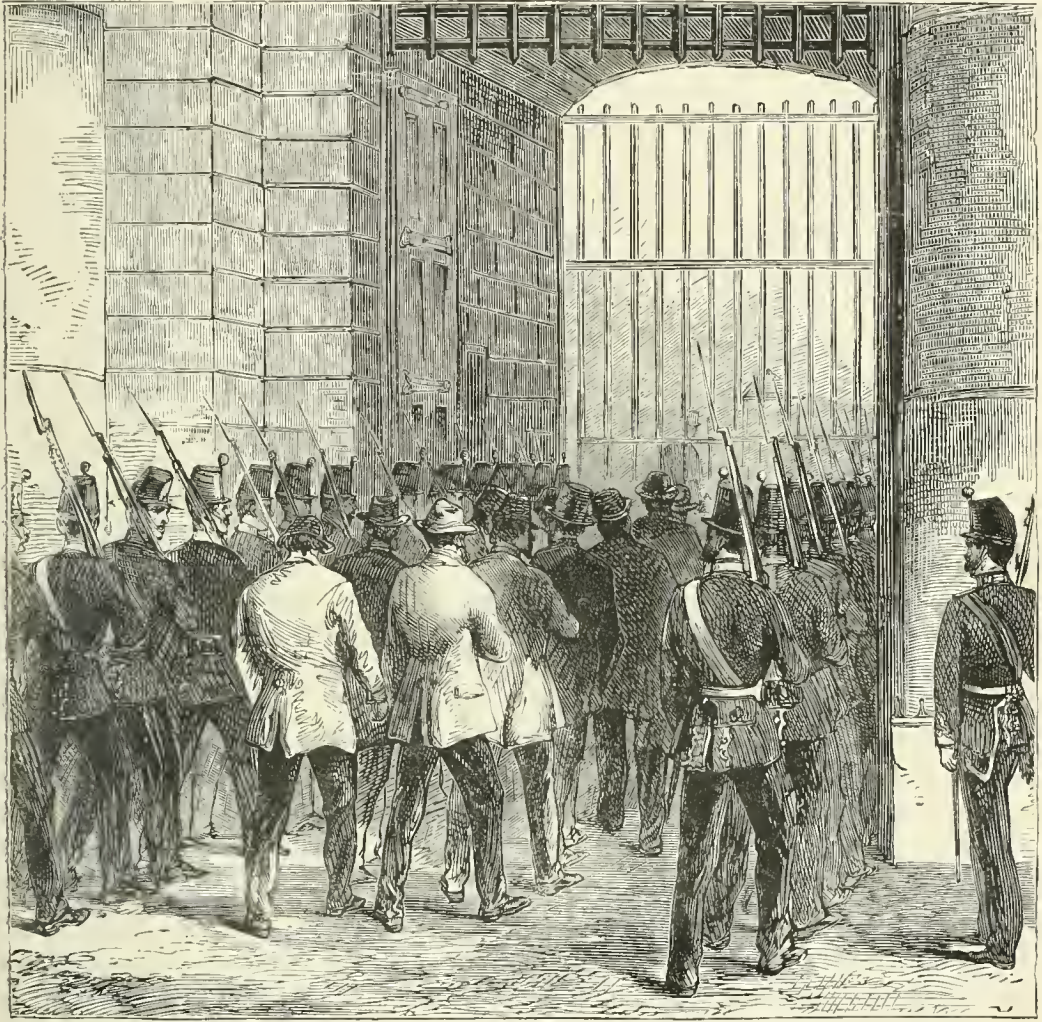
STATUE OF LORD PALMERSTON IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

teristics on the occasion above alluded to. 'All who knew Lord Palmerston,' observed Mr. Gladstone, 'knew his genial temper and the courage with which he entered into the debates in this House; his incomparable tact and ingenuity—his command of fence—his

I must say I think there was no man whose inclination and whose habit were more fixed, so far as our discussions were concerned, in avoiding whatever tended to exasperate, and in having recourse to those means by which animosity might be calmed down. He

had the power to stir up angry passions, but he chose, like the sea-god in the *Æneid*, rather to pacify.

express.' Mr. Gladstone added that the late Premier had a nature incapable of enduring anger or the sentiment of



FENIAN CONSPIRACY IN IRELAND: MARCHING PRISONERS INTO THE COUNTY PRISON AT CORK.

"Quos ego—sed motos præstat componere fluctus." That which, in my opinion, distinguished Lord Palmerston's speaking from the oratory of other men, that which was its most remarkable characteristic, was the degree in which he said precisely that which he meant to

wrath. This was a noble gift of the original nature, and it was delightful to remember it in connection with him. Mr. Disraeli supplemented these observations by the remark that that statesman was peculiarly to be envied who, when he left his contemporaries, left

them not merely the memory of great achievements, but also the wider tradition of personal affection and social charm.

Irish questions occupied much of the attention of the House of Commons this session. The O'Donoghue moved an amendment to the Address, expressing deep regret at the wide-spread disaffection existing in Ireland, and representing to her Majesty that it was the result of grave causes which it was the duty of the Government to examine into and remove. Mr. Gladstone opposed the resolution, and said that the objects of the paragraph in the Address for which it was proposed to substitute it, were threefold—to pronounce a solemn denunciation of Fenianism, to recognise the existence of the public opinion which had enabled the Government to deal firmly and boldly with the conspiracy, and to place on record the impartiality with which the law had been administered. The evils from which Ireland suffered could not be eradicated immediately; the existing dissatisfaction must first be uprooted by the vindication of the law, and that being done, inquiry into the existence of evils became an obligation which no Government could resist. The amendment was rejected by an overwhelming majority.

The condition of Ireland became so grave that the Government were driven to propose a bill suspending the Habeas Corpus Act in that country. Mr. Bright called upon the 'two great and trusted leaders,' Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli, to suspend for a moment

their contest for office, and to combine in an effort to ascertain the causes of Irish discontent, and to apply a remedy. He believed there was a mode of making Ireland loyal, and he threw the responsibility of discovering it on the Government and on the Imperial Parliament. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in defending the Ministerial measure, expressed the regret and pain with which he had listened to Mr. Bright's speech, much of which was open to question, and was ill-timed. He declined to recognise the voice of Ireland except as conveyed through the mouths of her legally-elected representatives, and congratulated the House on the general unanimity with which the Irish members had acquiesced in the bill. The Government were ready at a fitting time to consider any measures which might be proposed for the benefit of Ireland, but it was the single duty of the House that day to strengthen the hands of the Executive in the preservation of law and order. The bill subsequently passed through all its stages. After the Earl of Derby's Administration came into power, Lord Naas brought in a renewal bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in lieu of that which was about to expire. Mr. Gladstone said that while the Government were adding to their responsibilities in connection with Ireland by asking for this renewal, yet without considering whether their general policy was such as he could approve, he could not refuse to strengthen their hands in such a way

as they deemed necessary. If the late Ministry had still been in office, it would have been their duty to make a similar application.

This second bill passed through both Houses, and the events of the following autumn—which were the result of an anticipated great Fenian rising under ‘Head Centre’ Stephens—fully justified the course adopted by the Government.

In the course of this session, during the debate on Mr. Harcastle’s bill for the abolition of Church rates, Mr. Gladstone admitted that the law of Church rates was *prima facie* open to grave objection; he could not vote for total abolition, however, but he invited Mr. Harcastle to consider whether, by an equitable compromise, Dissenters might be exempted from paying Church rates, and at the same time be disqualified from interfering with funds to which they had not contributed. This suggested compromise met with considerable favour, and although the second reading of Mr. Harcastle’s bill was carried, before any further proceeding could be taken upon it, the Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced his measure for the abolition of compulsory Church rates. When the second reading of this bill came on, Mr. Gladstone was no longer in office; but he pressed forward his measure, which passed its second stage, the bills introduced by Mr. Harcastle and Mr. Newdegate being withdrawn. The session terminated, nevertheless, as had many sessions before it, without a final decision being arrived at upon this question.

In a debate on Continental affairs, concerned chiefly with the threatened hostilities between the two great rival states of Germany, Mr. Gladstone expressed his approval of the policy of calling a Conference to settle disputes between the European Powers, and he regretted that it had failed in this case. Shortly afterwards Austria and Prussia were at war. In a later debate in the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone said that the struggles of Austria and Prussia for predominance had been an immense injury to Europe and to Germany, and the elevation of one power to a position to wield enormous influence would be an unmixed advantage even to the loser. The old position of Austria in Germany and Italy had not been beneficial to her, and though he lamented the attempt to introduce a third party into the strife, by the cession of Venetia to Italy, the loss of Venetia would be a gain to Austria. ‘Even if she were excluded from Germany, she had still a glorious task before her in the cultivation of that vast and fertile territory, and the civilisation of those millions of subjects which would still be left to her.’ The right hon. gentleman exhorted Lord Stanley not to forget that the cause of Italy was dear to the people of England, and warned him that they would never forgive a policy which attacked her unity and independence.

The momentous events which occurred upon the Continent during this year may be very briefly recapitulated. The rupture between Austria and Prussia culminated on the 11th of

March, 1866, by the issue of a decree asserting Prussian jurisdiction over Holstein. On the 24th a Prussian circular was also issued, calling on German states to decide whether they

of the Prussian army. On the 7th of May Blind's plan to assassinate Count von Bismarck failed. During the same month a recriminatory correspondence was carried on between the Austrian



COUNT VON BISMARCK.

would support Austria or Prussia, when they professed neutrality. Three days later Prussia prepared for war, and at the same time a treaty was said to have been completed between Prussia and Italy. Early in April, the French Government professed its neutrality, and on the 7th of the same month Austria demanded the demobilisation

representative Mensdorff and Bismarck, and Prussia also formally completed an alliance with Italy. On the 7th of June the Prussians entered Holstein, whereupon the Austrians retired. Before the month closed there was a rapid succession of events. A meeting of the Federal Diet was held at Frankfort, when the demobilisation



VIEW IN KÖNIGGRÄTZ.

of the Prussian army was proposed by Austria, and voted for by Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and others. Prussia then declared the Germanic Confederation to be dissolved, and Prince Alexander of Hesse was appointed to command the Federal army. The Prussians declared war against Hanover and Saxony, and justificatory manifestoes were issued by Austria and Prussia. A formal declaration of war against Austria was made on the 18th by Prussia, and a royal manifesto was issued to the people. The struggle now began. Nearly all the Northern States joined Prussia, and Prince Frederick Charles and the first army, and the army of the Elbe, entered Bohemia on the 23rd of June. Several engagements were fought, in which Prussia was victorious, but on the 24th of June the Italians suffered a severe defeat at Custozza, after a series of desperate attacks on the Austrian army. The Italians were commanded by their King, Victor Emmanuel, and the Austrians by the Archduke Albrecht. But the decisive battle of the campaign, and one of the greatest of modern times, was that fought at Königgrätz, in Bohemia, between the Austrians under Marshal Benedek and the Prussians commanded by King William I. Prince Frederick Charles halted at Kammenitz on the 2d of July, but at midnight his troops commenced their march, and the first shot was fired about 7.30 on the morning of the 3rd. The attack began at Sadowa (by which name the battle is also known) and a desperate struggle ensued, the result appearing uncertain,

till the army of the Crown Prince of Prussia arrived about 12.30. Chlum, which had been taken and lost seven times by the Prussians, was taken for the eighth time, and with this the fate of the day was decided. The retreat of the Austrians, at first orderly, became a hasty and disastrous flight. About 400,000 men were engaged in the battle. The Austrians lost 174 guns, about 40,000 killed and wounded, and 20,000 prisoners. The Prussians lost about 10,000 men. The effect of this great victory was to give the supremacy in Germany to Prussia, unity to North Germany, and Venetia to Italy. It also led to the legislative independence of Hungary. After the battle of Königgrätz, Marshal Benedek was superseded by Archduke Albrecht. The Prussians were subsequently successful against the armies of the Confederation under Princes Charles of Bavaria and Alexander of Hesse. On the 10th of July, the united armies under the King advanced to Saar, where a cavalry skirmish took place, and the Austrians retired. On the 14th, in the campaign on the Maine, the Prussians won the victories of Laufach and Aschaffenburg. A severe fight at Blumenau was stopped on the 22d by the news of an armistice, and four days afterwards the preliminaries of peace were signed at Nikolsburg. The King of Prussia reviewed his army within fifteen miles of Vienna on the 31st of July, and on the 1st of August the Prussians began their return home. A treaty of peace was signed at Prague on the 23d of August, peace having previously been

concluded with Wurtemberg and other States. The North German Confederation was now formed. The Prussian army had a most enthusiastic reception on its entry into Berlin on the 20th September. Hanover, Hesse, Nassau, and Frankfort, were annexed by Prussia, with which also Schleswig and Holstein were incorporated by decree of January 24th, 1867. Such were the chief results of this important campaign.

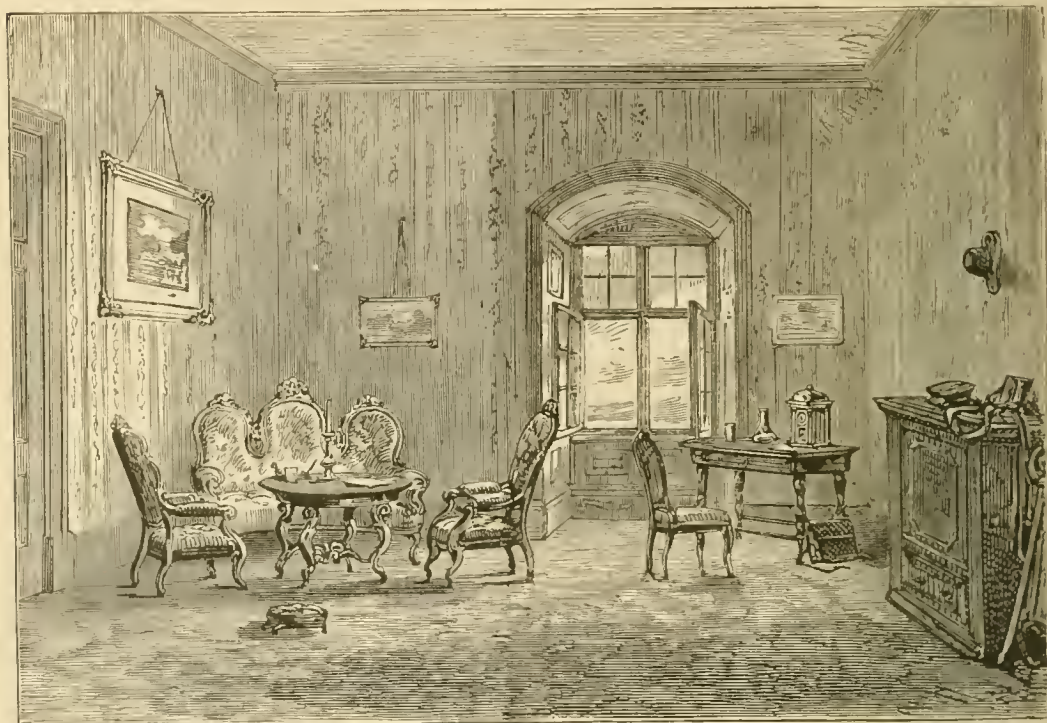
We now come to the great Reform debates of the year 1866. In redeeming the promise made in the Queen's Speech, on the 12th of March, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, before a crowded and deeply interested audience, introduced the Government Reform Bill. In the outset he reviewed the recent history of the question, and announced that in consequence of the limited time at the disposal of Parliament, Government were compelled to restrict their labours to a Franchise Bill alone. With regard to the details of this measure, it was first proposed to create an occupation franchise in counties, including houses at £14 rental, and reaching up to £50, the present occupation franchise. It was calculated that this would add 171,000 persons to the electoral list. Next it was proposed to introduce into counties the provision which copyholders and leaseholders within Parliamentary boroughs now possessed for the purpose of county votes. The third proposition was a savings-bank franchise, which would operate in counties and towns, but which would have a more important operation in the former. All adult

males who had deposited £50 in a savings bank for two years would be entitled to be registered for the place in which they resided. This privilege would add from 10,000 to 15,000 electors to the constituencies of England and Wales. In towns it was proposed to place compound householders on the same footing as ratepayers. It was intended to abolish the ratepaying clauses of the Reform Act, which would admit about 25,000 voters above the line of £10. It was also proposed to introduce a lodger franchise, both for those persons holding part of a house with separate and independent access, and for those who held part of a house as inmates of the family of another person. Then there was the £10 clear annual value of apartments, without reference to furniture. It was further proposed to abolish the necessity in the case of registered voters for residence at the time of voting. Lastly, following the precedent of the Government of Lord Derby, they would introduce a clause disabling from voting persons who were employed in the Government yards. The total number of new voters, of all classes, would be 400,000. With this appeal Mr. Gladstone closed an address which had been looked forward to with great expectation by the country :—

If issue is taken adversely upon this bill, I hope it will be, above all, a plain and direct issue. I trust it will be taken upon the question, whether there is or is not to be an enfranchisement downwards, if it is to be taken at all. We have felt that to carry enfranchisement above the present line was essential ; essential to character, essential to credit, essential to usefulness ; essential to the character and credit not merely of the Government, not merely

of the political party by which it has the honour to be represented, but of this House, and of the successive Parliaments and Governments, who all stand pledged with respect to this question of the representation. We cannot consent to look upon this large addition, considerable although it may be, to the political power of the working classes of this country, as if it were an addition fraught with mischief and with danger. We cannot look, and we hope no man will look, upon it as some Trojan horse approaching the walls of the sacred city, and filled

considered it, do not, I beseech you, perform the act as if you were compounding with danger and misfortune. Do it as if you were conferring a boon that will be felt and reciprocated in grateful attachment. Give to these persons new interests in the Constitution, new interests which, by the beneficent processes of the law of nature and of Providence, shall beget in them new attachment; for the attachment of the people to the Throne, the institutions, and the laws under which they live is, after all, more than gold and silver, or more than fleets and armies, at



AUSTRO-PRUSSIAN WAR: ROOM IN NIKOLSBURG CASTLE WHERE THE PEACE CONFERENCE WAS HELD.

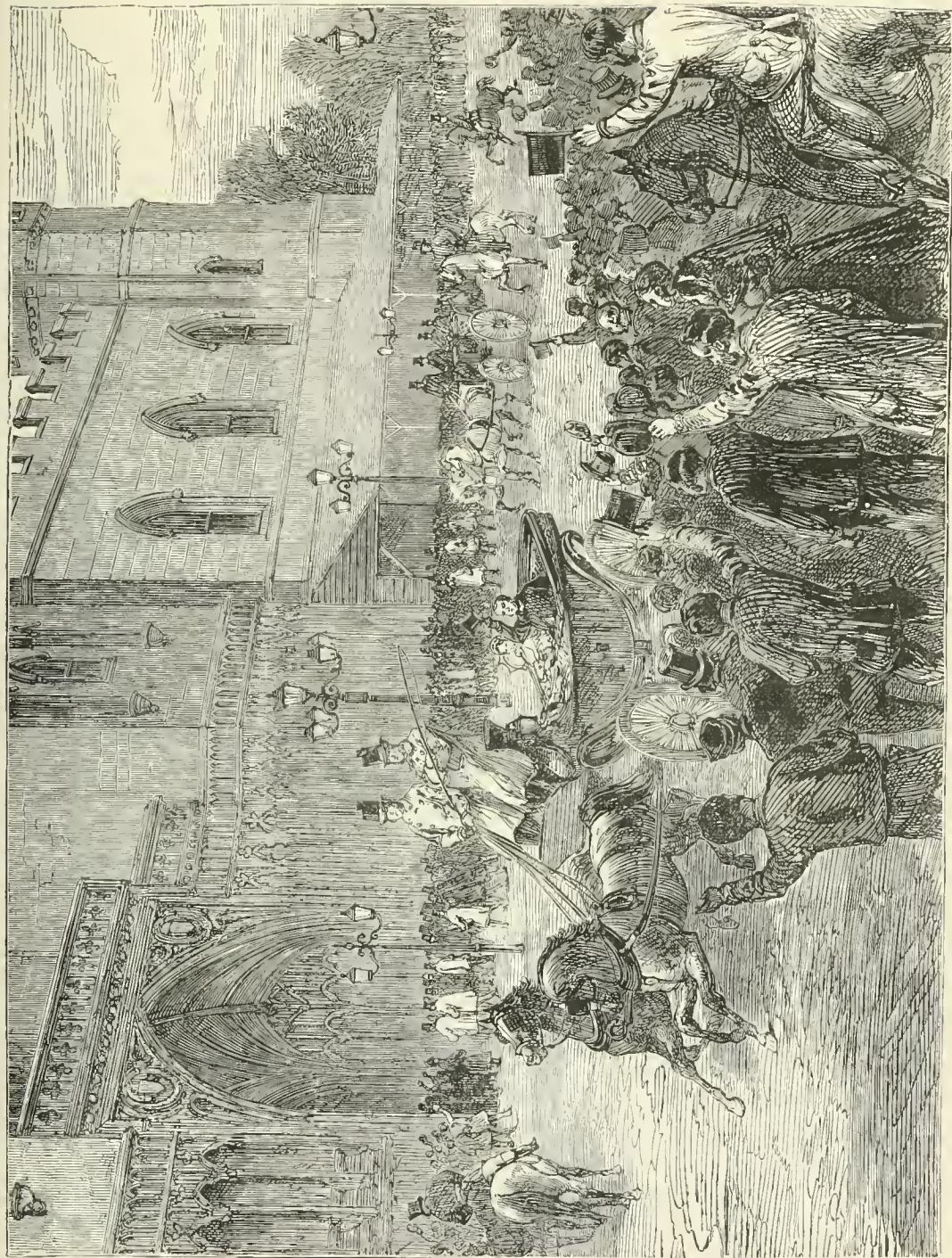
with armed men, bent upon ruin, plunder, and conflagration. We cannot join in comparing it with that *monstrum infelix*—we cannot say—

‘—Scandit fatalis machina muros,
Poeta armis: mediaque minans illabitur urbi.’

I believe that those persons whom we ask you to enfranchise ought rather to be welcomed as you would welcome recruits to your army, or children to your family. We ask you to give within what you consider to be the just limits of prudence and circumspection; but, having once determined those limits, to give with an ungrudging hand. Consider what you can safely and justly afford to do in admitting new subjects and citizens within the pale of the Parliamentary constitution; and, having so con-

sidered the strength, the glory, and the safety of the land.

The bill satisfied the majority of the Liberal party, and met with considerable favour in the country; but by the Conservatives it was regarded as a dangerous step in the direction of democracy. In the House of Commons its most brilliant and effective opponent was Mr. Lowe. During these debates, while content to act the



NEW PALACE YARD ON THE DAY MR. GLADSTONE MOVED THE SECOND READING OF THE REFORM BILL.

part of a prophet of evil, Mr. Lowe developed qualities which raised him into the first rank of Parliamentary debaters. On the evening following Mr. Gladstone's speech, he attacked the Chancellor of the Exchequer—and not unhappily—upon his own classic ground, concluding as follows:—‘The intentions and actions of the new Parliament are as yet hidden by the veil of the future. It may be that we are destined to avoid this enormous danger with which we are confronted, and not, to use the language of my right hon. friend, to compound with danger and misfortune. But, sir, it may be otherwise; and all I can say is, that if my right hon. friend does succeed in carrying this measure through Parliament, when the passions and interests of the day are gone by I do not envy him his retrospect. I covet not a single leaf of the laurels that may encircle his brow. I do not envy him his triumph. His be the glory of carrying it; mine of having to the utmost of my poor ability resisted it.’

Amongst other Liberals who deserted the Government on the Reform question were Mr. Laing and Mr. Horsman. The latter described Mr. Gladstone's address as ‘another bid for power, another promise made to be broken, another political fraud and Parliamentary juggle.’ This severe diatribe drew a crushing and memorable retort from Mr. Bright. Mr. Horsman, he said, had ‘retired into what may be called his political Cave of Adullam, to which he invited every one who was in distress, and every one who was dis-

contented. He has long been anxious to found a party in this house; and there is scarcely a member at this end of the House who is able to address us with effect or to take much part, whom he has not tried to bring over to his party and his cabal. At last he has succeeded in hooking the right hon. gentleman the member for Calne, Mr. Lowe. I know it was the opinion many years ago of a member of the Cabinet that two men could make a party. When a party is formed of two men so amiable and so disinterested as the two right hon. gentlemen, we may hope to see for the first time in Parliament a party perfectly harmonious and distinguished by mutual and unbroken trust. But there is one difficulty which it is impossible to remove. This party of two is like the Scotch terrier that was so covered with hair that you could not tell which was the head and which was the tail.’ This sally, which excited immoderate laughter, remains one of the happiest examples of Parliamentary retort and *badinage*. Mr. Bright concluded by giving his support to the Government measure, because so far as it went it was simple and honest, and because he believed if it became law it would give more solidity and duration to everything that was good in the Constitution, and to everything that was noble in the character of these realms.

Leave was given to bring in the bill, but hostile notices of amendment quickly poured in, the most important being one tabled by Earl Grosvenor, an ‘Adullamite,’ a name which, after Mr.

Bright's speech, was generally given to those Liberal members who withheld their support from the Government. Earl Grosvenor's amendment was to the effect that it was inexpedient to consider the bill for the reduction of the franchise until the House had before it the whole scheme of the Government for the amendment of the representation of the people. This amendment, which was hailed with delight by the Opposition, Mr. Gladstone said he should meet with a direct negative. Replying, the same evening, to Lord Robert Montagu, who had referred to Mr. Villiers as the 'pretended friend' of the working classes, the Chancellor of the Exchequer retorted the phrase upon the noble lord himself, and declared that if the working men whom he and others seemed to dread as an invading and destroying army, instead of their own flesh and blood, were introduced into the House, they would set him an example both of courtesy and good breeding.

The second reading of the Franchise Bill was fixed for an early day after the Easter recess. During this recess the Conservative party met at the residence of the Marquis of Salisbury, and decided upon strongly opposing the Government measure. In the country, however, the bill excited different feelings, and in many of the large towns enthusiastic demonstrations were held in its favour. In a letter addressed to his constituents, Mr. Bright said that the bill would pass if Birmingham and other towns did their duty. He referred to the

Opposition as a 'dirty conspiracy,' and added, 'The men who, in every speech they utter, insult the working men, describing them as a multitude given up to ignorance and vice, will be the first to yield when the popular will is loudly and resolutely expressed.' The greatest interest was evoked by a demonstration at Liverpool, at which the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Duke of Argyll, Mr. Goschen, and other distinguished persons were present. Mr. Gladstone spoke with great power and eloquence. Having expressed his regret that immediate danger to the measure which the Government had introduced should proceed from a name honoured in the ranks of the aristocracy, he made the following declaration, which was received by the vast audience rising in a body and cheering for several minutes:—'Having produced this measure, founded in a spirit of moderation, we hope to support it with decision. It is not in our power to secure the passing of the measure; that rests more with you, and more with those whom you represent, and of whom you are a sample, than it does with us. Still, we have a great responsibility, and are conscious of it; and we do not intend to flinch from it. We stake ourselves—we stake our existence as a Government—and we also stake our political character on the adoption of the bill in its main provisions. You have a right to expect from us, that we should tell you what we mean, and that the trumpet which it is our business to blow should give forth no uncertain sound.

Its sound has not been, and, I trust, will not be, uncertain. We have passed the Rubicon—we have broken the bridge, and burned the boats behind us. We have advisedly cut off the means of retreat, and having done this, we hope that, as far as time has yet permitted, we have done our duty to the Crown and to the nation.'

This was a note of preparation for the Liberal party in view of the coming struggle. The debate on the second reading of the bill commenced on the 12th of April. On no occasion since, and seldom before, has such a flow of eloquence been heard within the walls of the House of Commons. The debate was continued for eight nights. It was opened by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, in moving the second reading of the Ministerial measure, adverted to the necessity for legislating on the subject, and showed the propriety of proceeding by well-defined stages. He also warmly defended the working classes from the charges which had been brought against them of ignorance, drunkenness, venality, and violence.

The following passage, in which he combated the delusion of the Conservative party that the bill was adverse to their interests, was much applauded :—

A Constitutional Government cannot go before the representatives of a free people to-day and say, 'I promise you this, that, and the other,' and to-morrow say to them, 'I have changed my mind, and retract my promise.' That promise was subsequently given by the late Lord Palmerston, who took office upon the basis of a proposal to introduce an extension of the franchise which, if not numerically wider, yet adopted numerically a lower figure than that which we now propose; and I say that if

that series of events does not constitute an engagement between the governors of the country and those who sit in this House, and between the statesmen of this country and the people, I for one know not in what way or under what circumstances it is possible that such an engagement should be formed. Sir, it is necessary to go into the history of this question—it is necessary to lay firmly and broadly the grounds of our discussion, because, although I was more sanguine at a former period, I do not conceal from myself that we may now be upon the threshold of a long and a painful controversy.

It is with the deepest grief that I contemplate the course that has been taken by that great party which I conscientiously believe has no adverse interest in regard to the settlement of this question, though they have unhappily chosen to consider that they have such an interest. But let us consider—and it is my justification for dwelling upon the history of the question—in what form this history is sometimes given. Now, in debate we sometimes speak with haste. In the daily press articles may sometimes, I think, be written in haste, and even in the weekly press a momentary excitement may not be altogether impossible. But, sir, we have likewise a quarterly press, and to that quarterly press we are entitled to look for what I may justly term the philosophy of history. I refer to the *Quarterly Review*, which I had the privilege, through the kindness of my excellent and respected friend the publisher, of consulting yesterday, and where I find the philosophy of history as it is viewed by the acutest minds that can be rallied in the service of that ancient and justly far-famed periodical. I see from this kind of history what sort of food is sometimes served up for the most intellectual appetites of the higher classes. The *Review* was published, I think, to-day, and what I am going to quote is from a history of the Reform Bill. It is highly complimentary to my hon. friend the member for Birmingham as regards his weight and power, but not quite so much so as respects his moral character.

The article in question is a philosophical statement of the real causes of this Reform Bill, and, starting from 1860, it shows why we have not had a Reform Bill since 1860, and why we have a Reform Bill now. These are its words :—

'Just as in 1860 and 1861 the reforming zeal of the Radicals was bought off by the sacrifice of the paper duty, so, from 1861 to 1865, it was appeased by the sacrifice of the gallant Confederacy. But with the fall of Richmond, Mr. Bright's heart was set at ease concerning the fate of the Government to which his true allegiance is given.'

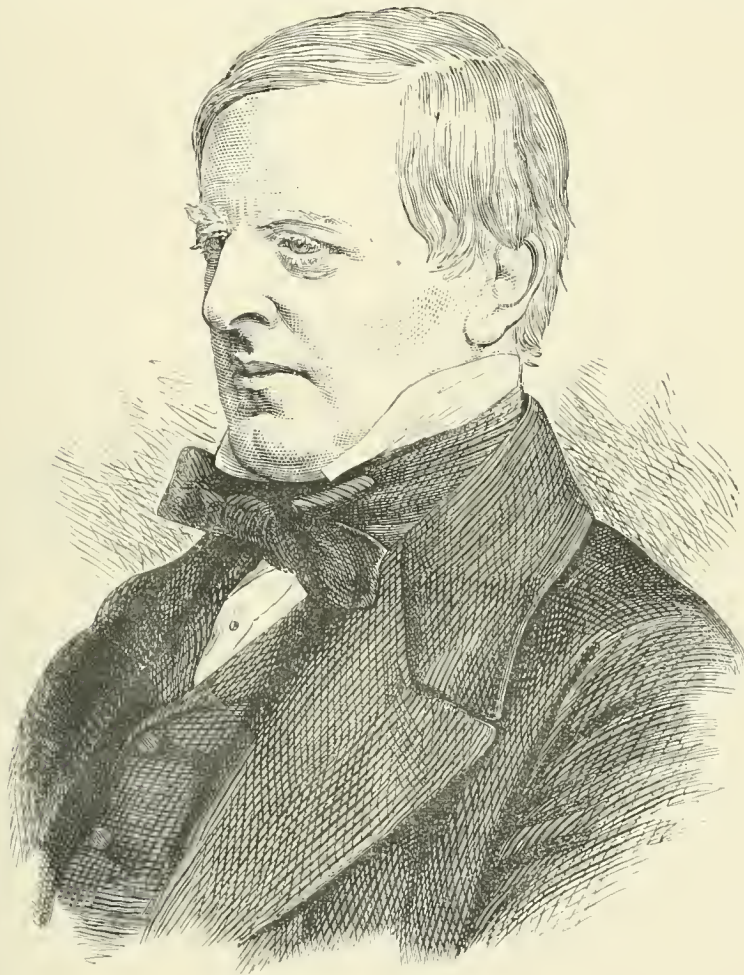
I need not say what Government is intended; it is not the British Government :—

'And the moment Lord Palmerston was removed by death the Government instinctively felt that the time had

again come round for buying off once more their insatiably. This time there was nothing for it but to reproduce a Reform Bill.'

Thus it appears there are gentlemen who think that it was the duty of this country not to have sacrificed the 'gallant Confederacy,' and who think that what

Bill, depending not upon imputations and suppositions, but upon the recorded history of the country, should be brought to mind; and really, sir, when I read this statement I sought for a description of it, and could find no other so applicable—with the exception of one monosyllable which I wish entirely



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they call the sacrifice of the paper duty was a measure adopted simply to appease my hon. friend, although they themselves had recommended that measure—gentlemen who search in such hidden recesses for what they call the causes of events, but who are entirely oblivious of the fact of these repeated and solemn engagements of the Throne and the Government to the country, although they were engagements into which they themselves have entered. When we read such statements as this, it is necessary that the true history of this Reform

to omit—as the retort of Prince Henry to Falstaff:—

'These lies are like the father that begot them—
Gross as a mountain, open, palpable.'

The right hon. gentleman next dwelt upon the fact that the proportion of the working classes included in the present constituency was smaller than was the case in 1832, and he went on to pay

the following tribute both to the working classes and the press:—

Neither must the House forget that since 1832 every kind of beneficial change has been in operation in favour of the working classes. There never was a period in which religious influences were more active than at present. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that since that period the civilising and training powers of education have for all practical purposes been brought into existence as far as the mass of the people is concerned. As regards the press, an emancipation and an extension have taken place to which it would be difficult to find a parallel. I will not believe that the mass of gentlemen opposite are really insensible to the enormous benefit that has been effected by that emancipation of the press, when for the humble sum of a penny, or for even less, newspapers are circulated from day to day by the million rather than by the thousand, in numbers almost defying the powers of statistics to follow, and carrying home to all classes of our fellow-countrymen accounts of public affairs, making them feel an interest in the transaction of those affairs, and containing articles which, I must say, are written in a spirit, with an ability, with a sound moral sense, and with a refinement that have made the penny press of England the worthy companion—I may almost say the rival—of those dearer and older papers which have long given to British journalism the first fame in the world. In every way, by measures relating to labour, to police, and to sanitary arrangements, Parliament has been labouring, has been striving to raise the level of the working community, and has been so striving with admitted success. And there is not a call which has been made upon the working community which has not been fully answered.

Take, for instance, the Working Men's Free Library in Liverpool; who are the frequenters of that institution? Why, the majority of the careful, honest, painstaking students are men belonging to the working classes, a large number of whom cannot attend without making some considerable sacrifice. We called upon them to be provident, we instituted for them Post-office savings-banks, which may now be said to have been in full operation for four years; and what has been the result? During those four years there have been 650,000 depositors in those savings-banks. This is the way in which Parliament has been acting towards the working classes. Parliament has been striving to make them fitter and fitter for the franchise; and can anything be more unwise and more senseless than to persevere from year to year in this plan, and then blindly to refuse to recognise its legitimate upshot—namely, the increased fitness of the working classes for the exer-

cise of political power? The proper exercise of that power depends upon the fitness of those who are to receive it. That fitness you increase from day to day, and yet you decline, when the fitness is admitted, to give the power.

Mr. Gladstone then replied in detail to the arguments urged against the bill, and said he calculated that the working classes would only have the command of 120 seats against 538 elected by the other classes in the community. A further reduction of the franchise would not be dangerous. Having announced that the Government would not proceed with any other part of their reform scheme until the fate of the present bill had been determined, the right hon. gentleman thus replied to the charges of Mr. Lowe against the working classes, and with this passage concluded his powerful speech:—

My right hon. friend, speaking of those persons (the working classes), used four memorable words—and my right hon. friend's phrases are not like what has been said of lovers' vows:—

'In vento et rapidâ scribere oportet aquâ,'*

—he uses a pen of steel, and his words are written on the rock. 'Ignorant, drunken, venal, violent, —words easily remembered! My right hon. friend spoke of the labouring classes in the constituencies. Did he speak of them generally, or merely here and there of one among them? If he spoke of them generally, then I say his bold allegation is sufficient for its end. If he spoke of a few men among them, then his allegation is worthless as an argument; his arrow falls short of the mark, he has no right to apply Pride's Purge to the labouring class, and say, 'from you we will riddle out before we admit you to political rights every man who is a spendthrift, every man who is a drunkard, every man who has broken one of the ten commandments,' while those higher in station but exempt from the operation of this purge may have been wanting in all these respects without in the slightest degree impairing the efficiency of Parliament.

* Catull. *Carm.*, lxx. 4.

But did my right hon. friend speak only of the members of existing constituencies? Is there a man here, or a man who heard my right hon. friend deliver that speech, who forgets his favourite simile of the Hyperboreans? What were they? They believed that though the north wind was cold where they stood—they are the £10 constituencies; that is where we stand now, yet that by going a little farther towards the north—that is by going successively to £9, to £8, to £7, and eventually to £6—at last they would get into a warm country. My right hon. friend ridiculed these notions, and it was not the constituencies alone—it was the masses to whom his observations applied. My right hon. friend supplied us with another proof of his meaning—though I endeavoured to warn him off the ground—in the use which he made of the simile of *Virgil*. I said this is no ‘monstrum infelix,’ no horse charged with armed men who are to carry fire and desolation to your homes, but my right hon. friend rushed in haste into the trap, and with portentous emphasis declaimed—

‘Instamus tamen immemores cæcique furore,
Et monstrum infelix sacratâ sistimus arce.’*

What is the ‘Monstrum infelix?’ Who are the persons contained in it? The 7-pounders!

Sir, I am not seeking to tie my right hon. friend to this construction. What I have said I said to justify myself for having believed, with reluctance and with pain, but still for having honestly believed, that his speech was a denunciation of the working community. If that was wrong, by all means let us hear it. My right hon. friend has explained his speech; let him explain his explanation; and when he explains it, let us distinctly understand—is this a charge against the mass of his working fellow-citizens, in which case it is untrue—or is it only a charge against certain bad characters among them, in which case it is insufficient? If that argument of my right hon. friend can be sustained in the more unfavourable sense, then I admit it is sufficient to destroy this bill; and I think it sufficient to destroy a great deal else along with this bill. It is sufficient to destroy the hopes of every generous heart and every intelligent mind; there is nothing to hope for England if that picture which my right hon. friend with his matchless power strove to draw is a true picture. I thank the House for the great patience and kindness of its hearing. On this subject men must become warm; it is hardly possible as we advance in debate that we should do otherwise. But I do earnestly entreat and conjure

* *Virg. Æn.*, ii. 244, 245.

‘But we, by madness blinded and o’ercome,
Lodge the dire monster in the sacred dome.’

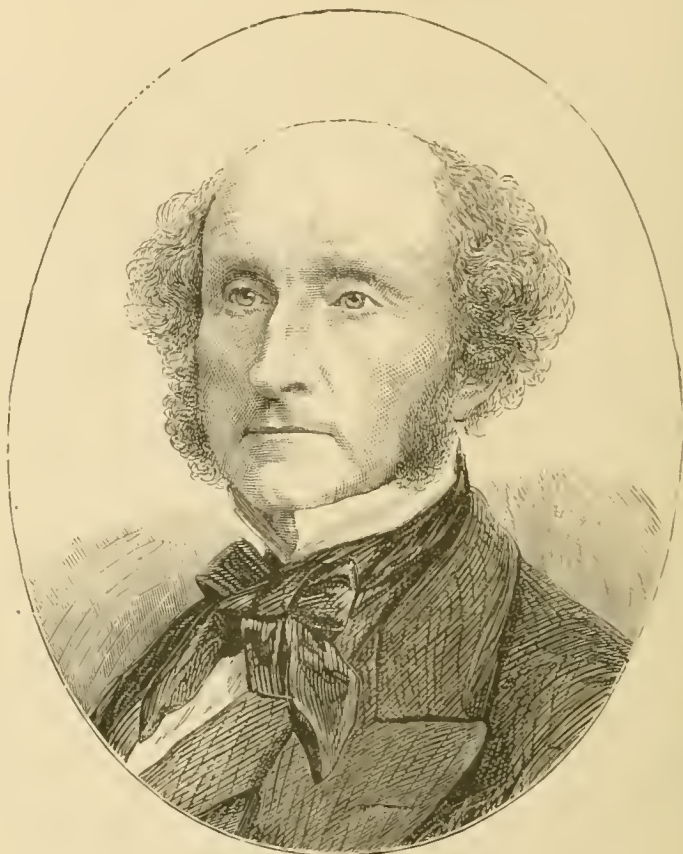
Pitt’s translation.

the House on both sides to remember that it is not enough for us now to say, ‘We are ready to entertain the question of Reform with a view to its settlement.’ Enough and more than enough there has been already of bare, idle, mocking words. Deeds are what are wanted. I beseech you to be wise; and, above all, to be wise in time.

Earl Grosvenor then moved his amendment, which was seconded by Lord Stanley. On the second night of the debate Sir E. Bulwer Lytton delivered a powerful speech, and one that threw the Opposition into a frenzy of delight. He turned upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer his phrase that the working classes were our own flesh and blood, and expressed his amazement that he could descend to a species of argument so hollow in itself and so perilous in its logical deductions. ‘What has the right hon. gentleman,’ demanded the hon. baronet, ‘to say to the millions who will ask him one day, “Are we an invading army? Are we not fellow-Christians? Are we not your own flesh and blood?” Does he think it will be answer enough to give that kind of modified opinion which he put forth last night, and to say, “Well, that is very true. For my own part, in my individual capacity, I cannot see that there is any danger in admitting you; but still, you know, it is wise to proceed gradually. A £7 voter is real flesh and blood. But you are only gradual flesh and blood. Read Darwin on the origin of species, and learn that you are fellow-Christians in an imperfect state of development.”’ He exhorted Liberal members, in Mr. Gladstone’s words, to ‘be wise in time,’ and to vote for the rejection of the bill.

Mr. J. Stuart Mill welcomed the bill as a valuable gain, and professed himself entirely uninfluenced by any terror of the admission of the working classes. Sir Hugh Cairns contended that the admission of the great body of the

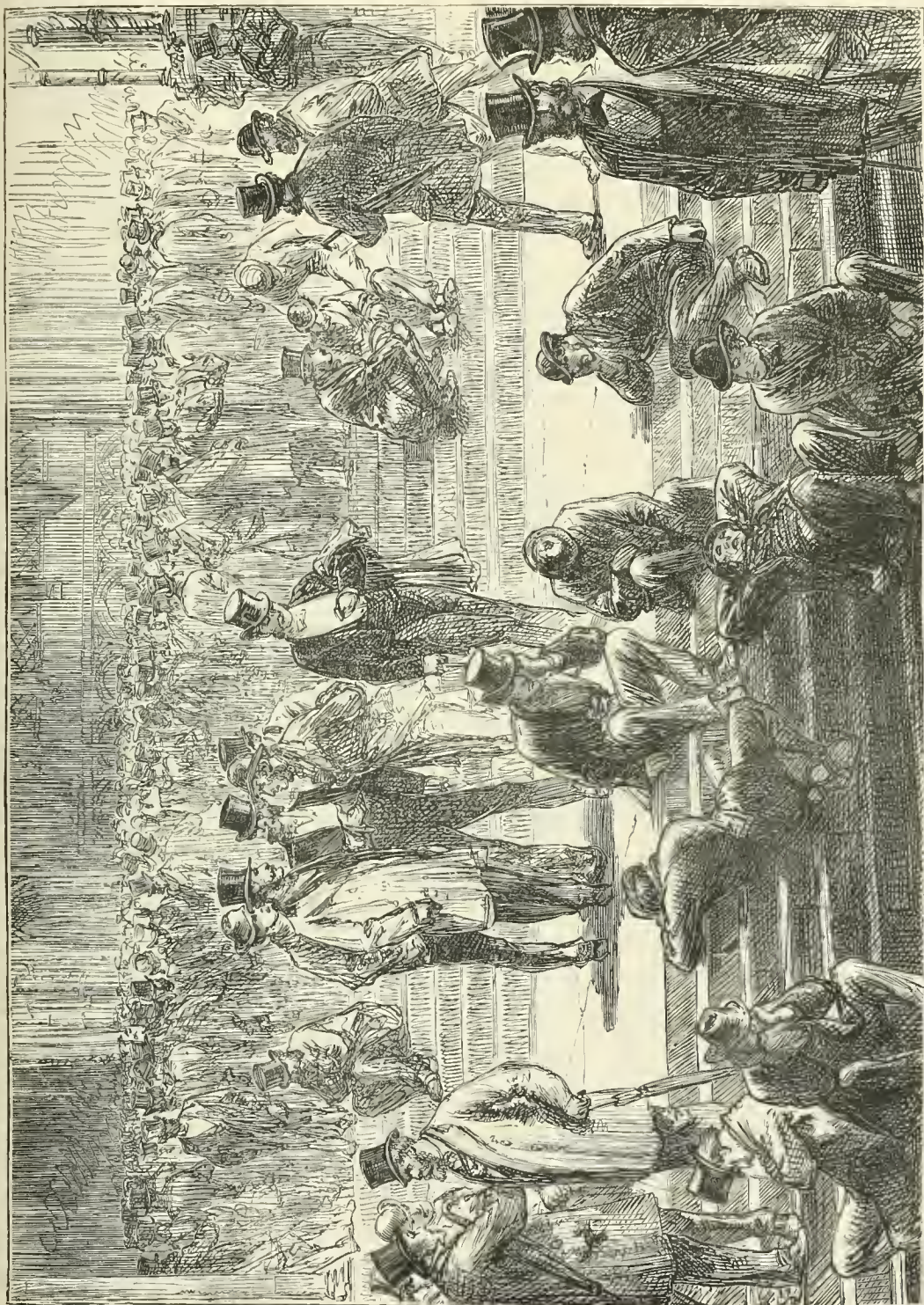
able length in favour of the measure. He demonstrated that it would only admit 116,000 real working men, and would give but one-fourth of the electoral power in the boroughs to the class which formed three-quarters of the



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working classes would disturb the balance of the Constitution. Mr. Horsman, taking up the Chancellor of the Exchequer's phrase that the Government had broken down their bridges and burnt their boats, said these were the acts of desperate men, and were not calculated to inspire confidence. Mr. Bright spoke at consider-

people, leaving four millions of adult males entirely destitute of political power. The Opposition, in rejecting this moderate scheme, were either misled by their leaders, or else had driven their leaders into a pernicious course. Mr. Lowe made another brilliant attack upon the bill. He ridiculed the 'flesh and blood' argument, pointed out the



WESTMINSTER HALL: WAITING FOR THE DIVISION ON THE REFORM BILL.

danger arising from the power of the working classes to combine for the accomplishment of their objects, and prophesied that, if the bill were adopted, there was no saying where they would stop in the downward direction of democracy. Democratise the House of Commons, and the institutions which now stood between it and the Throne would be swept away. In a final appeal to the House, Mr. Lowe said, 'Surely the heroic work of so many centuries, the matchless achievements of so many wise heads and strong hands, deserve a nobler consummation than to be sacrificed at the shrine of revolutionary passion or the maudlin enthusiasm of humanity! But, if we do fall, we shall fall deservedly. Uncoerced by any external force, not borne down by any internal calamity, but in the full plethora of our wealth and the surfeit of our too exuberant prosperity, with our own rash and inconsiderate hands we are about to pluck down on our heads the venerable temple of our liberty and our glory. History may tell of other acts as signally disastrous, but of none more wanton, none more disgraceful.' Lord Cranborne said that he would not speculate in the dark; and Mr. Disraeli, in a speech of nearly three hours' duration, maintained that it was impossible to fathom the effects of this Franchise Bill till the complete scheme was before them. He defended his party from the charges brought against it of dealing unfairly with this and other questions, and concluded with an attack upon Mr. Gladstone, who, he said, was Americanising our institutions. The House ought

to proceed, not upon the principle that it was the House of the people, but that it represented a great political order in the State, and not an indiscriminate multitude.

The most striking of all the incidents of this celebrated debate arose in connection with the closing speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in which he made some unpremeditated and pathetic allusions to his relations with the Liberal party. The attack of the leader of the Opposition in great measure led to this remarkable passage in his reply. Rising at one o'clock in the morning to conclude a legislative battle which had begun a fortnight before, Mr. Gladstone—in his best vein, and in a strain of eloquence which even his enemies allowed they had never known surpassed—proceeded to rebut the charges which had been made against the bill. 'At last,' he said, alluding to a statement by Mr. Disraeli, 'we have obtained a declaration from an authoritative source that a bill which, in a country with five millions of adult males, proposes to add to a limited constituency 200,000 of the middle-class and 200,000 of the working-class, is, in the judgment of the leader of the Tory party, a bill to reconstruct the Constitution upon American principles.' Denying Mr. Lowe's inference that in certain observations of his at a public meeting he had meant to disparage the members of that House, Mr. Gladstone said these words referred, 'not to the House of Commons, but to certain depraved and crooked little men.' He frankly owned that he was speaking

first and foremost of Mr. Lowe, who was opposed to Reform in any shape. Mr. Gladstone then replied to the various animadversions of Mr. Disraeli to which we have already alluded :—

The right hon. gentleman, secure in the recollection of his own consistency, has taunted me with the errors of my boyhood. When he addressed the hon. member for Westminster, he showed his magnanimity by declaring that he would not take the philosopher to task for what he wrote twenty-five years ago; but when he caught one who, thirty-six years ago, just emerged from boyhood, and still an undergraduate at Oxford, had expressed an opinion adverse to the Reform Bill of 1832, of which he had so long and bitterly repented, then the right hon. gentleman could not resist the temptation. He, a Parliamentary leader of twenty years' standing, is so ignorant of the House of Commons, that he positively thought he got a Parliamentary advantage by exhibiting me as an opponent of the Reform Bill of 1832. As the right hon. gentleman has exhibited me, let me exhibit myself. It is true, I deeply regret it; but I was bred under the shadow of the great name of Canning; every influence connected with that name governed the politics of my childhood and of my youth; with Canning I rejoiced in the removal of religious disabilities, and in the character which he gave to our policy abroad; with Canning I rejoiced in the opening which he made towards the establishment of free commercial interchanges between nations; with Canning, and under the shadow of that great name, and under the shadow of that yet more venerable name of Burke, I grant my youthful mind and imagination were impressed just the same as the mature mind of the right hon. gentleman is now impressed. I had conceived that fear and alarm of the first Reform Bill in the days of my undergraduate career at Oxford which the right hon. gentleman now feels; and the only difference between us is this—I thank him for bringing it out—that, having those views, I moved the Oxford Union Debating Society to express them clearly, plainly, forcibly, in downright English, and that the right hon. gentleman is still obliged to skulk under the cover of the amendment of the noble lord. I envy him not one particle of the polemical advantage which he has gained by his discreet reference to the proceedings of the Oxford Union Debating Society in the year of grace 1831. My position, sir, in regard to the Liberal party is in all points the opposite of Earl Russell's. . . . I have none of the claims he possesses. I came among you an outcast from those with whom I associated, driven from

them, I admit, by no arbitrary act, but by the slow and resistless forces of conviction. I came among you, to make use of the legal phraseology, *in formâ pauperis*. I had nothing to offer you but faithful and honourable service. You received me, as Dido received the shipwrecked Æneas—

‘Ejectum littore, egentem
Accepi,’

and I only trust you may not hereafter at any time have to complete the sentence in regard to me—

‘Et regni, demens, in parte locavi.’

You received me with kindness, indulgence, generosity, and I may even say with some measure of confidence. And the relation between us has assumed such a form that you can never be my debtors, but that I must for ever be in your debt. It is not from me, under such circumstances, that any word will proceed that can savour of the character which the right hon. gentleman imputes to the conduct of the Government with respect to the present bill.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer thus concluded his impassioned speech :—

Sir, we are assailed; this bill is in a state of crisis and of peril, and the Government along with it. We stand or fall with it, as has been declared by my noble friend Lord Russell. We stand with it now; we may fall with it a short time hence. If we do so fall, we, or others in our places, shall rise with it hereafter. I shall not attempt to measure with precision the forces that are to be arrayed against us in the coming issue. Perhaps the great division of to-night is not the last that must take place in the struggle. At some point of the contest you may possibly succeed. You may drive us from our seats. You may bury the bill that we have introduced, but we will write upon its gravestone for an epitaph this line, with certain confidence in its fulfilment—

‘Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor.’

You cannot fight against the future. Time is on our side. The great social forces which move onwards in their might and majesty, and which the tumult of our debates does not for a moment impede or disturb—those great social forces are against you: they are marshalled on our side; and the banner which we now carry in this fight, though perhaps at some moment it may droop over our sinking heads, yet it soon again will float in the eye of Heaven, and it will be borne by the firm hands of the united people of the three kingdoms, perhaps not to an easy, but to a certain and to a not far distant victory.

The division took place under cir-

cumstances of the greatest excitement. The Speaker having put the question, members withdrew. After voting, the 'Ayes' and the 'Noes' gradually found their way to the seats on the floor and

larger than the Liberals had feared or the Tories had hoped. Mr. Childers rushed up the floor to the Treasury bench, and, in a tone of disappointment, uttered the word 'Five' to Mr. Glad-



MR. GEORGE JOACHIM GOSCHEN, M.P.

in the galleries. A spectator, describing the memorable scene, says that in about twenty minutes a strange electrical agitation began to manifest itself. Mr. Walpole whispered to Mr. Disraeli the word 'Six.' Shortly afterwards Mr. Brand appeared, and it was known that the strength of the Opposition was

stone. Mr. Adam, the Government teller, now emerged upon the scene. The House was charged with electricity like a vast thundercloud; and now the spark was about to be applied. Strangers rose in their seats, the crowd at the bar pushed half-way up the House, the Royal Princes leaned forward in

their standing places, and all was confusion. The tellers walked up the floor and made due obeisance to the chair. Then, loudly and distinctly, Mr. Brand read out the numbers as follows:—Ayes, 318; Noes, 313. The majority for the Government was accordingly five. The scene which then ensued is best described in the language of the spectator just mentioned:—

Hardly had the words left the teller's lips than there arose a wild, raging, mad-brained shout from floor and gallery such as has never been heard in the present House of Commons. Dozens of half-frantic Tories stood up in their seats, madly waved their hats, and hurraed at the top of their voices. Strangers in both galleries clapped their hands. The Adullamites on the Ministerial benches, carried away by the delirium of the moment, waved their hats in sympathy with the Opposition, and cheered as loudly as any. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his speech, had politely performed the operation of holding a candle to—Lucifer (Mr. Lowe); and he, the prince of the revolt, the leader, instigator, and prime mover of the conspiracy, stood up in the excitement of the moment—flushed, triumphant, and avenged. His hair, brighter than silver, shone and glistened in the brilliant light. His complexion had deepened into something like bishop's purple. His small, regular, and almost woman-like features, always instinct with intelligence, now mantled with the liveliest pleasure. He took off his hat, waved it in wide and triumphant circles over the heads of the very men who had just gone into the lobby against him. 'Who would have thought there was so much in Bob Lowe?' said one member to another; 'why, he was one of the cleverest men in Lord Palmerston's Government!' 'All this comes of Lord Russell's sending for Goschen,' was the reply. 'Disraeli did not half so signally avenge himself against Peel,' interposed another; 'Lowe has very nearly broken up the Liberal party.' These may seem to be exaggerated estimates of the situation; but in that moment of agitation and excitement I dare say a hundred sillier things were said and agreed to. Anyhow, there he stood, that usually cold, undemonstrative, intellectual, white-headed, red-faced, venerable-looking arch-conspirator! shouting himself hoarse, like the ringleader of schoolboys at a successful barring-out, and amply repaid at that moment for all Skye-terrier witticisms and any

amount of popular obloquy! But see, the Chancellor of the Exchequer lifts up his hand to bespeak silence, as if he had something to say in regard to the result of the division. But the more the great orator lifts his hand beseechingly, the more the cheers are renewed and the hats waved. At length the noise comes to an end by the process of exhaustion, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer rises. Then there is a universal hush, and you might hear a pin drop. He simply says, 'Sir, I propose to fix the committee for Monday, and I will then state the order of business.' It was twilight, brightening into day, when we got out into the welcome fresh air of New Palace Yard. Early as was the hour, about three hundred persons were assembled to see the members come out, and to cheer the friends of the bill. It was a night to be long remembered. The House of Commons had listened to the grandest oration ever yet delivered by the greatest orator of his age; and had then to ask itself how it happened that the Liberal party had been disunited, and a Liberal majority of sixty 'muddled away.'

Few could anticipate at this time that there would be a swift and irresistible appeal from 'Philip drunk to Philip sober,' and that in the course of one short year a Conservative Government would find itself compelled to take up that very question of Reform whose virtual defeat its opponents now hailed with such intoxicated expressions of delight. That the Liberal majority on this question had been 'muddled away,' was certainly not Mr. Gladstone's fault, for if matchless eloquence could have retained it, his address was well calculated to achieve this end. He was more than equal to a task that might well have discouraged any Parliamentary leader. 'Those who read his speech,' wrote one who listened to it, 'must be struck with its marvellous power, breadth, and comprehensiveness; its dignity, its spirit, its pathos, its tact, as displayed in his deference to the Opposition as a great party; his

touching appeal to the Liberal party to forget the smallness of his claims to be their leader; his confidence that time was with him as the conductor of this great question, conveyed in an ordinary metaphor, made brilliant by the language in which it was expressed, and which formed the last sentence of his speech. But really to appreciate the effect you must, as *Æschines* said of *Demosthenes*, have heard him. The sustainment of voice and power were equalled only by the infinite variety of the manner, the fine spirit, and the moral earnestness which pervaded it. It may not be the highest praise, but it must be said that it was a speech which was not Gladstonian proper—that is, it was one that came from Mr. Gladstone purified from his little defects, and elevated by the force of the situation to the very perfection of oratory, and, better still, of Parliamentary management. If ever a speech influenced, in the sense of overwhelming an organised Opposition, this one did just that.' The division list revealed how, and why, the Liberal majority had dwindled away. With the Government there voted only two Conservatives, but against them there were arrayed thirty-one Liberals and 282 Conservatives. The cause of Reform had been deserted by its professed friends. This division was reported as the largest which ever took place in the House of Commons. Six hundred and thirty-one members actually voted, and two paired. This only left twenty-five members, out of the entire number of which the House was composed, to be accounted for.

Eleven seats were vacant, and there were absent—mostly from serious illness—thirteen members, chiefly Liberals. These various classes, with the Speaker, constituted the full House.

When the House met on the 30th of April, the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that the Government saw nothing in the recent division to prevent them from going on with their bill. Both sides had agreed to the principle of a reduction of the franchise. A few days later (May 7th), Mr. Gladstone introduced the Government measure for the redistribution of seats. 'I think,' said the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 'we must be prepared to take our stand upon this ground. There are large and important communities, many of them growing communities, both in counties and towns—others of them stationary, but having the one feature in common that they are not represented within the walls of this House in proportion to what we may fairly call their just demands. If we are to search for the means of making the representation of those great communities more adequate, it is quite clear, I think, that we can most adequately obtain, and, in fact, can only obtain the means of meeting the fair demands of justice and of growing populations, by resorting to a restraint of the still very abundant, and, indeed, superabundant system of the representation of small boroughs which still continues to prevail.' The bill proposed, by grouping together a number of small boroughs, giving one or two representatives only to each group, to gain forty-one seats, and eight

others were to be reduced to one representative each, making a total of forty-nine. Where the population of a group was less than 15,000, there would be one member; and where it was above 15,000, there would be two members for the group. The seats thus gained it was proposed to distribute among populous counties to the number of twenty-six; to give an extra representative to Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and Salford; to divide the Tower Hamlets into two divisions, with two members each; to create seven new electoral boroughs with one member each; and one new borough, Kensington and Chelsea, with two; and to give, moreover, seven seats to Scotland. Leave was also given to bring in the Scotch and Irish Reform Bills.

Mr. Gladstone intimated that the Government would not advise a prorogation of Parliament until both questions, viz., that of the Franchise and that of Redistribution, had been disposed of. The second reading of the Redistribution Bill was carried on the 14th of May without a division, but Mr. Disraeli took the opportunity of severely criticising the course of the Government. The House and the country, he said, were in ignorance how to proceed, and ignorance could never settle anything. The House must come forward and help the Government, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer must recross the Rubicon, build up his bridges, and reconstruct his boats. After the Whitsun holidays the debates were renewed with vigour. Sir R. Knightley moved, 'That it be

an instruction to the Committee on the Franchise Bill to make provision for the prevention of corruption and bribery at elections.' The motion was carried by a majority of ten against the Government, whereupon Mr. Gladstone somewhat unnerved Sir R. Knightley by saying they would wait for the production of his scheme. Those who had anticipated that the Ministerial plans would be wrecked were disappointed.

A more formidable issue was raised by Captain Hayter's resolution, that in the opinion of the House the system of grouping proposed by the Government was neither convenient nor equitable, nor sufficiently matured to form the basis of a satisfactory measure. A long debate ensued, in the course of which Mr. John Stuart Mill said, with reference to an allegation that he had called the Conservatives the stupidest of parties, 'I never meant to say that the Conservatives are generally stupid. I meant to say that stupid persons are generally Conservative.' This amended phrase, conveying no more grateful compliment than its predecessor, was strongly resented by the Opposition.

Mr. Lowe made another vigorous and clever onslaught upon the bill. After criticising its provisions and also the system of 'grouping' in the Redistribution Bill, he came to more personal matters. Mr. Bright standing upon the Constitution, he remarked, put him in mind of an American squib:

'Here we stand upon the Constitution, by thunder,
It's a fact of which there are bushels of proofs;
For how could we trample upon it, I wonder,
If it wasn't continually under our hoofs?'

After 1860, the honour of the Government on the question of Reform went to sleep for five years. 'Session after session it never so much as winked. As long as Lord Palmerston lived

is more than cruel, it is parricide in the case of the Constitution, which is the life and soul of this great nation. If it is to perish, as all human things must perish, give it at any rate time to



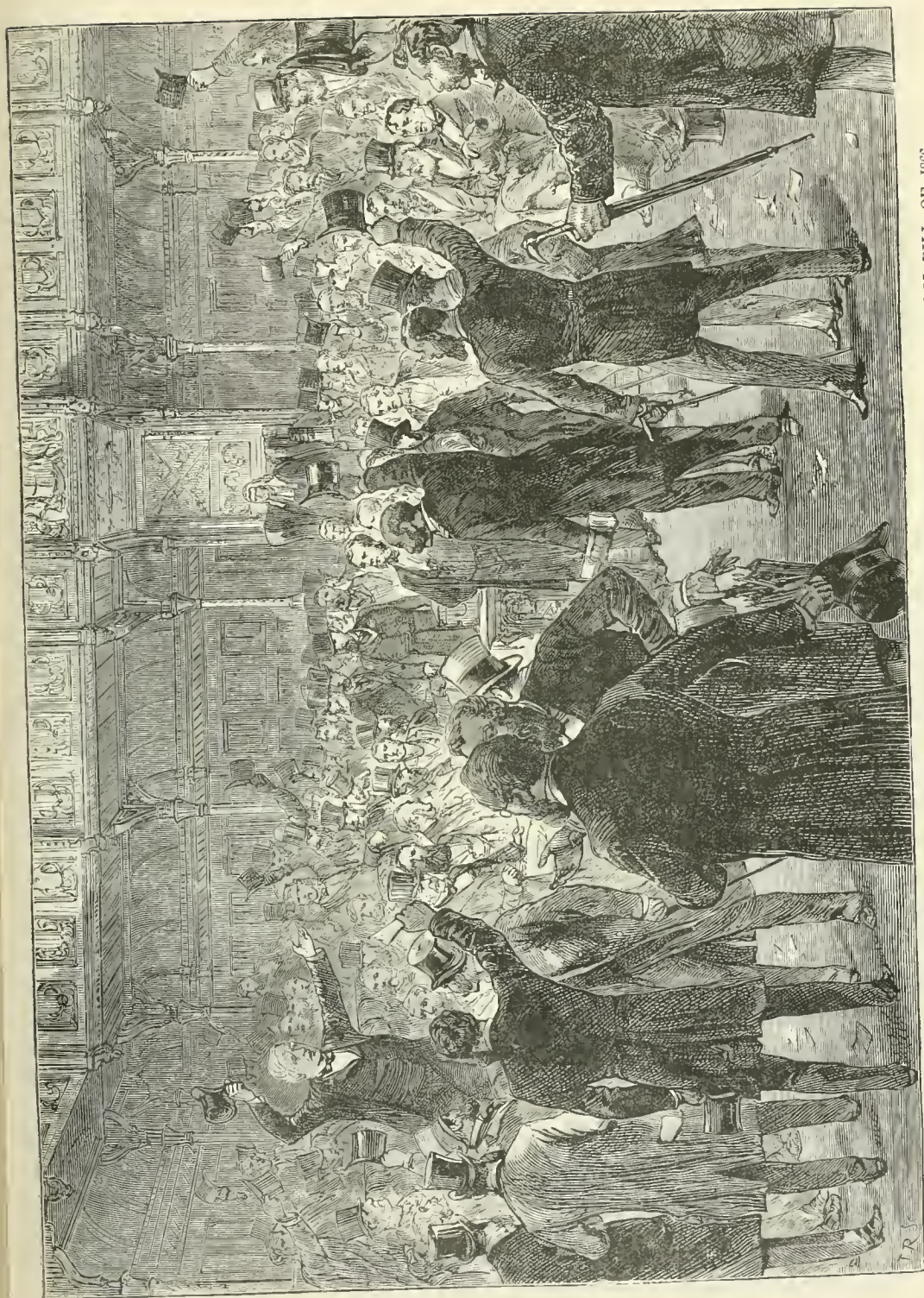
EARL RUSSELL.

honour slept soundly; but when Lord Palmerston died, and Lord Russell succeeded by seniority to his place, the "sleeping beauty" woke up.' It became necessary to have a Reform Bill. Mr. Lowe closed with another prediction of ruin to the Constitution. 'To precipitate a decision in the case of a single human life would be cruel. It

gather its robe about it, and to fall with decency and deliberation—

'To-morrow! O that's sudden! spare it! spare it!
It ought not so to die!'

Earl Grosvenor made an appeal to Captain Hayter to withdraw his motion, on the ground that its success might lead to the breaking-up of the Govern-



SCENE IN THE HOUSE AFTER THE DIVISION ON THE SECOND READING OF THE REFORM BILL OF 1832.

ment, which in the present state of European politics would be a great misfortune to the country, as it would involve the loss of Lord Clarendon's services. This drew from Mr. Disraeli a severe attack upon the policy of Lord Clarendon.

In closing the discussion, Mr. Gladstone made one of his very happiest speeches, in a debating sense. He showed that not a single objection had been made which went to the root of the bill, or which could not be dealt with in committee. He also once more ably retorted upon Mr. Lowe:—

My right hon. friend allows himself such licence, that although it is a very great treat to listen to his speeches regarded as intellectual exertions, yet no man must imagine that if his object be the attainment of a practical issue, it is of much avail to enter into a discussion with him. What ground, for example, did my right hon. friend take with respect to the small boroughs? He defended them through thick and thin without the slightest qualification or reserve, while he, in the very same breath, spoke in favour of the amendment, which pledges the House to the declaration that it is ready to consider the general subject of redistribution. I admit that my right hon. friend is so far consistent with himself that, while on a former night he made a speech against all reduction of the franchise, repeatedly telling us that its reduction would lead to the destruction of the Constitution, yet he voted for a motion the terms of which gave expression to the declaration that the House was prepared to take into its consideration a proposal with that object.

But how, let me ask, can we occupy common ground with my right hon. friend? How can we cherish the slightest hope of mitigating the differences which exist between us or of arriving at a settlement with one who approaches a question of this gravity in such a spirit, and with such a degree of licence so far as regards his own individual opinion? On a former occasion the horror to which my right hon. friend gave expression was a horror of democracy. He told us this House was to be vulgarised, that it was to be filled up with representatives of the seven-pound householders, little superior in character and position to those by whom they

were elected. But when he spoke in the present debate his tone underwent a change. He entered upon another line of inquiry. He then thought it necessary to state—and, in my opinion, greatly to overstate—the probable expenses of elections under the new system, telling us that the consequence would be that the House of Commons would be filled with millionaires; that plutocracy, forsooth, constituted the evil which loomed darkly in the future. It is no wonder, then, that my right hon. friend takes the liberty to contradict us when he assumes the liberty to contradict himself, and in the keenness of his movements does not seem to think it at all necessary to make the slightest effort to reduce his speeches either into harmony with his votes or with one another.

The right hon. gentleman then eloquently inveighed as follows against the unintelligible nature of the amendment:—

I protest in the name of the Government, I protest for the character of Parliament, I protest on the part of my countrymen, against dealing with measures of great importance in this House—especially measures of such capital importance as this—not in the good old English manner of 'Ayes' and 'Noes,' but in language which nobody can construe, and which nobody can understand. Here is a declaration that the scheme of her Majesty's Government 'is not sufficiently matured to form the basis of a satisfactory measure.' Why, sir, do not hon. gentlemen see that any man who wanted to cavil and get out of a controversy would adopt that very language? Is it not to those generalities that ambitious resorts for the prosecution of its wicked purposes?

Do not let any hon. gentleman suppose I am speaking of the movements of political parties. I am speaking rather of those movements of which history unfortunately is too full—frightful and bloody collisions produced between parties by that lust of ambition which I am describing, and which makes use of those generalities, because their effect is to efface the distinctive lines between justice and injustice—between truth and falsehood—to prevent the merits of any question from being brought to a fair issue, and to provide a place of refuge to those who are afraid of reasonable argument to resort to for refuge. They have been too often resorted to in theological controversies when objections which could be embodied in judicial forms have been avoided, and vague words about 'dangerous doctrines,' or 'savouring of heresy,' or something of that kind have been invented, showing in fact nothing but the

wardice of those by whom they were invented. I was in hopes that I should have a storm of disclaimers, and that there would be some sympathy with me. Well, I was in hopes, though my hopes may be disappointed. In the course of a somewhat long life I have been disappointed in other things, and I probably may be again. But we had a right—indeed, we had a special right to expect it. It was promised us; it was gratuitously promised us; and it was ostentatiously promised us.

Mr. Gladstone insisted that the Government measure was only the application of the principles of 1832, and concluded by prophesying with regard to the hostility shown to the bill, that ‘any triumph which may be achieved will recoil with tenfold force upon the heads of those who may gain it. To be the chief sufferers in a cause such as that we have in hand is, indeed, to be preferred to success achieved in any ordinary cause. For we are well convinced that in the discharge of our own duty, in the redemption of our pledges, we are consulting at once the honour and the dignity of this House, the stability of the Throne on which her Majesty sits, the contentment and happiness of the people, and the strength and endurance of our institutions.’

Much to the annoyance of the Opposition, but greatly to the satisfaction of the supporters of the Government, Captain Hayter withdrew his resolution. A strange scene thereupon occurred. The bulk of the Opposition hurried out of the House to avoid a division, when the Speaker put the usual question. The amendment was then negatived without a dissentient voice.

But more serious peril still awaited the measure. After several abortive

resolutions an amendment was proposed by Lord Dunkellin, which proved fatal to the existence of the bill, and led to the resignation of the Government. His lordship proposed that the borough franchise should be based on rating instead of rental, as being a more convenient and constitutional principle. The Chancellor of the Exchequer strongly opposed the motion on the grounds, first, that it involved a limitation of the franchise, and, secondly, that there were grave practical difficulties in the way of the operation of the principle.

The discussion upon this amendment had an unlooked-for result. The Government were placed in a minority of 11, the numbers being—For the amendment, 315; against, 304. The Opposition were in a paroxysm of delight, and the scene almost equalled in excitement that which occurred after the division upon the second reading of the bill. The Adullamites and a large number of the Conservatives were irrepressible in their enthusiasm. The clerk having handed the paper to Lord Dunkellin, it was obvious which way the division had gone; but a storm of cheers from the Conservative benches prevented the numbers from being read out for a minute or two. When the majority of eleven against the Government became known, there was witnessed an unparliamentary scene, viz., waving of hats, clapping of hands, and other demonstrations both by the Opposition and strangers who sympathised with them.

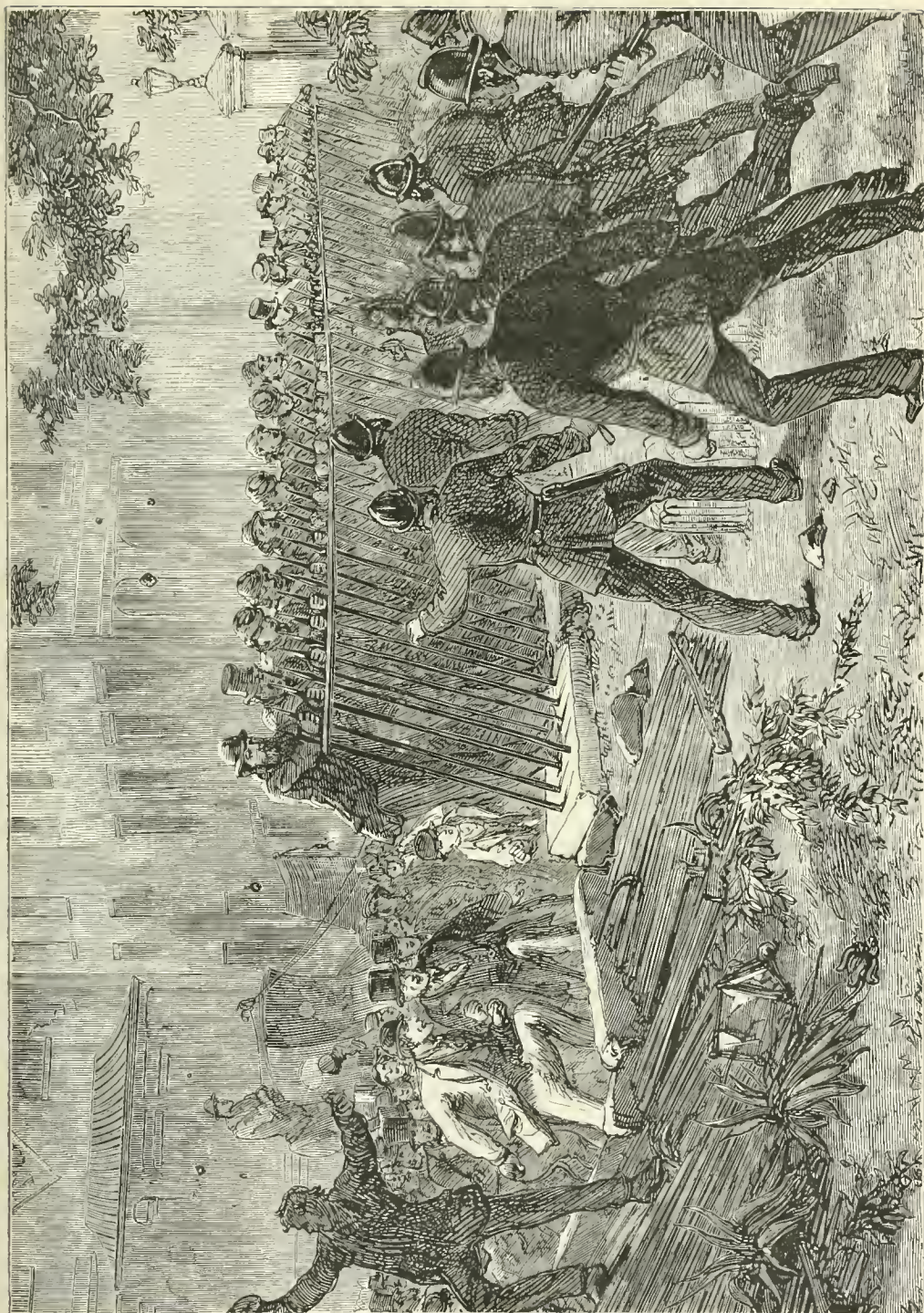
The Opposition had at length suc-

ceeded in their hostility to Reform and to the Ministry. On the following day, the 19th of June, Earl Russell in the Lords and Mr. Gladstone in the Commons announced that, in consequence of their late defeat, the Government had felt it to be their duty to make a communication to her Majesty. On the 26th fuller explanations were furnished in both Houses. In the Lords, Earl Russell stated that Ministers had tendered their resignations, to which they had adhered notwithstanding an appeal from the Queen to reconsider their determination. In the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone defended the Government for their resolve to stand or fall by the bill, and explained at length the circumstances which led to that declaration. Such a pledge, he admitted, was one which a Government should rarely give. It was the last

weapon in the armoury of the Government: it should not be lightly taken down from the walls; and if it were taken down, it should not be lightly replaced, nor till it had served the purposes it was meant to fulfil. The pledge had been given, however, under the deepest conviction of public duty, and had the effect of making them use every effort in their power to avoid offence, to conciliate, support, and unite, instead of distracting.

Earl Russell thus ceased to be First Lord of the Treasury, and the Earl of Derby reigned in his stead. The Conservative leader endeavoured unsuccessfully to obtain the active support of the Adullamites, and a purely Conservative Government consequently came into office, under difficulties which would have daunted almost any political chief save 'the Rupert of debate.'





THE MOB PULLING DOWN THE RAILINGS IN HYDE PARK.



BROKEN RAILINGS AT HYDE PARK CORNER.

CHAPTER III.

THE REFORM AND IRISH CHURCH QUESTIONS.

The Reform Agitation—Statement by the Premier—Demonstration in Hyde Park—Meetings in the Provinces—Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal Party—The Ministerial Reform Scheme—Debate on the Second Reading—Mr. Gladstone's Nine Points—The Bill Transformed—Protest by Lord Cranborne—His Attack on Mr. Disraeli—Speech of Mr. Lowe—Mr. Disraeli 'educates' his Party—Becomes Prime Minister—The Abyssinian Expedition—Scotch and Irish Reform Bills—Mr. Gladstone's Compulsory Church Rates Abolition Bill—Liberal and Conservative Finance—The Irish Church Question—Important Declaration by Mr. Gladstone—His Disestablishment Resolutions—Address of the Mover—Mr. Disraeli's Reply—His Retorts upon Lord Cranborne and Mr. Lowe—Mr. Gladstone's Motion carried by a large Majority—Conduct of the Government—Ministerial Explanations—The Suspension Bill passes the Commons—General Election—Mr. Gladstone is defeated in South-west Lancashire—Is elected for Greenwich—Great Liberal Triumph throughout the Country—Resignation of Mr. Disraeli—Mr. Gladstone becomes Premier.

THE fall of Lord Russell's Ministry, with the necessary postponement of the Reform question, led to a series of demonstrations in London and the provinces. At a meeting held in Trafalgar Square—which was attended by about 10,000 persons—the ex-Premier was censured for not having dissolved Parliament. A few days later, Lord Derby, in explaining the policy of the new Ministry in the House of Lords,

said that nothing would give him greater pleasure than to see a very considerable portion of the class now excluded admitted to the franchise; but, on the other hand, he was afraid that the portion of the community who were most clamorous for the passing of a Reform Bill, were not that portion who would be satisfied with any measure such as could be approved of by the two great political parties in the coun-

try. The Government reserved to themselves the most entire liberty upon this subject. Meanwhile the authorities prohibited the holding of public meetings in Hyde Park, though the Home Secretary, Mr. Walpole, stated in the House of Commons that there was nothing in the notice signed by Sir Richard Mayne to imply that processions, conducted in an orderly manner, were illegal. The council of the Reform League received great encouragement to persevere in their intentions from Mr. Bright, who wrote, 'If a public meeting in a public park is denied you, and if millions of intelligent and honest men are denied the franchise, on what foundation do our liberties rest, or is there in this country any liberty but the toleration of the ruling class?' On the 23rd of July a riot occurred in Hyde Park in consequence of the order of the Government being carried out against the proposed demonstration of the League. The Reformers marched in procession to the Marble Arch, but were repulsed by the police in their efforts to enter the park. The leaders then returned to Trafalgar Square, where resolutions were passed thanking Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, and others, for remaining faithful to the cause of Reform. At this time, however, a scene of great violence was proceeding in Hyde Park. The mob tore down the railings and entered the enclosure, with loud cheering and waving of hats and handkerchiefs. Attacks upon the police by the mob, and *vice versa*, ensued; a number of persons were seriously in-

jured, and disastrous consequences were apprehended, when fortunately order was restored by the intervention of a body of Life Guards. On the 25th the Home Secretary received a deputation from the Reform League, when he gave an undertaking that if the Reformers would only use the park in a legal and peaceable way there should be no display of military or police. Mr. Walpole became deeply affected during this interview. The spectacle of a Home Secretary in tears so greatly disturbed the gravity of the press that many of the journals demanded a sterner guardian of the public order.

Parliament was prorogued on the 10th of August, but the Reform demonstrations continued through the whole of the recess. A meeting was held at Brookfields, near Birmingham, the number attending being estimated at 250,000. At a second meeting in the Town Hall the same evening, Mr. Bright urged his hearers to press on in their agitation for restoring the British Constitution with all its freedom to the British people. The language held by some of the prominent friends of Reform was not always discreet, and Lord Derby and Mr. Lowe were especially subjected to violent attacks out of doors. Mr. Gladstone, however, appears to have preserved at this juncture a calm and dignified attitude on the Reform question. While defending the proceedings of the late Government, in a speech delivered at Salisbury, he promised that a fair consideration should be given to any well-digested scheme brought forward by their successors, provided it

was introduced promptly and showed a spirit of moderation and justice. Complaints were at this time made against Mr. Gladstone's leadership of the Liberal party; but Mr. Grant Duff interpreted

of his youth and of his manhood was directed. Read his early speeches, study his early books; he has travelled far since then, and may well murmur from time to time at that destiny which



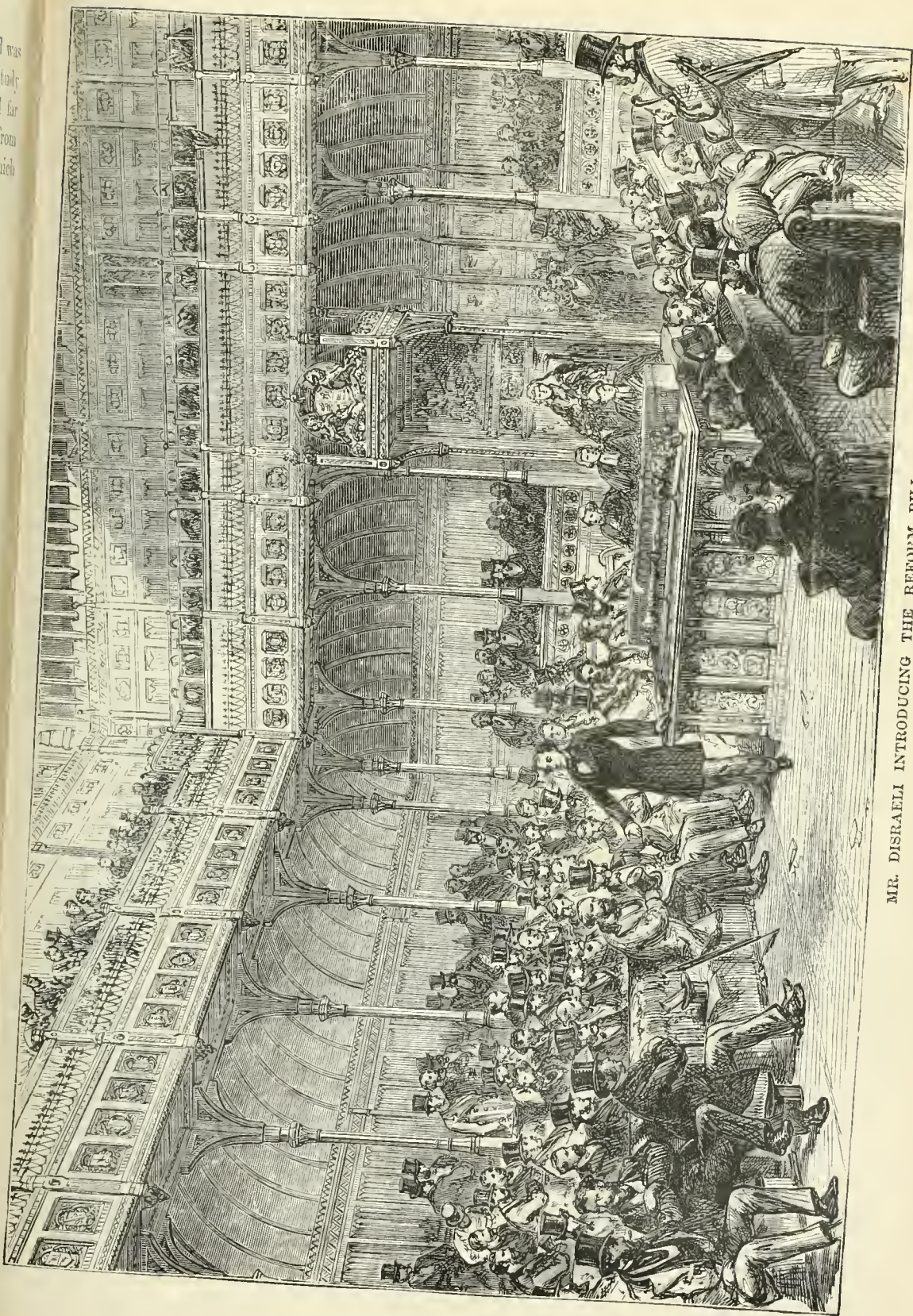
LORD CARNARVON.

the feeling of the bulk of his supporters when he remarked of the right hon. gentleman, 'He has a horrible foreboding, that—to use his own words—time is on the side of those very politicians who, when he started in public life, were at the opposite pole of the political sphere, against whom all the strength

may lead him, before he dies, like the Sicambrian* of old, to burn what he

* An allusion to Clovis, the founder of the French Monarchy, who was converted to Christianity. Being baptised by St. Remi, the latter exclaimed, as he poured upon the neck of Clovis the sacred oil, 'Humble thyself, fierce Sicamber; adore what thou didst burn, and burn that which thou hast adored.'

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MR. DISRAELI INTRODUCING THE REFORM BILL.

adored, and to adore that which he burnt.'

The Reform demonstrations proceeded, as we have already observed, with little intermission, until the opening of Parliament, on the 5th of February in the following year (1867). The strong feeling pervading all classes in favour of a settlement of the Franchise question had its due weight with the Government, and, notwithstanding Lord Derby's previous declaration, the Queen's Speech once more promised that attention should be called to the representation of the people in Parliament. In the debate on the Address, Mr. Gladstone said that the interests of the country demanded a speedy settlement of the question; and it was the duty of Parliament to accept, wherever they could get it, a measure which would be adequate to the just expectations of the country. On the 11th Mr. Disraeli announced the intentions of the Government. He stated that it was proposed to proceed by way of resolutions, which he now tabled; but objections were raised to this novel mode of dealing with the subject, and complaints were made that no precise details were furnished in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's resolutions. On the 25th, accordingly, Mr. Disraeli disclosed his scheme with greater fulness. He proposed, he said, to reduce the occupation franchise in boroughs to a £6 rating; in counties to £20; the franchise was also to be extended to any person having £50 in the funds, or £30 in a savings-bank for a year. Payment of £20 of direct taxes would also be a

title to the franchise, as would a university degree. Votes would further be given to clergymen, ministers of religion generally, members of the learned professions, and certificated schoolmasters. It was proposed to disfranchise Yarmouth, Lancaster, Reigate, and Totnes, and to take one member each from twenty-three boroughs with less than 7,000 inhabitants. The House would have thirty seats to dispose of, and it was proposed to allot fourteen of them to new boroughs in the northern and midland districts, fifteen to counties, and one to the London University. The second division of the Tower Hamlets would return two members, and several new county divisions named would have two additional members each. The scheme would add 212,000 voters to the borough, and 206,500 to the county constituencies.

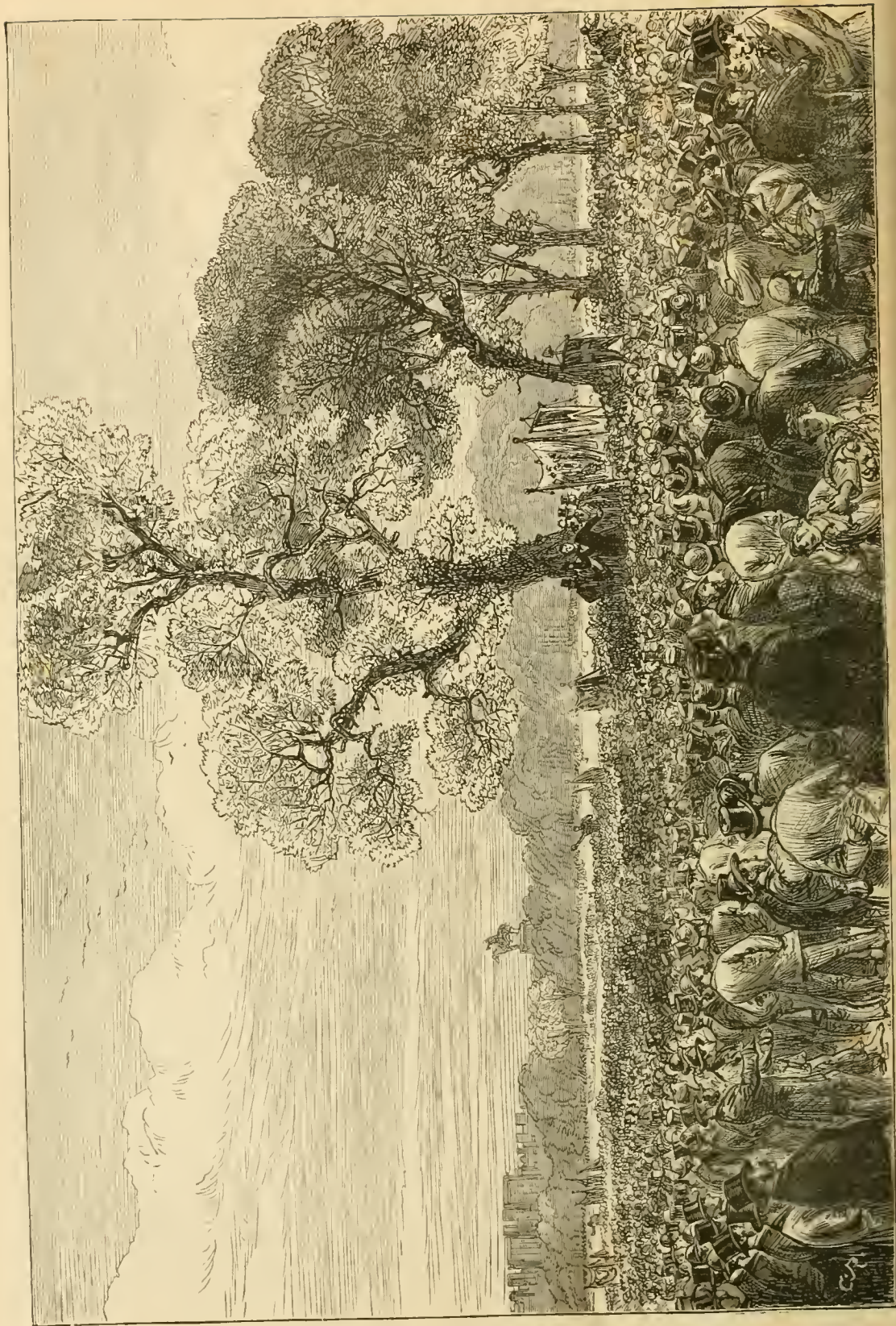
Mr. Lowe demanded a simple bill which would bring the question fairly to an issue. He was ashamed to hear addressed to him, as a 658th part of the House, such language as this:— 'If the House will deign to take us into its counsel, if it will co-operate with us in this matter, we shall receive with cordiality, with deference—nay, even with gratitude—any suggestion it likes to offer. Say what you like to us, only for God's sake leave us our places!' Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone enforced the difficulty of proceeding by vague resolutions. On the following day a meeting of the Opposition was held, attended by 289 members, when it was agreed to support an amendment with the object of setting

aside the resolutions, and urging the Government to proceed at once by bill. Seeing the manifest feeling of the House, Mr. Disraeli, the same evening, announced that the Government would abandon the method of proceeding by resolutions, and would introduce a bill on the earliest possible day. Three Ministers—General Peel, the Earl of Carnarvon, and Lord Cranborne—resigned office in consequence of the decision of the Government to bring in what they deemed to be an advanced Reform Bill. On the 18th of March the scheme was introduced. Mr. Disraeli said that its principles were that in boroughs the electors should be all who paid rates, or twenty shillings in direct taxes; the franchise would also be extended to certain classes qualified by education, or by the possession of a stated amount in the Funds, or in savings banks—rated householders to have a second vote. The re-distribution of seats would be on the lines already specified. To guard against the power of mere numbers, it was proposed to establish a system of checks, based on residence, rating, and dual voting. Mr. Gladstone strongly condemned these securities as illusions or frauds, which would be abandoned whenever it suited the Ministry; and he also predicted that a lodger franchise would have to be added to the bill. Lord Cranborne maintained that if the Conservative party accepted the bill they would be committing political suicide.

In the debate on the second reading, Mr. Gladstone cited nine defects in the bill which called for amendment, and

Mr. Bright described the measure as bearing upon its face marks of deception and disappointment. The leader of the Conservative party in the House of Commons speedily allowed it to be seen that he was—to use a word current at the time—‘squeezable’ upon the measure. The second reading was carried without a division. We do not propose to follow the course of the long and acrimonious debates which ensued in committee, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer met with severe taunts from many of his own followers. During the debate on clause 3, Mr. Beresford Hope made an allusion to the Tadpoles and Tapers of certain amusing story-books, and declared that, ‘sink or swim, dissolution or no dissolution, whether he was in the next Parliament or out of it, he for one, with his whole heart and conscience, would vote against the Asian mystery.’ Mr. Disraeli retorted that when the hon member talked about an Asian mystery, there were Batavian graces in all he said, which he noticed with satisfaction, and which charmed him.

A division arose amongst the Liberal members at this time, which resulted in the temporary withdrawal of Mr. Gladstone from the leadership of the party. It shortly afterwards appeared, however, that Mr. Gladstone did not intend to abandon the post of leader altogether, but that, in consequence of the decision of the House in favour of a direct and personal payment of rates by the householder as essential to the franchise, he would personally desist from attempting to alter the basis of



REFORM MEETING IN HYDE PARK

the bill, though he would still vote with his party on any amendments which they might bring forward for securing a still further extension of the franchise.

demanded, 'who equals him in knowledge of all political questions? Who equals him in earnestness? Who equals him in eloquence? Who equals him in courage and fidelity to his convic-



RIGHT HON. A. J. BERESFORD HOPE.

Mr. Bright, speaking of Mr. Gladstone at a Reform demonstration in Birmingham, said that since 1832 there had been no man of his rank as a statesman who had imported into the Reform question so much of conviction, of earnestness, and of zeal. 'Who is there in the House of Commons,' he

tions? If these gentlemen who say they will not follow him have any one who is equal, let them show him. If they can point out any statesman who can add dignity and grandeur to the stature of Mr. Gladstone, let them produce him.' Shortly afterwards deputations from various parts of the

country, accompanied by members of Parliament, waited upon Mr. Gladstone to present addresses expressive of confidence in him as the Liberal leader.

The changes effected in the Reform Bill on its passage through committee were so great, as to lead almost to an entire transformation of the measure. The Government were defeated on an amendment restricting the residence in boroughs to twelve months, while a lodger franchise was secured on the motion of Mr. Torrens. A great difficulty arose with respect to the compound householder, whose case gave rise to protracted discussions; but ultimately, on the proposition of Mr. Hodgkinson, it was decided to abolish composition altogether in Parliamentary boroughs. The occupation franchise in counties was lowered from £15, the sum proposed by the bill, to £12. The 'fancy' franchises—the education and tax-paying clauses—were struck out. The boroughs of Lancaster, Reigate, and Great Yarmouth, were disfranchised for gross bribery; and considerable modifications were secured in the clauses relating to the redistribution of seats. The clause providing for the use of voting papers at elections was struck out; and a third member was added to the representation of Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds. Mr. Lowe was defeated on his proposal for cumulative voting, and Mr. John Stuart Mill in his effort to enfranchise women.

The bill was read a third time on the 15th of July, after a final protest by its enemies. Lord Cranborne ex-

pressed his astonishment at hearing the bill described as a Conservative triumph. It was right that its real parentage should be established. The bill had been modified at the dictation of Mr. Gladstone, who demanded, first, the lodger franchise, which had been given; secondly, the abolition of distinctions between compounders and non-compounders, which had been conceded, as had, thirdly, a provision to prevent traffic in votes; fourthly, the omission of the taxing franchise; fifthly, the omission of the dual vote; sixthly, the enlargement of the distribution of seats, which had been enlarged by fifty per cent.; seventhly, the reduction of the county franchise; eighthly, the omission of voting papers; ninthly and tenthly, the omission of the educational and savings-banks franchises. If the adoption of the principles of Mr. Bright could be described as a triumph, then indeed the Conservative party, in the whole history of its previous annals, had won no triumph so signal as this. 'I desire to protest, in the most earnest language I am capable of using, against the political morality on which the manoeuvres of this year have been based. If you borrow your political ethics from the ethics of the political adventurer, you may depend upon it the whole of your representative institutions will crumble beneath your feet.'

Parliamentary history probably furnishes no case precisely parallel to this, where a prominent member of a great political party who held such denunciatory language towards his chief, should,

in the subsequent course of events, accept office under that chief, and become his ablest and most trusted lieutenant. Lord Cranborne concluded the remarkable speech from which we have just quoted by deeply regretting that the House of Commons had applauded a policy of legerdemain; and above all he regretted that 'this great gift to the people—if gift you think it—should have been purchased at the cost of a political betrayal which has no parallel in our Parliamentary annals, which strikes at the root of all that mutual confidence which is the very soul of our party government, and on which only the strength and freedom of our representative institutions can be sustained.' Mr. Lowe observed that Mr. Bright had been agitating for household suffrage; now that he had got it, would it be easy to stop in the path of concession? It would now be necessary, continued Mr. Lowe, to teach their masters their letters, and he concluded with this philippic:— 'Sir, I was looking to-day at the head of the lion which was sculptured in Greece during her last agony after the battle of Chæronea, to commemorate that event, and I admired the spirit and the power which portrayed in the face of that noble beast the rage, the disappointment, and the scorn of a perishing nation and a down-trodden civilisation, and I said to myself, "Oh for an orator, oh for an historian, oh for a poet, who would do the same thing for us!" We also have had our battle of Chæronea; we have had our dishonest victory. That England that

was wont to conquer other nations, has gained a shameful victory over herself; and oh that a man would rise, in order that he might set forth in words that could not die, the shame, the rage, the scorn, the indignation, and the despair, with which this measure is viewed by every Englishman who is not a slave to the trammels of party, or who is not dazzled by the glare of a temporary and ignoble success!'

The Reform Bill went up to the Lords, and, with certain amendments, was read a third time in the Upper House on the 6th of August. The Earl of Derby described the measure as 'a leap in the dark.' Two months later, at a Conservative banquet held in Edinburgh, Mr. Disraeli used the famous phrase respecting the education of his party. 'I had to prepare the mind of the country,' he remarked, 'and to educate—if it be not arrogant to use such a phrase—to educate our party.' This observation gave rise to so much comment, that Mr. Disraeli wrote to the journals explaining the sense in which his language was to be taken, and denying that he had said he had been educating his party with the view of bringing about a much greater reduction of the franchise than his opponents had proposed. In February, 1868, by the retirement of the Earl of Derby, Mr. Disraeli became Prime Minister.*

* There was but one possible Conservative Premier, namely, Mr. Disraeli—he who had served the Conservative party for more than twenty years, who had led it to victory, and who had long been the ruling spirit of the Cabinet. To have reconstructed the Ministry without 'Vivian Grey' as its chief,

In the previous November Parliament had been summoned to meet chiefly in connection with the Abyssinian Expedition. The war was undertaken for the deliverance of Mr. Cameron, her Majesty's Consul at

to this matter, also dealt with the Fenian conspiracy, which had assumed the form of organised violence and assassination. In the debate on the Address Mr. Gladstone began his speech by expressing sympathy with the Chan-



THE ABYSSINIAN CAPTIVES.

Mr. Rassam. Mr. Stern. Mr. and Mrs. Rosenthal Dr. Blanc. Pietro. Capt. Cameron.
Lieut. Fridaux. and child.

Massowah, Mr. Rassam, and others, who were held captive by King Theodore. The Queen's Speech, in addition

would have been to enact in politics a well-known play under proverbial disadvantages. The Press generally congratulated Mr. Disraeli upon his elevation, though the comments passed upon the Prime Minister were in many instances mingled with raillery and sarcasm. From a clever article which appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, placing in juxtaposition the rival claims of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli—we take the following extracts:—'One of the most grievous and constant puzzles of King

cellor of the Exchequer in the painful circumstances under which he was then placed—Mrs. Disraeli, who was suffer-

David was the prosperity of the wicked and the scornful; and the same tremendous moral enigma has come down to our own days. In this respect the earth is in its older times what it was in its youth. Even so recently as last week the riddle once more presented itself in its most impressive shape. Like the Psalmist, the Liberal leader may well protest that verily he has cleansed his heart in vain and washed his hands in innocency; all day long he has been plagued by Whig lords, and

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BATTLE BEFORE MAGDALA.

ing from illness, being in a precarious state. He should now refrain from asking an explanation of statements made by Mr. Disraeli during the recess. With regard to the Abyssinian campaign, the Executive alone were responsible for the expedition hitherto, Parliament being entirely uncommitted upon the subject. There was a clear *casus belli* between our Government and the King of Abyssinia; but Mr. Gladstone warned the Ministry that the House would require to be convinced that the objects of the Expedition were attainable, that a war could be carried on with an enemy who might choose to run rather than to fight; also, how it was proposed to carry on the Expedition to an issue; and what were to be its limits. The House would, more-

chastened every morning by Radical manufacturers; as blamelessly as any curate he has written about *Ecce Homo*, and he has never made a speech, even in the smallest country town, without calling out with David, How foolish am I, and how ignorant! For all this, what does he see? The scornier who shot out the lip and shook the head at him across the table of the House of Commons last session has now more than heart could wish; his eyes, speaking in an Oriental manner, stand out with fatness, he speaketh loftily, and pride compasseth him about as with a chain. . . . That the writer of frivolous stories about *Vivian Grey* and *Coningsby* should grasp the sceptro before the writer of beautiful and serious things about *Ecce Homo*—the man who is epigrammatic, flashy, arrogant, before the man who never perpetrated an epigram in his life, is always fervid, and would as soon die as admit that he had a shade more brain than his footman—the Radical corrupted into a Tory before the Tory purified and elevated into a Radical—is not this enough to make an honest man rend his mantle and shave his head, and sit down among the ashes inconsolable? Let us play the too-underrated part of Bil-lad the Shuhite for a space, while our chiefs thus have unwelcome leisure to scrape themselves with potsherds, and to meditate upon the evil way of the world.'

over, insist upon a distinct disclaimer, not only of territorial aggrandisement, but of all desire to contract new political responsibilities. As to the expenses of the war, he urged the Government to confide in the courage of Parliament, and not to make them an addition to the debt of the country. The right hon. gentleman concurred in the hopes expressed in the Speech of the speedy termination of the Italian difficulty, and of the suppression of the Fenian outrages; but he pressed for a settlement of the Reform question and of the Irish Land question, and trusted that the rumour was incorrect which assigned to the Irish Church Commission the function of drawing up plans for its re-organisation. Mr. Disraeli, speaking under the influence of emotion, said he was much touched by the manner in which Mr. Gladstone had referred to his domestic affliction, and by the way in which the House had received that allusion. He admitted that the House was quite unpledged to the Abyssinian expedition; and, with regard to Irish questions, said that the Government hoped to be able to introduce a bill dealing with the subject of the land. They were also giving their earnest attention to the Church question. Some days later a vote of £2,000,000 was agreed to for the Abyssinian expedition, but not until after much discussion; and on the 28th of November the House of Commons voted an additional penny in the income-tax to defray the further expenses of the expedition. The payment, out of Indian revenues, of the Indian troops engaged in the

war was also sanctioned. The main purposes for which Parliament was called together having been thus attained, the two Houses adjourned on the 7th of December until the 13th of February following.

The circumstances in connection with the Abyssinian war may be put within a brief compass. In January, 1864, Captain Cameron, and other British subjects and missionaries, were imprisoned by the king for pretended insults; in the following November they were sent to Magdala and chained like criminals. Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, a Chaldee Christian, and first assistant British political resident at Aden, was sent on a mission to Abyssinia. He arrived at Massowah in July, Lieutenant Prideaux and Dr. Blanc being appointed to accompany him. They were well received by Theodore at Matemma on the 28th January, 1866, and the prisoners were released on the 12th of March; but on the 13th of April all were seized and imprisoned. In the following December Theodore received a letter from Queen Victoria. In April, 1867, Lord Stanley sent an ultimatum to Theodore, demanding the release of the captives in three months. Mr. Flad, who had been on a mission to England, was received by the king and made to join his family in prison. War commenced in September, Sir Robert Napier being appointed to the command of an expedition. Another letter was sent to King Theodore by the British Government, but it never arrived. Troops were despatched from Bombay, and a proclamation by Napier was issued in

Abyssinia. In April, 1868, Theodore massacred about 300 native prisoners, and at the same time his troops were defeated with great slaughter by the British. On the 12th of April part of the Abyssinian troops mutinied; Magdala was bombarded and stormed; and King Theodore killed himself. On the 17th Magdala was burnt to the ground. Theodore's queen died on the 10th of May; and early in June all the British troops returned from the country. In December the English Government granted a pension of £350 to Colonel Cameron, who died on the 30th of May, 1870; £5,000 was presented to Mr. Rassam; £2,000 to Dr. Blanc; and £2,000 to Lieutenant Prideaux.

The work of Reform was completed in the session of 1868 by the passing of the Scotch and Irish Reform Bills, a Boundary Bill for England and Wales, an Election Petitions and Corrupt Practices Prevention Bill, and the Registration of Voters Bill. The object of the last-named measure was to accelerate the elections, and to enable Parliament to meet before the end of 1868. The Scotch Reform Bill was introduced to assimilate the franchise of Scotland with that of England. It also proposed to increase the number of the House by giving seven additional representatives to Scotland. Two of these members were to be given to the universities, three to counties, and one to Glasgow. The debates record several important Ministerial defeats. Mr. Baxter carried against Government a proposition to disfranchise seven English boroughs with a population of less

than 5,000 each. Mr. McLaren and Mr. Bouverie likewise carried amendments against them, which led to considerable modifications in the bill. The Irish Reform Bill proposed to fix the borough franchise at £4, occupiers below that rental not paying rates in

rates were to be henceforth abolished, except in cases of rates already made, or where money had been borrowed on the security of the rates; but it permitted voluntary assessments to be made, and all agreements to make such payments, on the faith of which any

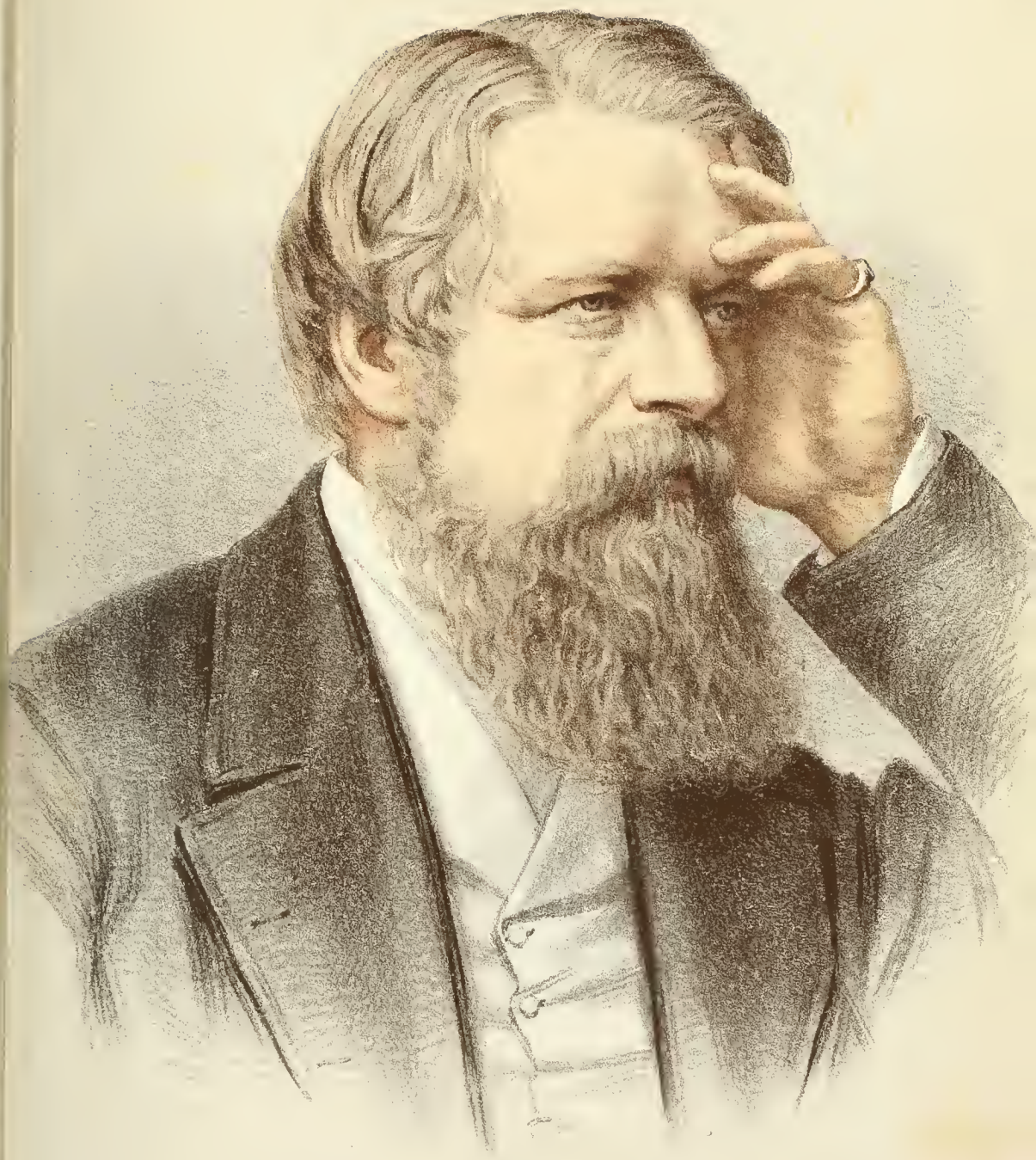


MAGDALA IN FLAMES.

Ireland. There was also a limited scheme for redistribution of seats, but this was afterwards abandoned by the Government.

Early in the session the adoption by the House of Mr. Gladstone's Compulsory Church Rates Abolition Bill led to the settlement of a long-agitated question. By this measure all legal proceedings for the recovery of Church

expenditure had been incurred, would be enforceable in the same manner as contracts of a like character in any court of law or equity. The bill was opposed by a section of the Conservative party, but Lord Cranborne demanded what that party would gain if it adhered to the principle of 'no surrender.' Though it was with the deepest feeling of reluctance that he



Ralph W. Ingham

gave up anything which the Church possessed, he thought it wiser to accept the terms that were then offered, as he was distinctly of opinion that they might go farther and fare worse. The bill, with certain amendments, eventually passed through both Houses, and became law.

But the question which overshadowed all others this session was that involving the fate of the Irish Church Establishment. Before discussing this subject, however, with its momentous legislative and other results, some reference must be made to a matter of considerable importance, arising out of and connected with the financial schemes of the Government. These schemes having been subjected to severe hostile criticism, the Chancellor of the Exchequer elaborately defended them. The nature of the charges will be gathered from Mr. Gladstone's reply to the Ministerial apology. 'We left the income-tax,' said Mr. Gladstone, 'at 4d. in the pound. The expenditure of 1859-60 was arranged by the Tory Government. It was early in July that, on coming into office, I had to meet a deficit of, I think, four and a half millions, in a year of which all the arrangements had been made, and of which between three and four months had actually gone.' After dealing at length with the army, navy, and civil service charges, the right hon. gentleman went on to observe that, according to his calculation, the Liberal party had saved about £1,800,000 between 1862 and 1865, while the Tory Government exceeded the esti-

mates in two years by £1,145,000, besides the cost of the Abyssinian war. Financial legislation in the years 1862-5 gave the country reduction of taxation to the extent of £2,276,000 annually. 'From thence it follows that the policy of the Liberal party has been to reduce the public charges, and to keep the expenditure within the estimates, and, as a result, to diminish the taxation of the country and the national debt; that the policy of the Tory Government, since they took office in 1866, has been to increase the public charges, and to allow the departments to spend more than their estimates, and, as a result, to create deficits, and to render the reduction of taxation impossible. Which policy will the country prefer?' The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Ward Hunt, in replying to these financial charges, was unable directly to impugn their accuracy, but pleaded that the extra expenditure was accounted for by increased pay to the army, by the furnishing of breechloaders, and by the arming of fortifications.

On the 16th of March, towards the close of the debate on Mr. Maguire's motion, that the House resolve itself into a committee to take the condition of Ireland into immediate consideration, Mr. Gladstone struck the first blow in the struggle that was to end in the disestablishment of the Irish Church. He complained that the Ministerial programme failed to realise the grave fact that we had reached a crisis in the Irish question. Ireland had an account with this country which had

endured for centuries, and we had not done enough to place ourselves in the right. 'How does this matter stand?' demanded the speaker. 'Go north, south, east, or west; consult whom you will—the eminent statesman, the learned theorist, or the earnest religionist—there is but one opinion. I do not speak merely of America, where at this time there may be more or less of the spirit of retaliation in a part of the community, and men's minds may be more or less irritated and excited. But take the impartial opinion of any country of Europe; take France; go to all that immense diversity of political parties to all those forms of thought, to all those sections of the learned and enlightened world, where will you find a man who is not of opinion that in this great and still pending controversy between England and Ireland, England, though she may have done much, has not yet done enough to put herself in the right? I say we ought now to recollect that early and provident fear is the mother of security, and without more delay to make what I hope will be a final and successful effort to redress, according to the balance of justice, the wrongs of which Ireland still justly complains. I for one must own I regret the circumstances of recent years, I will say of the most recent years, which have led this crisis so near to its issue. I am not content to regret the facts of the case and to be responsible for refraining from any effort it may be in my power to make to liberate myself from connection with

a state of things which, as I believe, while making full allowance for all that has been done in the right direction, still has this double effect:—First, it offends the principles of social and of civil right; and, secondly, it tends to compromise and cripple the strength and power of the empire.'

Mr. Gladstone then spoke in these eloquent terms upon the subject of Fenianism and the question of Emigration:—

I must confess it appears to me nothing can be less satisfactory than the declaration which is so commonly current that Fenianism has no connection with our conduct as a State and as a Legislature. This is one of those cases so common in politics of a verbal truth which is a real untruth. Fenianism has that connection with our conduct and proceedings which the last link at one end of a chain has with the last link at the other. Who will deny the connection between Fenianism and the dissatisfied state of feeling which exists in Ireland? Who will deny the connection between that dissatisfied state of feeling and the policy that has been pursued by England? It is time now for us to examine this question. I rejoice to admit the progress that has been made. I do not feel, by admitting that progress in the largest terms, we in the slightest degree weaken—on the contrary, I believe we much enhance the argument for taking those yet further steps which remain to complete the career. There is a diminution of the grievous distress which so long ground down the masses of the population of Ireland. I do not inquire now into the extent of the diminution; I do not inquire how much distress remains; I admit the diminution; and I rejoice that there is a change, if possible, equally important in the classes above those within the reach of immediate distress, and that there has grown up within the last generation a sentiment of attachment to law and order, greater, more substantial, more lively, and more effectual with a view to the administration of justice, than has ever existed in former times. A great achievement, and, let me add, a yet greater encouragement!

Well, there is this decrease of agrarian crime. It is impossible to express the satisfaction with which we may now say that it was nothing but the extremity of want and misery which led to those outrages, prompted by what Mr. O'Connell called the wild

justice of revenge, which so long formed the scandal of Ireland. Immediately the sharp sting of want is either removed or rendered less pungent in its application, the Irish people, by their immunity from vice, attract the admiration of this country; and that facility to which the improved sentiment of many classes of the people gives rise in the administration of justice is a circumstance upon which, I think, we can all freely indulge our satisfaction. But let us consider what are the facts of recent occurrence which give to this period at which I am addressing the House the character of a great political crisis, calling upon us to consider well the position in which we stand. In the first place, there is that depletion of the country, described in terms so vivid by the right hon. gentleman I believe, at a period more marked than it now is, though still continuing on a scale the economical importance of which I will not attempt at this time to appreciate, but which appears to me to assume what may be well called a portentous character, not on account of the numbers of those who cross the sea to seek a home elsewhere, but on account of the spirit with which they quit our shores.

No amount of art, no amount of pleading as to what we have done or endeavoured to do, even if the pleas were fuller and more perfect than they are, could, I think, remove from the very bottom of the heart and intelligence of every man sitting within these walls a painful latent consciousness that where not one man or another, not one set of men or another, but a population, or such a portion of the population as must form a sample and pattern of the whole mass—that where such persons quit these shores bearing with them on the one hand a passionate attachment to the home, but on the other hand a bitter and burning aversion to the laws and the Government they leave behind them—I say no amount of argument or pleading can remove from the mind a deep impression that where such feelings are carried away so uniformly and so permanently, from year to year, from generation to generation, something must be wrong. We may rely upon it that, idle as is the sentiment *Vox Populi vox Dei*, when it is applied to fleeting, transitory movements, yet the deep, prevalent, and lasting convictions of a people are never formed and never stand the test of time and circumstances without containing within themselves much of the truth and sacredness of justice.

He dealt fully with the Government policy as affecting six questions deemed paramount, viz., Parliamentary reform, the repeal of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, railways, education, the land, and

the Church. With regard to the land question and fixity of tenure, Mr. Gladstone said:—‘Whether the Irish proprietors have done their duty or not I will not undertake to say. I believe that false legislation and the miserable system of ascendancy which have prevailed in Ireland have so distorted and disfigured the relations between class and class throughout that country that until the evil is effectually cured we cannot pass a fair judgment on the matter, or form a conclusion as to what we may reasonably hope to see effected in the future. Well, Sir, there is another question less formidable in principle, but one of which we often hear. I mean fixity of tenure. Now, I own it seems to me the great object is to give the tenant full security that the proceeds of his labour and of his capital shall, under all circumstances, unless he expressly covenants to part with them, be his. Legislation, if simple and effective, will have a very powerful tendency, at any rate, towards increasing the stability of tenure, and it will make wanton disturbance by landlords a difficult and perhaps a costly measure. Still, I am not ashamed to say that I shrink from the attempt to procure direct legislation for fixity of tenure. Leases in such a form as prevails in Scotland have worked in that country admirably, but since the repeal of the Corn Laws we have had much experience in England. We have here a very intelligent and improving tenantry, but it is found that it is not safe to attempt any sudden or wholesale introduction of leases, and what I

fear is that direct legislation upon that subject might be misunderstood and might be injurious. And here I wish to say that, while I would fully and frankly recognise the principle that the proceeds of labour should belong to the tenant, I do not entirely see my way to support fixity of tenure except so far as it results from the operation of that principle. I agree with the noble Lord that if there be any mode by which the use of public money by way of loan can be made auxiliary to the working of such a system we ought not to be afraid of applying public money to that purpose. I own I think the use of public money by way of loan on adequate security, and with equal regard to the rights of labour and the rights of capital, may be made a very useful auxiliary to such a bill as he now proposes.'

Coming to religious equality, the right hon. gentleman affirmed that it must be established, difficult as the operation might be; but he condemned the principle of levelling up. As to the appeals which had been made urging the Irish people to loyalty and to union, Mr. Gladstone said that was his object too; but with regard to the means the differences were still profound, and it was idle, it was mocking, to use words unless they could sustain them by corresponding substances. They must give the unreserved devotion of their efforts; and he warned Mr. Disraeli that, unless he had something more satisfactory to say on the subject of justice to Ireland than his colleagues, this question would immediately

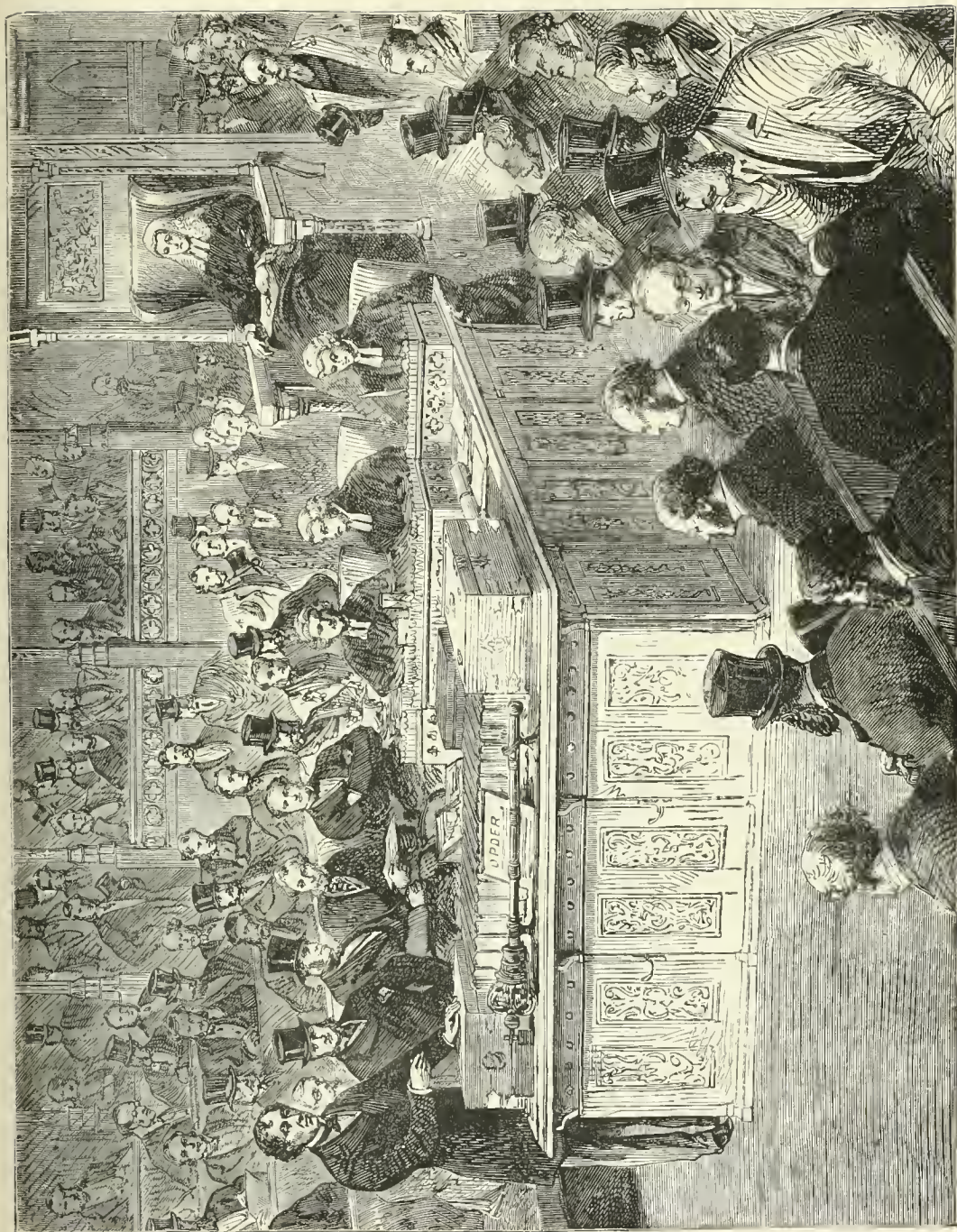
press for settlement. This is, in full, the conclusion of Mr. Gladstone's speech:—

The declarations of Parliament with respect to the Irish Church Establishment will not now, perhaps, if they stand alone, command all the credit that they might have commanded in other times; for this is not the first time that Parliament has endeavoured to assert the principle that the property of the Established Church in Ireland should be dealt with. For several successive years this House adopted the Appropriation Clause, until at length, confessing its defeat, it desisted from attempts to pass it into law. If anything, therefore, is declared by the House on the subject of the Irish Church, we ought not to confine ourselves to words. It ought to be a declaration attended with some step or proceeding which will give to the people of this country, and which will give to the people of Ireland, conclusive proof that we have not entered hastily or lightly on a task of so much gravity, and that we mean what we say, and that, as far as depends upon us, the task will be performed.

Sir, under these circumstances it seems to me clear that we ought not to go to issue with her Majesty's Government on a motion like that which is now before the House. But when that motion has been disposed of our duty will not have passed away. On the contrary, it will be coming more and more nearly into view. We remember the words, the earnest, touching words with which the noble Earl closed his address, when he expressed a hope and uttered a call inciting the Irish people to union and to loyalty. Sir, that is our object too, but I am afraid that as to the means the differences are still profound, and it is idle, it is mocking to use words unless we can sustain them by corresponding substance. That substance can be supplied only by the unreserved devotion of our efforts now in this, perhaps the last stage of the Irish crisis to remove the scandal and the mischief which have so long weakened and afflicted the empire. For that work I trust strength will be given to us. If we be prudent men, I hope we shall endeavour as far as in us lies to make some provision for a contingent, a doubtful, and probably a dangerous future. If we be chivalrous men, I trust we shall endeavour to wipe away all those stains which the civilised world has for ages seen, or seemed to see, on the shield of England in her treatment of Ireland. If we be compassionate men, I hope we shall now, once for all, listen to the tale of woe which comes from her, and the reality of which, if not its justice, is testified by the continued migration of her people—that we shall

'Raze out the written troubles from her brain,
Pluck from her memory the rooted sorrow.'*

* *Macbeth*, act v., scene 3.



MR. DISRAELI FIRST ADDRESSING THE HOUSE AS PREMIER.

But, above all, if we be just men we shall go forward in the name of truth and right, bearing this in mind—that, when the case is proved, and the hour is come, justice delayed is justice denied.

This speech excited feelings of consternation amongst the Ministerialists. Mr. Disraeli bewailed his own unhappy fate at the commencement of his career as Prime Minister, at finding himself face to face with the imperious necessity of settling out of hand an account seven centuries old. He complained that all the elements of the Irish crisis had existed while Mr. Gladstone was in office, but no attempt had been made to deal with them. The spirit of the age was not, he asserted, opposed to endowments, as had been laid down by Mr. Bright—who, with the aid of the philosophers, had now converted Mr. Gladstone to the same opinion. For himself, he was personally in favour of ecclesiastical endowments, and strongly objected to the destruction of the Irish Church. Mr. Maguire, being urged thereto by Mr. Gladstone, withdrew his motion.

But, with the express declarations of the leader of the Opposition, the Irish Church question had moved forward an enormous stage. To go back now was impossible, and to stand still was equally impossible. Mr. Gladstone's address became the basis of action for the Liberal party, and the country speedily took up the cry of disestablishment. The right hon. gentleman himself, not shrinking from following up the policy he had indicated, with all convenient speed, laid upon the table of the House of Commons the following resolutions

upon the Irish Church, which he intended to move in committee of the whole House:—‘1. That in the opinion of this House it is necessary that the Established Church of Ireland should cease to exist as an establishment, due regard being had to all personal interests and to all individual rights of property. 2. That, subject to the foregoing considerations, it is expedient to prevent the creation of new personal interests by the exercise of any public patronage, and to confine the operations of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of Ireland to objects of immediate necessity, or involving individual rights, pending the final decision of Parliament. 3. That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, humbly to pray that, with a view to the purposes aforesaid, her Majesty will be graciously pleased to place at the disposal of Parliament her interest in the temporalities, in archbishoprics, bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical dignities and benefices in Ireland and in the custody thereof.’ A few days later Lord Stanley gave notice that he should propose the following amendment on the motion for going into committee on the Irish Church Establishment:—‘That this House, while admitting that considerable modifications in the temporalities of the United Church in Ireland may, after pending inquiry, appear to be expedient, is of opinion that any proposition tending to the disestablishment or disendowment of that Church might be reserved for the decision of a new Parliament.’ This amendment—which was warmly approved by the Minis-

terialists — Lord Stanley explained, would be taken at the first stage of the discussion, on the motion that the Speaker leave the chair.

The Government thus joined battle with Mr. Gladstone, and on the 30th of March the conflict began. The titles of the Acts relating to the Church Establishment, the 5th article of the Act of Union, and the coronation oath of the Sovereign, having been read from the table, Mr. Gladstone commenced his address in a House crowded with eager listeners to his indictment. The extracts from the existing laws, he remarked, would serve to remind the House that they were about to enter upon a solemn duty. Having indicated his method of procedure, he proposed — if the House should declare its opinion that the Irish Establishment should cease to exist — that the cessation should be effected in a manner worthy of the nation, affording ample consideration and satisfaction to every proprietary and vested right. The residue, after satisfying every just claim, should be treated as an Irish fund, applicable to the exclusive benefit of Ireland. Both the Liberal party and the Conservative party were justified hitherto in not taking up the subject, for previous to this time no state of public feeling or opinion would have enabled this great question to be opened on the wide basis which it required. He had heard a great deal not only of apostasy, but of sudden apostasy; yet a change which extended over a quarter of a century could hardly be called a sudden change.

Mr. Gladstone then briefly recapitu-

lated his personal history on this question, which has been practically dealt with in a previous chapter. As to the actualities of the matter, he apprehended there would be no desire to deprive the Protestant community of the fabrics, provided they wished to apply them to religious purposes; and the same principle would be applied to the residences of the clergy. The proprietors of advowsons would also have a strict claim to compensation. Of the money value of the endowments, not less than three-fifths, possibly two-thirds, would remain in the hands of the Anglican communion in Ireland. He denied that the disendowment of the Irish Church would be dangerous to the English Establishment. What was dangerous to the latter was to hold her in communion with a state of things politically dangerous and socially unjust. The existence of the Irish Church was not necessary for the maintenance of Protestantism in Ireland.

As to the effects of disestablishment upon Protestantism, Mr. Gladstone said:—

If we are told that the removal of a public religious establishment from Ireland will be injurious to Protestantism, I would ask what is the meaning of the words 'injurious to Protestantism?' The meaning must be this—that the maintenance of this religious Establishment has been beneficial to Protestantism. And yet it is shown by evidence which, although in all its details it may not be perfectly precise, is nevertheless clear and conclusive for every practical purpose, that ever since you receded from the cruelty of the penal laws, the attempt to maintain your establishment has had this effect—that along with it there has been an immense increase in the proportion of Roman Catholics to Protestants in Ireland. It may, indeed, be said, 'Yes, the case is very bad, though it would have been still worse but for our religious Establishment.' I trust, however, that that argument will not be used

in a House of Commons which, by an overwhelming majority, is a Protestant House of Commons, for dismal, indeed, is our condition if, as professors of a certain religion, we cannot look our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens in the face and meet them on a fair field, and if, the moment we are threatened with civil equality, we are obliged to utter doleful vaticinations about the extinction of our faith, and to confess

to members of that communion, and to place it on a footing which, in my judgment, was not tenable in equity. But there are other reasons why it is very well that these thirty years of trial should have afforded us an opportunity of arriving, as we all wish to arrive, at a determination as nearly perfect as possible, and I think it but fair to the Established Church in Ireland to admit that, until very recent



LORD STANLEY.

that we have only been prevented by extraneous and fictitious aid on the part of the State from being swallowed up in a great vortex. At the same time, I am bound to say I am not one of those who greatly regret the loss of what was termed the Appropriation Clause. I repent undoubtedly of certain arguments which I used against it in speeches, of which the most recent was delivered thirty-two years ago; but that Appropriation Clause did not satisfy the principle of justice, and it certainly tended in my opinion to give a new charter to the Protestant Church, upon a principle of pure personal preference

times, it has not had a perfectly fair trial as a religious community, for so incredibly perverted was the system under which Ireland was governed during the last century, that the Established Church could hardly be called a religious institution. During the thirty years which have elapsed since 1838 what have we had in Ireland? In the first place we have had the clergyman pursuing his avocation in perfect tranquillity, and without any external barrier of any kind to impede him. In the second place, we have had a clergy claiming and well earning the name of an able, a zealous, and a pious

clergy. What more could be desired to test the capacity of the Church? And yet, sir, more there has been, because there has been a great calamity—a famine, which pressed principally, though not

ing the numbers of the Catholic population, it appears from the census of 1861 that, although some change has taken place, it is so insignificant that we may fairly call it imperceptible, for I believe, if we cou-



RIGHT HON. BENJAMIN DISRAELI, M.P.

entirely, on the Catholic population of Ireland, and which gave to the Protestant clergy, as the dispensers of alms, access to every cottage in the country, and placed in their hands such a leverage of social power as can hardly be over-estimated. The plague was followed by emigration, and all these burdens weighed chiefly on the Roman Catholic population. Yet with all these advantages on the side of the Establishment, and with that terrific calamity reduc-

template the conversion of Ireland at the rate indicated by these figures, some 1,500 or 2,000 years at least must elapse before we complete the task.

The final arrangements in this matter might be left, continued the right hon. gentleman, to a reformed Parliament, but he proposed that they should pre-

vent by legislation this session the growing of a new crop of vested interests. There had been a connection between this country and Ireland for 700 years, but it had been marked by a succession of storms and temporary calms. 'We have gone on, I am afraid, less alive than we ought to have been to the real demands of Ireland. It has only been since the termination of the American war and the appearance of Fenianism that the mind of this country has been greatly turned to the consideration of Irish affairs; and it is in vain to attempt to preach in the wilderness, to anticipate conclusions at which the nation has not arrived, even though those conclusions may be recommended by forethought as well as justice. But what has been happening all this time? Has Ireland been in a stationary condition? I do not speak of its material condition. I speak of other causes. The discontent of the agricultural population has continued, and the virtual pledge given by public authority in the report of Lord Devon's Commission, twenty-three years ago, has for all these years remained without redemption. If millions of the Irish people have taken an acuter view of their own rights and wrongs than we may approve, and the cheap Press, which, with myriad wings, we have sent among them, has stirred from time to time those breasts, that cheap Press, if causes of dissatisfaction had not existed, would only have attached all classes to the institutions of the country. It used to be said that steam had bridged the Channel — it has now bridged the

Atlantic. Steam now bridges the Atlantic, and the echoes of whatever dissatisfaction exists in Ireland come back to us over the waves of that wide ocean.' He called upon the House to settle its account with the sister island by removing the whole cause of dispute. Mr. Gladstone closed his address with the following peroration:—

There are many who think that to lay hands upon the National Church Establishment of a country is a profane and unhallowed act. I respect that feeling. I sympathise with it. I sympathise with it while I think it my duty to overcome and repress it. But if it be an error, it is an error entitled to respect. There is something in the idea of a national establishment of religion, of a solemn appropriation of a part of the Commonwealth for conferring upon all who are ready to receive it what we knew to be an inestimable benefit; of saving that portion of the inheritance from private selfishness, in order to extract from it, if we can, pure and unmixed advantages of the highest order for the population at large. There is something in this so attractive that it is an image that must always command the homage of the many. It is somewhat like the kingly ghost in *Hamlet*, of which Marcellus says:—

'We do it wrong, being so majestic,
To offer it the show of violence;
For it is, as the air, invulnerable,
And our vain blows malicious mockery.'

But, sir, this is to view a religious establishment upon one side, only upon what I may call the ethereal side. It has likewise a side of earth; and here I cannot do better than quote some lines written by the present Archbishop of Dublin, at a time when his genius was devoted to the muses. He said, in speaking of mankind:—

'We who did our lineage high
Draw from beyond the starry sky,
Are yet upon the other side,
To earth and to its dust allied.*

And so the Church Establishment, regarded in its theory and in its aim, is beautiful and attractive. Yet what is it but an appropriation of public property, an appropriation of the fruits of labour and of skill to certain purposes, and unless these purposes are fulfilled, that appropriation cannot be justified. Therefore, sir, I cannot but feel that we must set aside fears which thrust themselves upon the imagi-

* Lines written by Archbishop Trench after hearing some beautiful singing in a convent church at Rome.

nation, and act upon the sober dictates of our judgment. I think it has been shown that the cause for action is strong—not for precipitate action, not for action beyond our powers, but for such action as the opportunities of the times and the condition of Parliament, if there be but a ready will, will amply and easily admit of. If I am asked as to my expectations of the issue of this struggle, I begin by frankly avowing that I, for one, would not have entered into it unless I believed that the final hour was about to sound—

‘Venit summa dies et ineluctabile fatum.’*

And I hope that the noble lord will forgive me if I say that before Friday last I thought that the thread of the remaining life of the Irish Established Church was short, but that since Friday last, when at half-past four o'clock in the afternoon the noble lord stood at that table, I have regarded it as being shorter still. The issue is not in our hands. What we had and have to do is to consider well and deeply before we take the first step in an engagement such as this; but having entered into the controversy, there and then to acquit ourselves like men, and to use every effort to remove what still remains of the scandals and calamities in the relations which exist between England and Ireland, and to make our best efforts at least to fill up with the cement of human concord the noble fabric of the British Empire.

Lord Stanley, in moving his amendment, admitted that not one educated man in a hundred would maintain that the Irish Church was all that it should be, or that there were no scandals in it; but Mr. Gladstone's resolutions merely came to this—that something must be done, without saying what it was. If the resolutions were carried, there would be no effective legislation this year. He strongly condemned a sudden change of view like the present, and declared that action now was impossible. Lord Cranborne condemned the amendment as ambiguous; it indicated either no policy at all, or a policy which the Ministry were afraid to avow. He did

* ‘The fatal day, the appointed hour is come.’

Æneid, Dryden's Translation.

not pretend to predict the probable course of the right hon. gentleman at the head of the Government. He should as soon undertake to tell the House which way the weathercock would point to-morrow. Such a system of management was unworthy of the House of Commons, and degrading to the functions of the Executive. While ready to meet the resolutions with a plain, straightforward negative, he refused to support an amendment, the object of which was merely to gain time and to enable the Government to keep the cards in their hands for another year to shuffle as they pleased. Mr. Gathorne Hardy delivered a thoroughly Conservative and ‘no-surrender’ speech, and Mr. Bright justified disestablishment on the ground that the Irish Church had been, both as a missionary church and a political institution, a deplorable failure. The present condition of Ireland was anarchy subdued by force. Disestablishment was really not more serious than Free Trade, Reform, and other changes which the Conservative party had once resisted, and whose fears had since been found to be mere hobgoblins.

Mr. Lowe spoke with his accustomed force and sarcasm. He denounced the tortuous course of the Government, which had lowered the House and lowered the estimation in which our public men should be held. On the general question, he reminded members who attempted to link together the Irish and the English Church of the tyrant Mezentius, who bound a dead body to a living one. The Irish Church had

an establishment altogether superfluous and monstrous. In the course of a caustic attack upon Mr. Disraeli and his policy, Mr. Lowe said, 'We now find that the Government, instead of initiating measures, throw out, like the cuttle-fish of which we read in Victor Hugo's novel, all sorts of tentacula for the purpose of catching up something which it may appropriate and make its own.' In conclusion, he observed, 'The Irish Church is founded on injustice; it is founded on the dominant rights of the few over the many, and shall not stand. You call it a missionary church. If so, its mission is unfulfilled. As a missionary church it has failed utterly; like some exotic brought from a far country, with infinite pains and useless trouble, it is kept alive with difficulty and expense in an ungrateful climate and an ungenial soil. The curse of barrenness is upon it; it has no leaves; it bears no blossoms; it yields no fruit. Cut it down; why cumbereth it the ground?'

Mr. Disraeli's reply was not so noticeable from an argumentative as from a personal point of view. After defending the Government policy with regard to Lord Stanley's amendment, he made a bitter and pungent attack upon Lord Cranborne and Mr. Lowe. Of the former, he said that the noble lord was at no time wanting in imputing to the Government unworthy motives, and when he saw the amendment he believed immediately that they were about to betray their trust. 'I do not quarrel with the invective of the noble lord. The noble lord is a man of great talent, and he has vigour in his language.

There is great vigour in his language and no want of vindictiveness. I admit that now, speaking as a critic, and not perhaps as an impartial one, I must say I think it wants finish. Considering that the noble lord has studied the subject, and that he has written anonymous articles against me before and since I was his colleague—I do not know whether he wrote them when I was his colleague—I think it might have been accomplished more *ad unguem*.' Looking back upon these scenes in the light of the present day, one must suppose that the Marquis of Salisbury has succeeded in committing these encounters with the late Lord Beaconsfield to the waters of Lethe? Happy waters! that can thus drown in oblivion the strongest political antagonisms.

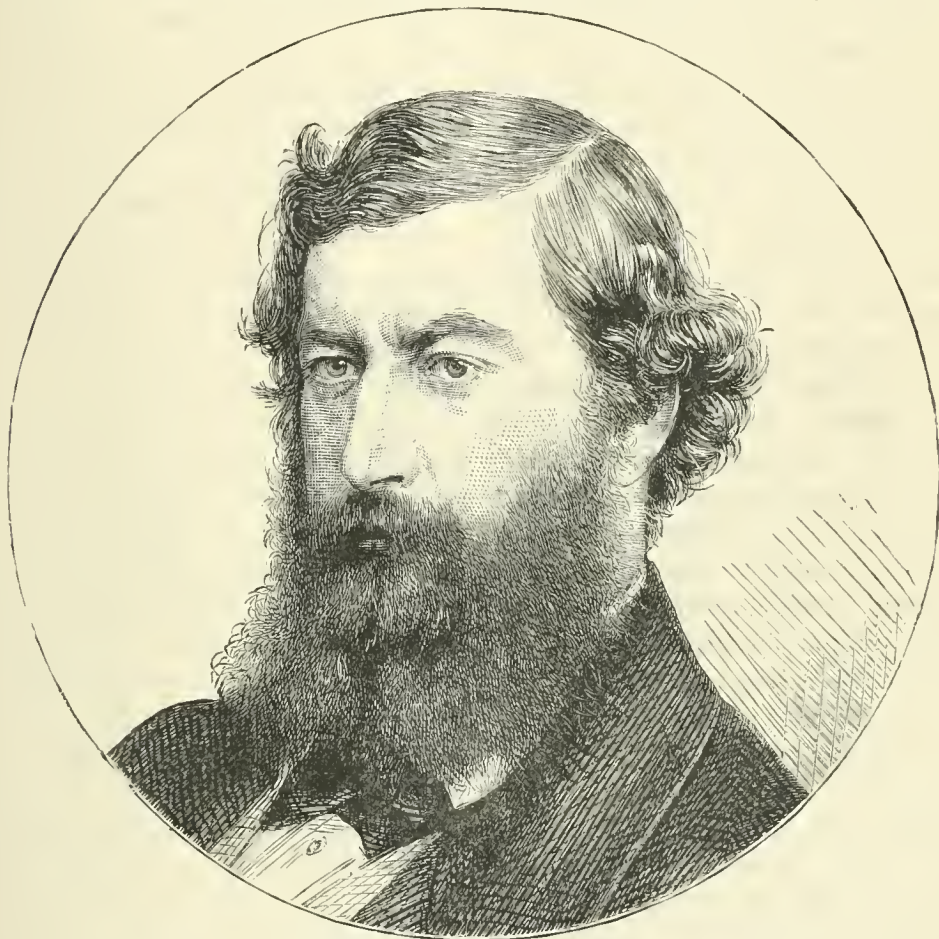
Turning upon Mr. Lowe, Mr. Disraeli observed, 'When the bark is heard from this side, the right hon. member for Calne emerges, I will not say from his cave, but, perhaps, from a more cynical habitation. He joins immediately in the chorus of reciprocal malignity—

"And hails with horrid melody the moon."

The right hon. gentleman is a very remarkable man. He is a learned man, though he despises history. He can chop logic like Dean Aldrich; but what is more remarkable than his learning and his logic, is that power of spontaneous aversion which particularly characterises him. There is nothing that he likes and almost everything that he hates. He hates the working classes of England; he hates the Roman Catholics of Ireland; he hates

the Protestants of Ireland. He hates her Majesty's Ministers. And until the right hon. gentleman the member for South Lancashire placed his hand upon the ark, he seemed almost to hate the right hon. gentleman the member

the orator adroitly added, 'unless I was first assailed.' But this also was followed by cries of dissent. The Prime Minister concluded by saying that under the guise of Liberalism, and under the pretence of legislating in the



RIGHT HON. G. WARD HUNT.

for South Lancashire. But now all is changed. Now we have the hour and the man. But I believe the clock goes wrong, and the man is mistaken.' Mr. Disraeli then proceeded to affirm that he had never attacked any one in his life. Here the loud cries of 'Oh! oh!' and 'Peel' were so overwhelming that

spirit of the age, Mr. Gladstone and his friends were, as he believed, about to seize upon the supreme authority of the realm. As long as, by the favour of the Queen, he stood there, he would oppose to the utmost of his ability the attempt they were making.

Mr. Gladstone replied that there

were portions of Mr. Disraeli's speech of which, with every effort on his part, he failed to discern the relevancy; and there were others which appeared due to the influence of a heated imagination. For himself, he did not conceal his intention to separate Church from State in Ireland, and he asked the expiring Parliament to pronounce an opinion which would clear the way for its successor. The House then went to a division, when the numbers were—For Lord Stanley's amendment, 270; against, 331—majority against the Government, 61. On the second division for going into committee, there appeared—For the motion, 328; against, 272—majority for Mr. Gladstone's motion, 56. An analysis shows that, including pairs, the first division gave in favour of Mr. Gladstone's policy a total of 343 members; for the Government, 282. This only left 33 members to be accounted for out of the whole House, and they were thus distributed:—Tellers, 4; Speaker, 1; absent, 22; seats vacant, 2; boroughs disfranchised, 4. Of the 22 members absent, 17 were Liberals, amongst whom was Sir Roundell Palmer, who was opposed to Mr. Gladstone's Irish Church policy. The following Liberals voted against Mr. Gladstone, viz., Mr. E. Antrobus, Mr. J. I. Briscoe, Lord Cremorne, Sir J. Matheson, Mr. Herries Maxwell, Mr. E. Saunderson, and Mr. James Wyld. The following Conservatives voted with Mr. Gladstone, viz., Lord Bingham, Mr. H. A. Butler-Johnstone, Mr. R. A. Earle, Sir J. McKenna, and Mr. G. Morris. In

the second division, the Conservative vote was increased by two, owing to the fact that two Liberal members strayed into the wrong lobby. Not only was Mr. Gladstone's majority much larger than had been anticipated by either political party, but it was almost twice as great a majority as that which in 1835 voted for the more limited policy involved in the Appropriation clause.

The Liberal party was at length united in such a degree as had never, perhaps, previously been known; and great meetings were shortly held in London and the provinces to express sympathy with the agitation thus set on foot for the disestablishment of the Irish Church. Two important demonstrations—one in favour of and the other against the Establishment—were held in St. James's Hall. Meantime the Government entered into negotiations with the Irish Roman Catholic prelates, but these negotiations were afterwards definitively abandoned. The political warfare which now ensued was not always carried on with legitimate weapons. A striking example of this was found in certain charges brought against Mr. Gladstone—charges which the right hon. gentleman himself thus stated:—‘First, that when at Rome I made arrangements with the Pope to destroy the Church Establishment in Ireland, with some other like matters, being myself a Roman Catholic at heart. Second, that during and since the Government of Sir Robert Peel I have resisted, and till now prevented, the preferment of Dr.

Wynter. Third, that I have publicly condemned all support to the clergy in the three kingdoms from Church or public funds. Fourth, that when at Balmoral I refused to attend her Majesty at Crathie Church. Fifth, that I received the thanks of the Pope for my proceedings respecting the Irish Church. Sixth, that I am a member of a High Church Ritualistic congregation.' 'These statements, one and all,' wrote Mr. Gladstone, 'are untrue in letter and in spirit, from the beginning to the end.'

During the discussion on Mr. Gladstone's resolutions in the House of Commons, the Earl of Derby drew attention in the Upper House to what the noble earl described as their unconstitutional character, in so far as they asked her Majesty to place at the disposal of Parliament certain temporalities which had only been discussed in the Lower House. The leading Opposition peers severely criticised his lordship's course of proceeding, and the debate terminated without any definite result. In the Commons, after a long discussion, Mr. Gladstone's first resolution was carried on the 30th of April. The right hon. gentleman, in summing up the debate, justified his mode of procedure, and declared with reference to Lord Derby's speech that he would not take the word of command from the House of Lords. He urged the House to accept the resolution, not as a panacea, but as part of a policy which would add strength and glory to the empire. Mr. Disraeli reiterated his objections to disestablishment, after

which the House divided, when the numbers were—For the resolution, 330; against, 265—majority against the Government, 65. This increased majority caused the Premier to state that the relations between the Government and the House were now altered, and it became necessary for the Ministry to consider their position. On the 4th of May Ministerial explanations were tendered. Mr. Disraeli said he had waited upon the Queen, and informed her that the proper constitutional course to take would be to dissolve Parliament and appeal to the country; at the same time, he offered the resignation of Ministers, which, however, he qualified by the advice that if the Government could conduct public business with the co-operation of the House until the close of the session, it would be better to delay the dissolution until the autumn. Mr. Gladstone strongly protested against this course, and Mr. Lowe complained that no concession had been made by her Majesty to the two great divisions. Mr. Bright was still more emphatic in his censure, and maintained that it was merely for the sake of prolonging his own term of office that Mr. Disraeli had made this outrageous demand on the indulgence of Parliament. The Government had no right to a dissolution, and they had no claim to remain in office when they could carry nothing of their own but a sixpenny income-tax.

The discussion was resumed upon the following day, and at length Mr. Disraeli said that the power held by the

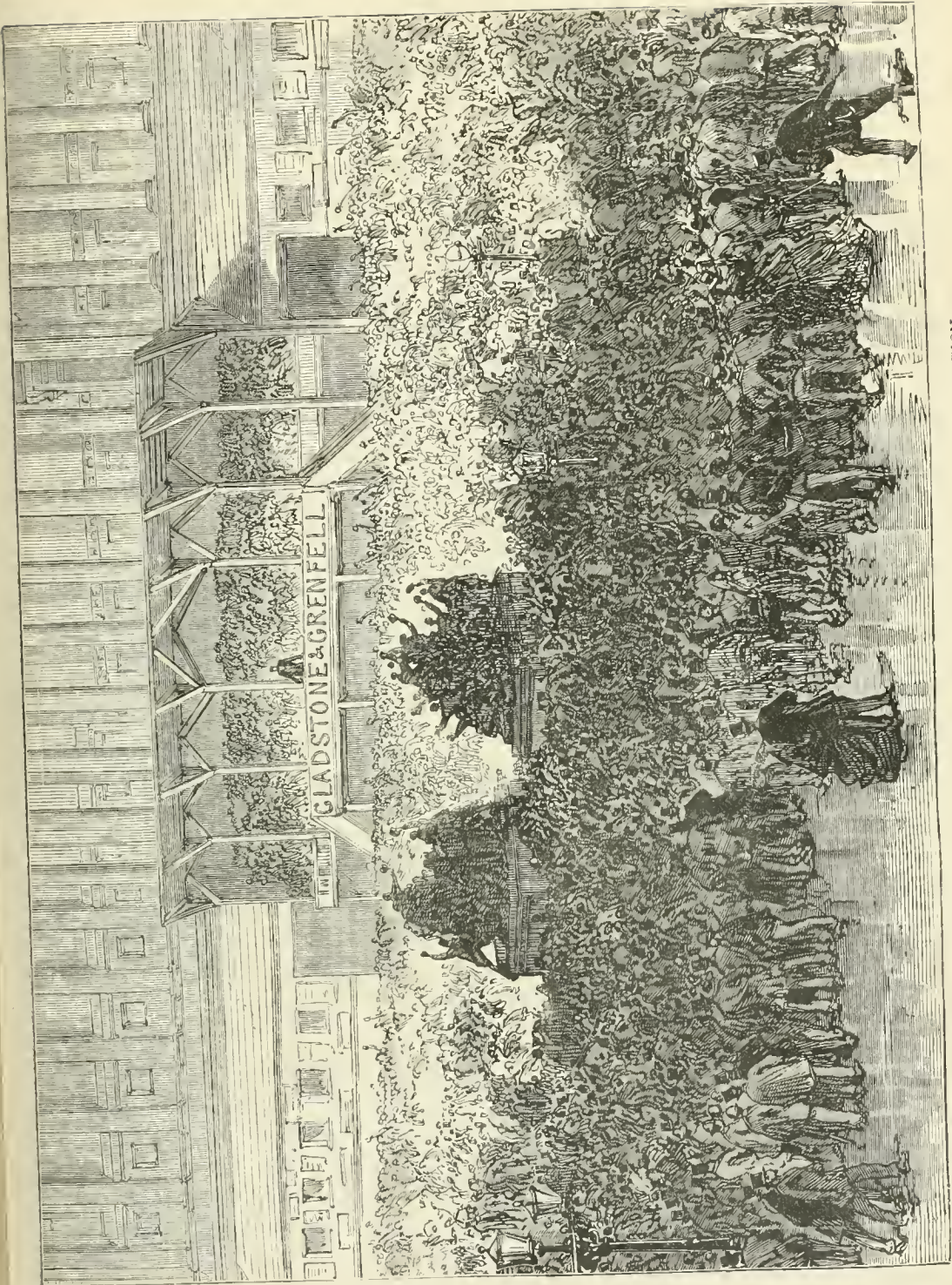
Government to dissolve Parliament having made some observations upon the divisions in the Liberal party as to the Irish Church question, and that if any other difficulty these grants, a passage of arms arose



THE NORTH LANCASHIRE ELECTION (1868): NOMINATION AT LANCASTER.

arose it would be the duty of Ministers again to repair to the Sovereign. The second and third Irish Church resolutions having been carried in committee, a discussion arose respecting the Maynooth and other grants. The Premier

between himself and Mr. Bright. The hon. member for Birmingham said, 'The Prime Minister the other night, with a mixture of pompousness and sometimes of servility, talked at large of the interviews which he had had



THE SOUTHWEST LANCASHIRE ELECTION (1868): THE NOMINATION.

with his Sovereign. I venture to say that a Minister who deceives his Sovereign is as guilty as the conspirator who would dethrone her. I don't charge the right hon. gentleman with deceiving his Sovereign. But if he has not changed the opinions which he held twenty-five years ago, and which in the main he said only a few weeks ago were right, then I fear he has not stated all it was his duty to state in the interview he had with his Sovereign.' The Minister who put his Sovereign into the front of a great struggle like this was guilty of a very high crime and great misdemeanour against his Sovereign and against his country. Mr. Gladstone said of Mr. Disraeli's language that he had never heard such from a Prime Minister before. Mr. Disraeli retorted with vigour, and, having charged Mr. Bright with indulging in stale invective, challenged him to bring his charges to the vote of the House. This exciting scene terminated by the passing of Mr. Gladstone's resolution. As finally reported to the House, the resolutions were four in number. Three we have already given, and the fourth ran as follows:— 'That when legislative effect shall have been given to the first resolution of this committee, respecting the Established Church of Ireland, it is right and necessary that the grant to Maynooth and the *Regium Donum* be discontinued, due regard being had to all personal interests.' Her Majesty, having replied to the address that she would not suffer her interests to stand in the way of any measures contem-

plated by Parliament, on the 14th of May Mr. Gladstone obtained leave to bring in a bill to prevent for a limited time new appointments in the Irish Church, and to restrain for the same period the proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for Ireland. On the 22nd, after a lengthy discussion, the Suspensory Bill was read a second time, the numbers in its favour being 312; against, 258—majority, 54. The bill passed the Commons, but upon the motion for its second reading in the House of Lords it was defeated by a large majority—a result by no means unexpected.

This great question was now remitted for settlement to the constituencies. The Opposition had cleared the ground for action, and felt that the decision of the Lords on the Suspensory Bill would have little or no effect upon the country as to the general question of the disestablishment of the Irish Church. On the 31st of July, the last Parliament elected under the Reform Bill of 1832 was prorogued with a view to its dissolution in the middle of November; it was understood that the new Parliament would be summoned in time to permit a crucial debate to take place upon the question of the Irish Church—in which the fate of the Government was involved—before the close of the year.

Early in August Mr. Gladstone began his electoral campaign in South-west Lancashire. Addressing a meeting at St. Helen's, he said he spoke in literal truth and not in mere sarcasm, when he affirmed of the Irish Church, 'You must not take away its abuses, because

if you take them away there will be nothing left.' It was idle to draw a comparison between the Church of Ireland and the Church of England, for the latter entered into the natural life and purpose of the country. Mr. Gladstone also delivered addresses at Liverpool, Warrington, Wigan, Ormskirk, and other places. The right hon. gentleman's address, in which the policy of the Liberal party was duly set forth, appeared on the 9th of October. After referring to the defeat of Lord Russell's Ministry, and the enormous addition to the public expenditure made by Mr. Disraeli's Government, Mr. Gladstone defended the removal of the Irish Establishment as the discharge of a debt of civil justice, and the blotting out of a national, almost a world-wide reproach. They should proceed with all due regard to existing interests, but a considerable property would probably remain at the disposal of the State. The mode of its application could only be suggested to Parliament by those who, as a Government, might have means and authority to examine into the wants of Ireland. These funds, however, should not be applied to the teaching of religion in any other form. He confidently asked the electors for their approval of the policy of the Opposition upon this great question. Election speeches followed each other in rapid succession, and the country could scarcely keep pace with Mr. Gladstone's extraordinary eloquence.

On the 11th of November Parliament was dissolved, and writs were issued for a new one, returnable on the 10th

of December. The election for South-west Lancashire naturally absorbed the largest share of the public attention, as it was well known that no effort would be spared to defeat Mr. Gladstone. The nomination took place on the 22nd of November, the hustings being erected in front of St. George's Hall, Liverpool. The weather was bitterly cold, but several thousand persons were present. The usual electioneering noises were prevalent, and while Mr. Gladstone was speaking he was regaled with a choral performance of 'God save the Queen.' Placards of a satirical kind were exhibited, the Conservatives being especially happy in their inscriptions. Some of these, according to the daily journals, provoked laughter from Mr. Gladstone himself. Amongst the most amusing 'hits' were 'Time table to Greenwich,' and 'Bright's disease and Lowe fever.' Yet good-humour prevailed during the proceedings. Mr. Gladstone, who spoke for forty minutes, referred to the elections which had already taken place, where the Ministerial candidates had been scattered right and left. He reviewed the acts of the Government, and repeated his charges of extravagance. He also maintained that some of the provisions of the Reform Act must be amended. Alluding to the abortive Ministerial propositions brought forward by Lord Mayo in the preceding March, the right hon. gentleman declared that the Cabinet were without a policy, and there was no guarantee that they would take any well-defined course. He denied

that the Liberal policy was calculated to injure the cause of Protestantism, and pointed to the elections in Scotland, a thoroughly Protestant part of the kingdom, as a proof that the people had no faith in the 'No Popery' cry. Mr. Gladstone then referred to the Liberal victories in the North of Ireland, and appealed to the electors of South-west Lancashire to permit him to speak the words of truth and justice in the House of Commons in the name and with the authority of that important constituency.

There was a great preponderance of feeling in favour of Mr. Gladstone at the hustings; but on the following day he was defeated at the poll, the numbers being—Cross (C.), 7,729; Turner (C.), 7,676; Gladstone (L.), 7,415; and Grenfell (L.), 6,939. The leader of the Opposition issued the following brief address to the electors:—'Gentlemen, I return my most cordial thanks to the 7,415 electors who supported me at the poll, and to the numerous and zealous friends who have so ably acted on my behalf. It is to me a matter of lively satisfaction, which I can never lose, that I received a large majority of votes within the district of Liverpool.' The right hon. gentleman, however, was not without a seat in the House, having been already elected for Greenwich. The Liberals of that borough, as a precautionary measure against a possible contingency elsewhere, determined upon putting Mr. Gladstone in nomination, together with Mr. Alderman Salomons. Both were returned by large majorities,

the numbers being—Mr. Alderman Salomons (L.), 6,645; Mr. Gladstone (L.), 6,551; Sir H. W. Parker (C.), 4,661; and Lord Mahon (C.), 4,342.

Although the Liberals sustained several serious single defeats during the elections—notably, those of Mr. Gladstone in South-west Lancashire, the Marquis of Hartington in North Lancashire, and Mr. J. Stuart Mill in Westminster—there was an enormous preponderance of Liberal feeling manifested throughout the country. The Liberal majority was placed by the daily journals at 115. The Conservatives were, of course, strong in the English counties; but in the boroughs they could only return 94 members, as against 214 Liberal representatives. In Scotland the Liberal majority was still more marked. The Liberals took all the burghs, while the Conservatives only secured seven seats in the counties, as against twenty-three by their opponents. Ireland also gave a majority for the Liberals, both in counties and boroughs. Since 1832 no such party majority had been known. An analysis distinguishing the three kingdoms shows that in this remarkable election of 1868 the total Liberal vote in England and Wales was 1,231,450; the Conservative vote, 824,057—majority, 407,393. The total Liberal vote in Scotland, with three elections undecided (which ultimately added a slight further gain to the Liberals), was 123,410; the Conservative vote, 23,391—majority, 100,019. The total Liberal vote in Ireland was 53,379; the Conservative vote, 36,082—ma-

majority, 17,297. The gross Liberal vote was thus 1,408,239; and the gross Conservative vote, 883,530, leaving a majority in favour of the former of 524,709. Another test also demonstrated the strength of the Liberals. The 92 constituencies gained by them throughout the elections contained a population of 6,611,950; while the 69 won by the Conservatives contained only a population of 5,177,534, leaving a balance on the side of the Liberals of 1,434,416. There were no fewer than 227 out of the whole number of members returned who had no seat in the previous Parliament, being upwards of one-third of the entire House of Commons.

The national verdict being thus strongly in favour of Mr. Gladstone's policy, Mr. Disraeli did not adopt the usual course of waiting for its endorsement by the new Parliament; but, in a statement addressed to his supporters, announced that Ministers had tendered their resignations to her Majesty. Having briefly reviewed in this circular the circumstances under which the general election was conducted, and the question at issue, the Premier said it was clear that the existing Administration could not expect to command the confidence of the newly-elected House of Commons; but he added that the members of the Government would continue to offer an uncompromising resistance to the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church.

Mr. Gladstone, who was naturally the only Liberal statesman to whom her Majesty could have recourse, re-

ceived the Royal summons on the 4th of December. In obedience to the Queen's commands, he undertook to form a Ministry. On the 9th the new Government was completed, and on the following day the Premier issued a brief address to his constituents. Contrary to original expectation, the new Cabinet included Mr. Bright as President of the Board of Trade. Referring to this matter in a speech at Birmingham, the hon. member said that he had never aspired to the dignity of office; and when the question was put to him whether he would step into the position in which he now found himself, the answer which came from his heart was that of the Shunamite woman to the prophet, 'I dwell among mine own people.' Happily, he trusted that the time had come when in this country an honest man might enter the service of the Crown, and at the same time not feel it in any degree necessary to dissociate himself from his own people.

The new Premier and the various members of the Ministry were unopposed on presenting themselves for re-election to their respective constituencies. Speaking at Greenwich, Mr. Gladstone said that in view of the recent manifestation throughout the country, it was not unnatural that the Disraeli Government should have melted away before the Parliament which they had called into existence—without looking that Parliament in the face, and without asking from it the judgment they had undertaken to challenge—melted away, in the words

of our greatest poet, 'like a mockery king of snow.' Referring to the question of the Ballot, Mr. Gladstone said that the acts of intimidation which had characterised many of the recent contests had led him to the belief that, whether by open voting or whatsoever means, the liberty of the elector must be secured. It would also be the duty of the Liberal Government forthwith to remedy the grievances inflicted by the rate-paying clauses of the Reform Act. Touching upon education, the relations between capital and labour, and the public expenditure, he observed that no Administration could be expected at once to deal with every great public question, but he should be much disappointed if there was not an immediate reduction in the estimates. With regard to the Irish Church, he denied that there was any analogy whatever between that Church and the Established Church of England, while the former had been condemned by the voice of the people in the

three kingdoms. 'We confide in the traditions we have received of our fathers; we confide in the soundness both of the religious and of the civil principles that prevail; we confide in the sacredness of that cause of justice in which we are engaged, and with that confidence and persuasion we are prepared to go forward.'

A new Liberal Government—able in many of its own constituent elements, and supported by the overwhelming vote of the people—was thus installed before the close of the year. The task before it was arduous, for although it owed its formation ostensibly to the national desire for the settlement of one great question, there were other questions looming in the distance which might prove a source of difficulty and danger. However, for the special work it was pledged to accomplish, no Government could have been more fully strengthened and equipped than that which had Mr. Gladstone for its chief.



CHAPTER IV.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF LIBERALISM.

The Difficulties of Disestablishment--Attacks upon Mr. Gladstone's Measure--The Premier's Speech on unfolding his Scheme--Details of the Bill--The *Regium Donum* and the Maynooth Grant--Financial Results of the Operations--Character of the Premier's Address--Debates upon the Bill--Speeches of Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Bright, Mr. Gathorne Hardy, and others--Mr. Gladstone's Reply--Second Reading of the Bill carried by an overwhelming Majority--Its subsequent Stages--Reception in the Lords--A memorable Division--The Measure passes--Its Character described--The Irish Land Bill introduced--Mr. Gladstone's comprehensive Speech--Details of the Scheme--Nature of the Government Proposals--They are attacked by Dr. Ball and Mr. Disraeli--Singular Division on the Second Reading--The Bill passes both Houses--Elementary Education Bill introduced--Another important Measure carried--Massacre of English Travellers by Greek Brigands--Proceedings in Parliament--The Franco-German War--Position of England--Publication of the Proposed Franco-Prussian Treaty--Mr. Gladstone on English Neutrality--Legislative Changes in 1870--Release of the Fenian Prisoners.

ALTHOUGH Mr. Gladstone was thus powerfully sustained by the country in his resolve to disestablish the Irish Church, there were many persons who doubted the successful issue of his policy. The magnitude of the task before the new Premier was such as might well appall any statesman. It is one thing to pass an abstract resolution declaring disestablishment advisable and necessary; it is another to cope with the details and difficulties which an actual measure involves. This great line of public policy and action had certainly been approved by the constituencies with unmistakable clearness; but Mr. Gladstone himself did not disguise the fact that the labour before the Government was of a most arduous and intricate character. A large section of the Conservative party still believed it to be impossible of achievement, and their view was shared by nearly the whole of the clergy. The undertaking was,

perhaps, the greatest and the most difficult to which any statesman of modern times had committed himself; but, fortunately for Mr. Gladstone, the Liberal party never wavered in their allegiance to him; and he was enabled to construct, and carry through, with few serious alterations, the measure to which he and his Cabinet stood pledged.

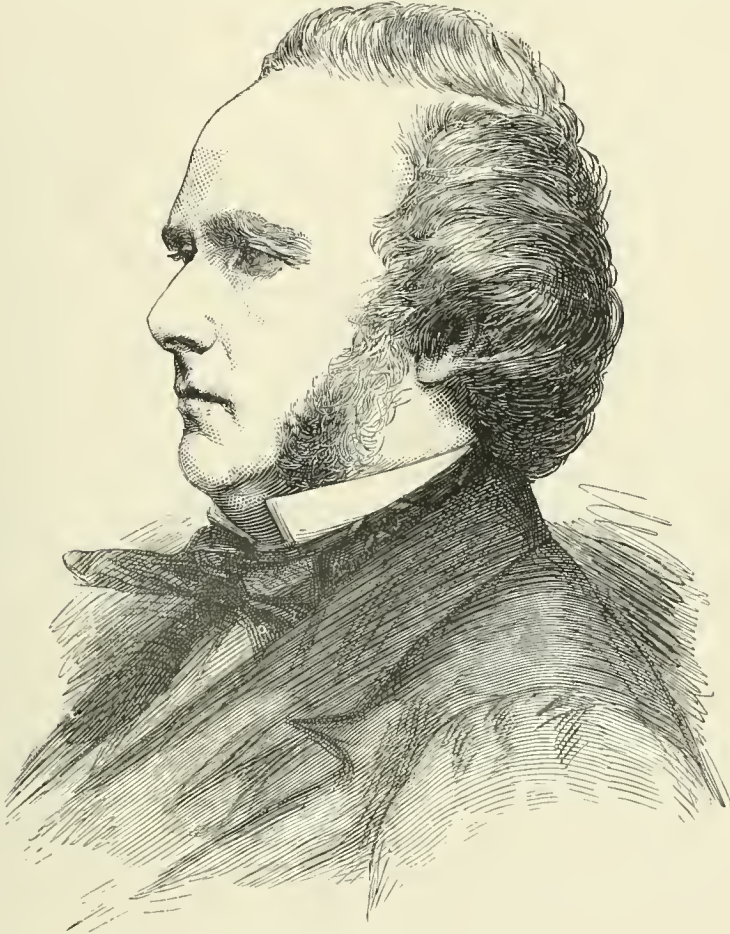
The spirit in which these disestablishment proposals were received by the warmest defenders of the Irish Church may be gathered from the reports of the public meetings and of the various Synods held at this period. At one of the latter, the measure was denounced as 'highly offensive to Almighty God.' Speaking at Cork, Lord Bandon said that compromise was utterly impracticable, as the plunder of the Church was only preparatory to the plunder of the land. He had no security for his property for to-morrow. The Bishop of Ossory



PROCESSION OF THE SPEAKER TO THE BAR OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

described the bill as 'framed in a spirit of inveterate hostility to the Church.' The Earl of Carriek maintained that it was 'the greatest national sin ever committed.' Lord de Vesci alluded to

Oliver Cromwell's he made no reference to 'carnal weapons.' In the sittings of Convocation, Archdeacon Denison deplored 'the great national sin' into which the country seemed to be plung-



THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

it as 'a perilous weakening of the foundations of property;' while the Archdeacon of Ossory, addressing the same meeting as his lordship, exhorted his hearers to 'trust in God and keep their powder dry.' The Archdeacon, however, was careful to explain that in thus using a memorable phrase of

ing. Dr. Jebb asked the assembly to express its 'utter detestation of a most ungodly, wicked, and abominable measure;' while Archdeacon Moore insisted that at all hazards the Queen must interfere to prevent 'this dreadful thing'—'better jeopardise her crown than destroy the Church.'

But the language of many of the Orange laity was still more extraordinary. At a meeting held in Exeter Hall, the rejection of the bill by the Peers, and the prompt dismissal of the Ministry by her Majesty, were demanded. The speeches delivered were of a most violent character, the Government being spoken of as 'traitors,' 'robbers,' and 'political brigands,' while the statements made by the Liberal press and Liberal speakers were characterised as lies. A Conservative member of Parliament said that there were thousands of Protestants in his part of the country who thought Mr. Gladstone was a 'traitor to his Queen, his country, and his God,' and the righteous retribution which he (the member) would visit upon the right hon. gentleman was 'perpetual exclusion from power for having dared to put his hand on the ark of God.' Another speaker described the Cabinet as 'a Cabinet of brigands.' All Orangemen, of course, were not so violent as those whose utterances have been cited; and we have only introduced these examples as showing the calumnies heaped upon Mr. Gladstone for undertaking what he deemed to be an act of simple justice towards Ireland and the too-long neglected Irish people.

On the 1st of March, 1869, Mr. Gladstone unfolded his scheme in the House of Commons. For three hours the orator fixed the attention of a densely-crowded chamber while he described the Ministerial method of dealing with the Irish Church. As Mr. Disraeli afterwards said, there was not

a single redundant word in this remarkable speech. The heads of the Acts relating to the Established Church of Ireland and Maynooth, and the first resolution of the previous session, having been read, Mr. Gladstone moved for leave to introduce a bill 'to put an end to the Established Church in Ireland, to make provision in respect to the temporalities thereof, and of the Royal College of Maynooth.' Commencing by a brief review of the previous stages of the question, and answering in the outset some of the principal objections to the Government policy, the speaker recalled the attention of the House to the pledges given by those who had taken up the subject. The bill for putting an immediate end to the Establishment and the public endowment of the Irish Church would be a thorough but at the same time a liberal and indulgent measure, prompt in its operation, and final in every respect. Dividing his analysis of the bill into three parts—its immediate effect, its effect at a certain time fixed (but not unalterably) at January 1, 1871, and its operation when the process of winding up the affairs of the Irish Church was brought to a close—Mr. Gladstone observed that the bill provided, on the first head, that the present Ecclesiastical Commission should be at once wound up, and a new commission appointed for ten years, in which the property of the Irish Church, subject to life interests, should be vested from the time of the passing of the bill. Therefore, technically and legally, there would be an

immediate disendowment of the Irish Church; but disestablishment would be postponed until the 1st of January, 1871. The union between the Churches of England and Ireland would be dissolved at that date, and all ecclesiastical corporations would be abolished. The Ecclesiastical Courts would cease, and the Ecclesiastical Laws would no longer be binding as laws; except that they would be understood to exist as the terms of the voluntary contract between clergy and laity, until they were altered by the governing body of the disestablished Church. With regard to the interval between the passing of the Act and the date of January 1st, 1871, and during the reorganisation of the Church, it was proposed that appointments should be made to spiritual offices, but that they should not carry with them the freehold or confer vested interests. In the same provisional and temporary manner, appointments would be made to vacant bishoprics, but only on the prayer of the bishops to consecrate a particular person to a vacancy; and these appointments would carry with them no vested interests, and no rights of peerage. Crown livings vacant during the same period would be filled up on similar principles.

Mr. Gladstone thus answered some of the most cogent arguments advanced against the measure:

It is said that the measure we are about to introduce will be adverse to religion. I believe it to be favourable, to be essential to the maintenance of those principles of right on which every religion must rest. We shall be told, more especially, that it is adverse to the interests of Protestantism; but

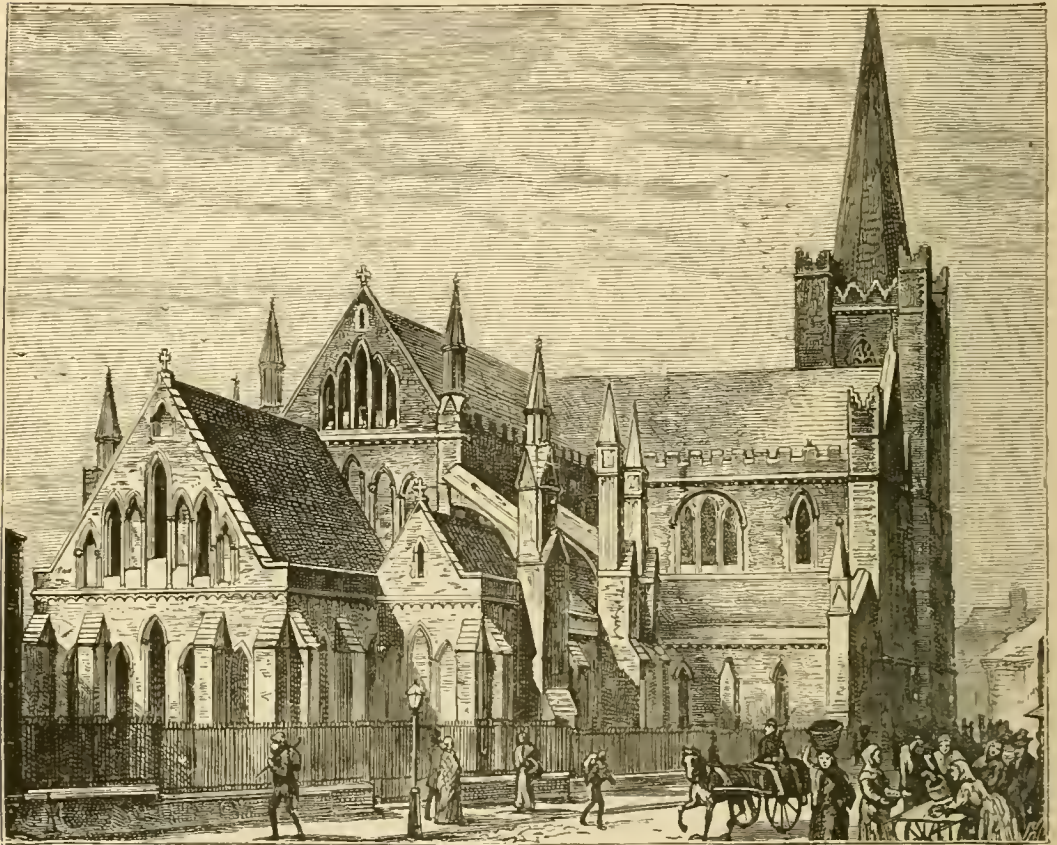
we shall point to the condition of Ireland, and shall argue from the facts of that condition that the interests of Protestantism have not been promoted, but, on the contrary, have been injured by our perseverance in a system which reason does not justify. We shall be told, perhaps, that we are invading the rights of property. No possible confidence can be greater than that with which we shall meet that argument. On former occasions, indeed, things have been done by Parliament, under the extreme pressure of the case, which it may be difficult to reconcile with the extreme assertion of the rights of property. There are clauses, and important clauses, of the Church Temporalities Act of 1833 which greatly restrain the abstract theory of property, and which I for one am totally unable to reconcile with its general rules. But, so far as I know, there is no imputation that can fairly be made against the measure we propose with respect to the rights of property by any other persons than those who hold what appears to me the untenable—I may even say the extravagant—doctrine that although Parliament has a perfect right to direct the course of the descent of property in the case of natural descent, lineage by blood, yet it has no right, when once the artificial existence of what we call a corporation has been created, to control the existence of that corporation or to extinguish it even under the gravest public exigency. Well, we shall be told also of the Act of Union; and I cannot, nor shall I attempt to dissemble that on a point which has been described as essential we propose to alter that Act. The Act of Union has been altered on other occasions, though never for so grave a cause as this; but we shall confidently contend that while we are altering this particular provision of the Act of Union, we are confirming its general purport and substance, and labouring to the best of our humble ability to give it those roots which unfortunately it has never yet adequately struck in the heart and affections of the people.

And lastly, Sir, this claim I, for one, confidently, boldly, make on behalf of the measure that we are introducing—I say we are giving effect to the spirit of a former policy. The great Minister who proposed the Act of Union neither said nor believed that it would be possible under a legislative Union to maintain the system of religious inequality which he found subsisting in Ireland. On the contrary, he has left upon record his strong conviction that the countenance and support afforded from national sources to the Established Church must be extended to other religions of the country. I admit that we pursue religious equality by means different from those proposed by Mr. Pitt, but by means, as I believe, better suited to the purpose we have in view, and certainly more consonant to the spirit, to the

opportunities, and to the possibilities of the times in which we live. Be that, however, as it may, and with all that allowance for difference of means, the end we have in view is the same, and for that end we are entitled to quote his great authority, and the authority of many of those who have followed him in their public career.

In order to assist the reorganisation

laity of the disestablished Church might agree on, and which actually represented both; and that body would be incorporated. Mr. Gladstone assumed that by January 1, 1871, or some other date to be incorporated in the bill, this governing body would have been constituted;



ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN.

of the Church, and to favour the creation of a body which could negotiate on behalf of the Church with the Commissioners, the Convention Act, which prevented the assembling of the clergy and laity of the Church, would be repealed; and power would be taken to the Queen in Council to recognise any governing body which the clergy and

and he then proceeded to explain the complicated details of the arrangements for dealing with the Church and its property in a disestablished condition. In this long and lucid explanation he first dealt with vested interests. A vested interest he defined to be the title of an incumbent—including in this term bishops and dignitaries as



THE NEW PARLIAMENT (1869): MEMBERS PASSING THROUGH WESTMINSTER HALL.

well as beneficed clergy—to receive a certain annuity out of the property of the Church (fees, pew-rents, &c., being put out of the question), in consideration of the performance of a certain duty. The Commissioners would ascertain the amount of each incumbent's income, deducting what he paid for curates; and, so long as he continued to discharge his duties, that income would be paid him; but he might apply to have this commuted into an annuity for life. It was not proposed to interfere compulsorily with the position of the incumbent in relation to his freehold or the incidents of his landlordship, with three exceptions—that his title to the tithe rent-charge would be vested immediately in the Commissioners; that the freehold of churches wholly in ruins would be taken from the incumbent; and that the peerage rights of the Irish bishops would cease at once. The following is the passage in which he referred to the bishops:—
 'There is another change which would be made immediately upon the disestablishment of the Church, and which it is my duty to bring specially to the notice of the Committee, although probably the view of the Committee will be not only in favour of the change, but is likely to be that under the circumstances of the case it is inevitable. The Committee is aware of the peculiar nature of the title of an Irish bishop to sit in the House of Lords. He has a title to sit there for life, and yet it is an intermittent title. He is not a permanent member of that Assembly, but he is placed in a certain legal rota-

tion which brings him there for a Session and then dismisses him, in the case of the Archbishop for one, and in the case of the Bishops for two or three Sessions. We have had to ask ourselves whether it is desirable that a right of peerage so singular in its character and operation should continue after the disestablishment of the Church. I own that it is not without some regret and pain that I propose a provision which should seem in the slightest degree to convey a slight or disparagement in point of dignity to individuals who, as such, I believe to be fully and amply worthy of the honours they enjoy in the House of Lords. But the anomaly is so great, and then, again, it is so obvious that the Irish bishops are maintained in the House of Lords for the very purpose of representing a national and an Established Church, that—although not without regret as far as the individuals are concerned—I think we cannot hesitate to propose to the Committee that these peerages should lapse with the disestablishment of the Church. It is because this proposal forms a qualification to the broad principle I have laid down as to respecting life interests in their integrity that I have been so particular in calling attention to it.' Mr. Gladstone next observed that the compensation to curates would be of two kinds: those whom he described as 'transitory curates' would be dealt with on a principle borrowed from the Civil Service Superannuation Act, and would be dismissed with a gratuity; but permanent curates, viz., those who had been employed in the same parish

from January 1, 1869, to January 1, 1871—or had left their employment not from their own free-will or misconduct—would be entitled to compensation on the same principle as the incumbents. This compensation would be paid by the incumbents. It was not proposed to touch private endowments, and these would be the only marketable property conveyed to the Church. The Premier, however, limited the term to money contributed from private sources since the year 1660, and pointed out that it would not include churches and glebe houses. Here followed, from an historical point of view, the most interesting passage of Mr. Gladstone's speech :

The reason that has recommended the date of 1660 to us is the fact that the Restoration was really the period at which the Church of Ireland—the Reformed or Protestant Church of Ireland—assumed its present legislative shape and character. Before the wars of Charles I., in all the three Churches of the three kingdoms there were more or less the different elements that finally developed themselves into different forms of Protestantism, and these were in conflict together within the bosom of the National Church. In England we had Puritanism and Anglicanism struggling for ascendancy within the pale of the Church, as we are told in Scripture that Jacob and Esau struggled together within the womb of their mother. In Scotland there was the same struggle, with the exception that there Presbyterianism was really in the ascendancy. In Ireland Presbyterianism and Episcopacy were struggling powerfully together during the reigns of James I. and Charles I. It may not be known to all who hear me—though it ought to be known, and it tends strongly to justify us in not going beyond the Restoration—that the very confession, the doctrinal confession of the Irish Church in the reign of James I. and Charles I. was not the same as that in England. It was modelled by Archbishop Usher upon the highest Calvinistic frame, and it included nine articles which composed a document well known in England under the name of the Lambeth Articles drawn up in the latter end of the sixteenth century. I hope I shall not wound

the feelings of any man when I say that it was one of the most formidable collections of theology which ever proceeded from the pen of a divine in the whole history of Christendom. It was different in spirit from the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, and the constitution of the Irish Church was practically different. Presbyterianism was not formally or legally recognised, but it had a real or practical recognition in Ulster, which was occupied by Scotch rather than English colonists, who were for the most part Presbyterians. I find no proof that when a Presbyterian minister went over from Scotland to Ireland he was obliged to submit to reordination, and if a bishop had to go into a place where ordination was going on he was never allowed, as far as I can learn, in the case of a man of strong Presbyterian opinions, to assert his episcopal character and his exclusive power of ordination, but had to beg for admission into the room where the ordination was going on. Even if we could trace the private endowments back to so remote a period, the first effect would be to raise a strong controversy between the friends of Presbytery and Episcopacy.

When we come to the time of Charles II., at which period the ecclesiastical condition both of England and Ireland became distinct, we ask you, then, to distinguish private and public endowments, because we know historically, that a man, at any rate, knew what he was doing, and the fair presumption arises that if he gave his money to the Church it was for the support of that form of religion to which it is now applied. That will be the definition we propose to take with respect to private endowments. They are not numerous in the Church of Ireland, but they are of extraordinary interest. Take the case of the parish of Laracor, the parish of which Swift was vicar before he was transferred to the Deanery of St. Patrick's. When he went into it Laracor had a glebe-house and one acre. He left it with a glebe-house and twenty acres. He improved and decorated it in many ways. It is sad and melancholy to learn, if only we look upon this place as one of the memorials of so extraordinary a man, that many of the embellishments, or what our Scotch friends would call 'amenities' of the glebe which grew up under his fostering hand have since been effaced. He endowed the vicarage with certain tithes which he had purchased for the purpose ; and I doubt whether it is generally very well known that a curious question arises on this bequest, because a portion of his property—by-the-by, consisting, I believe, of those very tithes—was left by him for what he calls—I never knew the term to be used elsewhere—'the Episcopal Religion established in Ireland.' But that extraordinary man, even at the time when he wrote that the Irish Catholics were so down-trodden and insignificant that no possible

change could ever bring them into a position of importance, appears to have foreseen the day when the ecclesiastical arrangements of Ireland would be called to account; because, not satisfied with leaving the property to maintain the Episcopal religion, he proceeds to provide for the day when that Episcopal religion might be disestablished and be no longer the national religion of the country. Apparently by some secret intimation he foresaw the shortness of its existence as an Establishment, for he left the property subject to a condition that in such case it should be administered for the benefit of the poor.

As to churches (Mr. Gladstone continued), wherever the 'governing body' made an application, accompanied by a declaration that they meant either to maintain the church for public worship or to remove it to some more convenient position, it would be handed over to them; but in the case of St. Patrick's Cathedral, and about a dozen other churches partaking of the character of national memorials, the Commissioners would be empowered to allot a moderate sum for their maintenance. Those churches which were not in use, and which were not capable of being restored for purposes of worship, would be handed over to the Board of Works, with an allocation of funds sufficient for their maintenance. Touching upon the very difficult point of glebe houses, Mr. Gladstone announced that he had seen reason to modify his views of the previous year. They were not marketable property, for, though an expenditure upon them of £1,200,000 could be traced distinctly, their annual value was only £18,600, and there was a quarter of a million of building charges upon them which the State would have to pay on coming into possession. It was therefore proposed to hand over

the glebe houses to the governing body on their paying the building charges, and they would be allowed to purchase a certain amount of glebe land round the houses on paying a fair valuation. The burial grounds adjacent to churches would go with the churches, and other burial grounds would be handed over to the guardians of the poor.

The next question was one of peculiar difficulty. Mr. Gladstone reminded hon. members that it was at all times part of the views of those who proposed the resolutions advocating disestablishment, that with this Act should come the final cessation of all relations between the State and the Presbyterian clergy in Ireland, and between the State and the College of Maynooth. The *Regium Donum* and the Maynooth Grant amounted together to about £70,000, and the Premier announced that the Presbyterian ministers, recipients of the *Regium Donum*, would be compensated on the same principles as the incumbents of the disestablished Church; while in regard both to the grant to Maynooth and the grants to Presbyterian colleges—in order to give ample time for the necessary arrangements, and to avoid the sudden shock and disappointment to individuals—there would be a valuation of all the interests in these grants at 14 years' purchase of the capital amount annually voted. In propounding an elaborate scheme for the final extinction of the tithe rent charge in 45 years, Mr. Gladstone said landlords would be allowed, if they chose, to purchase it at $22\frac{1}{2}$ years' purchase, and if they did not accept the

offer, they would come under another and a general operation. There would be a compulsory sale to them of the chase would remain in the hands of the tenants for three years after the passing of the Act, and it was also proposed



CHOIR OF ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN.

tithe rent charge, at a rate which would yield $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; and, on the other side, they would be credited with a loan at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., payable in instalments in 45 years. The power of pur-

that the tenants should have a right of pre-emption of all lands sold by the commission, and that three-fourths of the purchase money might be left on the security of the land.

Mr. Gladstone thus detailed the financial results of these operations:—The tithe rent charge would yield £9,000,000; lands and perpetuity rents, £6,250,000; money, £750,000—total, £16,000,000; the present value of the property of the Irish Church. Of this, the bill would dispose of £8,650,000, viz., vested interests of incumbents, £4,900,000; curates, £800,000; lay compensation, £900,000; private endowments, £500,000; building charges, £250,000; commutation of the Maynooth Grant and the *Regium Donum*, £1,100,000; and expenses of the commission, £200,000. Consequently, there would remain a surplus of between £7,000,000 and £8,000,000; and the question arose, said the Premier, amid considerable excitement, ‘What shall we do with it?’ He held it to be indispensable, under the circumstances, that the purposes to which the surplus was applied should be Irish. Further, they should not be religious, although they must be final, and open the door to no new controversy. After discussing various suggestions, some of which he dismissed as impossible, and others as radically wrong, the speaker announced, quoting the preamble of the bill, that the Government had concluded to apply the surplus to the relief of unavoidable calamities and suffering, not provided for by the Poor Law. The sum of £185,000 would be allocated for lunatic asylums; £20,000 a-year would be awarded to idiot asylums; £30,000 to training schools for the deaf, dumb, and blind; £15,000 for the training of nurses; £10,000 for refor-

matories; and £51,000 to county infirmaries—in all, £311,000 a-year. Mr. Gladstone claimed that by the provision of all these requirements they would be able to combine very great reforms; and they would also be in a better condition for inviting the Irish landlord to accede to a change in the county cess, as they were able to offer by this plan a considerable diminution in its burden. The plan for disposing of the residue he believed to be a good and solid plan, full of public advantage. Touching upon possible errors in his statement, and announcing that he should be happy to welcome suggestions from any quarter, Mr. Gladstone concluded with a peroration which—inasmuch as it must always be regarded as one of the right hon. gentleman’s happiest efforts—we will place before the reader in its entirety:—

I believe I have now gone through the chief of the almost endless arrangements, and I have laid as well as I am able the plans of the Government before the Committee. I will not venture to anticipate the judgment of the Committee, but I trust the Committee will be of opinion it is a plan at any rate loyal to the expectations we held out on a former occasion, and loyal to the people of England who believed our promises. I hope also the members of the Committee may think that the best pains we could give have been applied in order to develop and mature the measure, and I say that with great submission to the judgment of gentlemen on this and on the other side of the House. It is a subject of legislation so exceedingly complex and varied that I have no doubt there must be errors, there must be omissions, and there may be many possible improvements; and we shall welcome from every side, quite irrespective of differences of opinion on the outlines of the measure, suggestions which, when those outlines are decided upon, may tend to secure a more beneficial application of these funds to the welfare of the people of Ireland. I trust, Sir, that although its operation be stringent, and although we have not thought it either politic

or allowable to attempt to diminish its stringency by making it incomplete, the spirit towards the Church of Ireland as a religious communion in which this measure has been considered and prepared by my colleagues and myself has not been a spirit of unkindness.

Perhaps at this time it would be too much to expect to obtain full credit for any declaration of that kind. We are undoubtedly asking an educated, highly respected, and generally pious and zealous body of clergymen to undergo a great transition; we are asking a powerful and intelligent minority of the laity in Ireland, in connection with the Established Church, to abate a great part of the exceptional privileges they have enjoyed; but I do not feel that in making this demand upon them we are seeking to inflict an injury. I do not believe they are exclusively or even mainly responsible for the errors of English policy towards Ireland; I am quite certain that in many vital respects they have suffered by it; I believe that the free air they will breathe under a system of equality and justice, giving scope for the development of their great energies, with all the powers of property and intelligence they will bring to bear, will make that Ireland which they love a country for them not less enviable and not less beloved in the future than it has been in the past. As respects the Church, I admit it is a case almost without exception. I do not know in what country so great a change, so great a transition has been proposed, and has been embodied in a legislative provision, by which the ministers of a religious communion that have enjoyed during so many ages the favoured position of an Established Church will no longer remain in that position. I can well understand that to many among them such a change appears to be nothing less than ruin and destruction. From the height on which they now stand to the apparent abyss into which they think they will have to descend there is something that recalls the words used in *King Lear*, when Edgar endeavours to persuade Gloucester that he has fallen from the cliffs of Dover. He says:—

“Ten masts at each make not the altitude
Which thou hast perpendicularly fallen;
Thy life’s a miracle.”

And yet but a little after the old man rallies from his delusion, and finds that he has not fallen at all. And so I venture to trust that, when, stripped of the fictitious and adventitious aid upon which we have too long taught the Irish Establishment to lean, it shall come to place its trust in its own resources, in its own secret wisdom, in all that can draw forth the energies of its ministers and its members, and the high hopes and promises of the

Gospel that it teaches, it will find that it has entered upon a new era of its existence, an era fraught with hope and promise. At any rate I think the day has certainly come when an end has finally to be put to the union, not between the Church as a religious association, but between the Establishment and the State, which was commenced under circumstances little auspicious, and which has continued to bear fruits of unhappiness to Ireland, and of discredit and scandal to England.

Sir, there is more to say. This measure is in every sense a great measure—great in its principle, great in the multitude not merely of its technical but of its important, weighty, and interesting provisions. It is not a great measure only, but it is a testing measure. It is a measure which will show to one and all of us of what metal we are made. Upon us all it brings a great responsibility—first and foremost undoubtedly upon us who occupy this bench. We are deeply chargeable—we are deeply guilty, if we have either dishonestly, as some think, or if we have even prematurely or unwisely, challenged so gigantic an issue. I know well the punishments that are due to rashness in public men; and that ought to fall upon those men who with hands unequal to the task attempt to guide the chariot of the sun. But our responsibility, though heavy, is not exclusive. It passes on from us to every man who has to take part in the discussion and in the decision of this question. Every man who proceeds to the discussion is under the most solemn obligation to raise the level of his vision, and to expand its scope in proportion to the greatness of the object. The working of our Constitutional Government itself is upon its trial, for I do not believe there ever was a time when the whole of the legislative machinery was set in motion under the conditions of peace, and order, and constitutional regularity, to deal with a question graver or more profound. And more especially is the credit and fame of this great assembly involved. This assembly, which has inherited from so many long ages accumulated honour from numberless triumphs of peaceful but courageous legislation, is now called upon to address itself to a task which would indeed have demanded all the best energies of the very best of your fathers and your ancestors. I believe it will prove to be worthy of the task. Should it fail, even the fame of the House of Commons will suffer no disparagement, should it succeed, even that fame, I venture to say, will receive no small nor insensible addition. I must not ask gentlemen opposite to concur in these few sentences, grateful as I am to them for the kindness with which they have heard the statement which I have made. But I beg and pray them to bear with me for a moment while, for myself and my

colleagues, I say that we are sanguine of the issue. We believe this controversy is near its end, and, for my part, I am deeply convinced that, when the day of final consummation shall arise, and when the words are spoken that give the force of law to the work embodied in this measure—a work of peace and justice—those words will be echoed from every shore where the name of Ireland and the name of Great Britain have been heard; and the answer to them will come back in the approving verdict of civilised mankind.

The scheme so admirably and luminously expounded was received with vehement demonstrations of approval by the supporters of the Ministry. The exposition which had been looked forward to with some misgiving was admitted to be a complete triumph. The Conservatives, who were naturally opposed to the details of the measure, agreed with their opponents in admiring the excellence of the arrangement, the masterly marshalling of facts, and the lucidity of detail which characterised Mr. Gladstone's statement.*

* From amongst the many tributes paid to Mr. Gladstone's eloquence on this occasion, we cannot refrain from quoting one which appeared in the *Daily Telegraph*, and which well interpreted the general sentiment of those who listened to the ex-Premier's oration on that 'night of justice'—a night never to be forgotten:—'We shall not hesitate to say that Mr. Gladstone never before, amidst all the triumphs that mark his long course of honour and success, displayed more vigorous grasp of his subject, more luminous clearness in its development, earnestness more lofty, or eloquence more appropriate and refined than in the memorable deliverance of last evening. Less than the most complete mastery of the complex scheme, from its mightiest principle to its minutest item, would have brought down that remarkable exhibition of intellect from the high level of an historical oration to a cold and weary evolution of clauses and calculations. But with that consummate skill which in old days made a fine art of finance and taught us all the romance of the revenue, Mr. Gladstone made his statistics ornamental, and deftly wove the stiffest strings of figures into the web of his exposition. Scarcely even so much as glancing at his notes, he advanced

Mr. Disraeli did not oppose the introduction of the bill, but demanded a period of three weeks in which to consider it. Mr. Gladstone ultimately agreed that the second reading should not be taken for sixteen days. On the 18th, accordingly, on the order for the second reading of the bill, the leader of the Opposition moved its rejection. His speech on that occasion was described by the *Times* as 'flimsiness relieved with spangles—the definition of a columbine's skirt.' He began in the philosophical vein, 'and while we freely acknowledge (observed the journal just quoted) that Mr. Disraeli's fun is exquisite, his philosophy is simply detestable. Then he became historical and didactic, and his historical paradoxes, which were acceptable enough in his earlier political novels, fell flat

with an oratorical step, which positively never once faltered from exordium to peroration of his amazing task; omitting nothing, slurring nothing, confusing nothing; but pouring from his prodigious faculty of thought, memory, and speech an explanation so lucid that none of all the many points which he made was obscure to any of his listeners when he had finished. And, charged as the speech necessarily was with hard and stern matter of fact and figure, the intense earnestness, the sincere satisfaction of the speaker at the act of concord and justice he was inaugurating, gave such elasticity and play to his genius, that nowhere was the clause so dry or the calculation so involved, but some gentle phrase of respect, some high invocation of principle, some bright illumination of the theme from actual life, some graceful compliment to his hearers, lightened the passage of these mountains of statistics, and kept the House spell-bound by that rich and energetic voice. This praise may seem extravagant; but though Mr. Gladstone has done many things of marvellous intellectual and oratorical force, his exposition last evening of the measure from which will assuredly date the pacification and happiness of Ireland, was a Parliamentary achievement unparalleled even by himself.'

when reproduced as serious arguments to arrest the attention and sway the judgment of the House of Commons.' He objected to disestablishment because he was in favour of the union of Church and State, by which he under-

country, which might be stronger than the civil power, and not always in agreement with it. As to disendowment, if a State seized on the property of a Church without assigning a reason, he held it to be spoliation; but with



SIR ROUNDELL PALMER.

stood an arrangement which armed the State with the highest influence, and prevented the Church from sinking into a sacerdotal corporation. Mr. Disraeli dwelt with much earnestness on the possible evil consequences of divorcing authority from religion, and warned the House against establishing an independent religious power in the

a reason, valid or not, it was a confiscation. The title of the Irish Church was stronger than that of any other landlord, and no valid reason had been assigned for depriving her of her property. Amid great amusement, Mr. Disraeli sketched a hypothetical case of the extension of the Government principle to private property—one set

of landless Irish gentry demanding the confiscation of the estates of their more fortunate fellow-countrymen, from no motive but jealousy; he also referred to corporate property, as though the unendowed London hospitals were to demand the confiscation of the revenues of Guy's, St. Bartholomew's, and St. Thomas's. The right hon. gentleman then criticised, minutely and sarcastically, the various details of the measure, and, in concluding an address of two hours' duration, declared that England could not afford another Revolution.

As Mr. Disraeli, however, had himself effected a greater revolution when he 'dished the Whigs' upon the question of Reform, his declaration failed to excite any emotion approaching to terror. His address did not rise to the level of his previous great speeches, and it was manifest that the Opposition felt their position had not been put in its strongest light until the addresses of Dr. Ball and Mr. Gathorne Hardy had been delivered. The former, after a lengthened examination of the bill, predicted that it would produce general discontent and a severe shock to the rights of property, which would bear fruits in an agitation on the land question, and would be the precedent for more serious organic changes.

Mr. Bright dealt with the question on broad and general principles. Alluding to Mr. Disraeli's contention that the Establishment was a protector of freedom of religion and toleration, he remarked that Mr. Disraeli seemed to read a different history from anybody

else, or that he made his own, and, like Voltaire, made it better without facts than with them. Mr. Bright maintained that the Establishment had failed in every way, and demanded, 'Do you think it will be a misappropriation of the surplus funds of this great Establishment to apply them to some objects such as those described in the bill? Do you not think that from the charitable dealing with these matters even a sweeter incense may arise than when these vast funds are applied to maintain three times the number of clergy that can be of the slightest use to the Church with which they are connected? We can do but little, it is true. We cannot relume the extinguished lamp of reason. We cannot make the deaf to hear. We cannot make the dumb to speak. It is not given to us—

"From the thick film to purge the visual ray,
And on the sightless eyeballs pour the day."

But at least we can lessen the load of affliction, and we can make life more tolerable to vast numbers who suffer. . . I see this measure giving tranquillity to our people, greater strength to the realm, and adding a new lustre and a new dignity to the Crown. I dare claim for this bill the support of all good and thoughtful people within the bounds of the British Empire, and I cannot doubt that, in its early and great results, it will have the blessing of the Supreme, for I believe it to be founded on those principles of justice and mercy which are the glorious attributes of His eternal reign.' This noble and dignified peroration, which

would have seemed daring almost coming from any other lips, exercised a very powerful and impressive effect upon the House. The speech to which it formed a fitting conclusion was justly characterised as a 'magnificent oration.'

Sir Roundell Palmer opposed the Government measure, assigning for so doing his sense of an imperious and overwhelming necessity. He assented to disestablishment, but there was no precedent for disendowment. He admitted, however, that the bill must pass, and urged the Irish Church not to take Mr. Disraeli's advice to hold back and refuse to co-operate in its reorganisation. Mr. Lowe made a smart attack upon Mr. Disraeli, and after defending the bill, pointed out that the Irish Church had had many opportunities of reconciling itself with the Irish people, but had neglected them all. Its fall had been a matter of certainty for years; 'and,' concluded the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 'the present state of things in Ireland is no longer unalterable. We can alter it, and we will.' Mr. Hardy, who gave Mr. Gladstone full credit for having redeemed his pledges to sweep away all that he had once deemed precious, said he could discover no reason for this attack on the Irish Church but jealousy, such as animated Haman. He denied that the Church was a badge of conquest—also that it had done anything to deserve destruction. 'The Irish question' was not the creation of the Church, but of the English State. He maintained that the Act of Union was violated by the destruction of the Church, and that it

would be necessary to alter the Coronation Oath. Having examined the provisions of the measure, Mr. Hardy said that, believing to the best of his judgment, and to the best of the light of his conscience, that the bill was alike wrong in the sight of God and against the interests of his country, he did not hesitate to denounce and oppose the sacrilegious measure.

Mr. Gladstone replied, eliciting loud cheers when he remarked of the latter portion of Mr. Hardy's speech that it showed his fitness for the task which Burke disclaimed, viz., to 'draw an indictment against a whole nation.' But even in his libellous picture of the Irish people, serious evils were admitted for which Mr. Hardy had no remedy. The Government had one, which of necessity they proposed piecemeal. The Premier maintained that Sir Roundell Palmer, in giving up Establishment, had abandoned the worthier part of the whole argument. He also showed that the bill would in no way touch the Royal supremacy. After briefly reviewing the course of the debate, he said that the charges brought against the Government only proved that they had fairly fulfilled their pledge. 'As the clock points rapidly towards the dawn,' said the speaker in conclusion, 'so are rapidly flowing out the years, the months, the days, that remain to the existence of the Irish Established Church. An hon. member assured us—speaking, I have no doubt, his own honest conviction—that we were but at the beginning of this question. I believe that not only every man who

sits on this side of the House, but every man who sits on that, carries within his breast a silent monitor, which tells him that this controversy is fast moving to a close. It is for the interest of us all that we should not the very evil which the right hon gentleman opposite made it a charge against us, that we were labouring to produce, but which we think likely to be rather the probable consequence of his line of argument, viz., the drawing



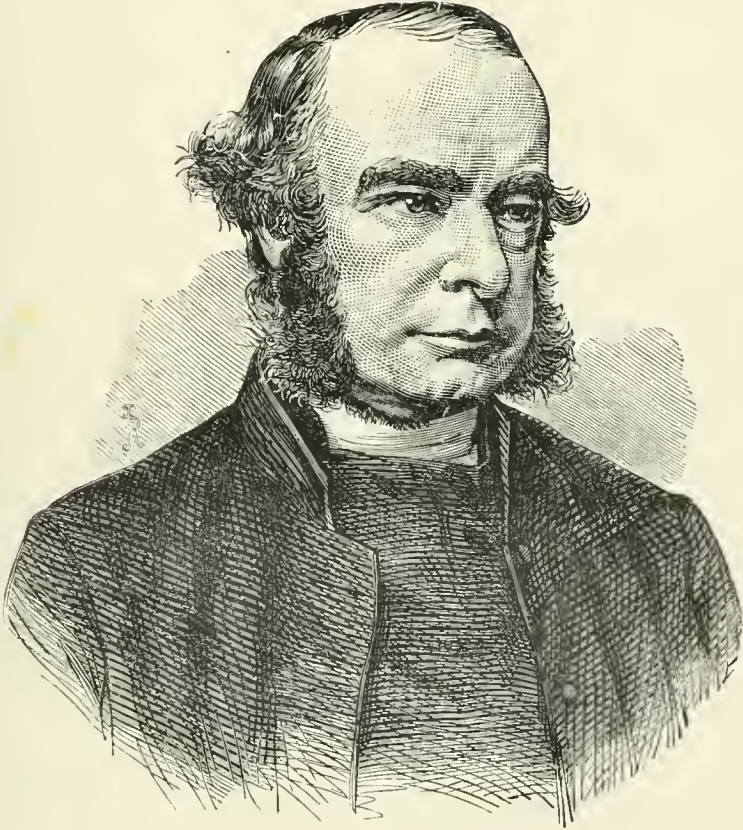
DR. TAIT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

keep this Establishment of religion in a prolonged agony. Nothing can come from that prolongation but an increase of pain, an increase of exasperation, and a diminution of that temper which now happily prevails—a temper which is disposed to mitigate the adjustment of this great question in its details. There may also come from that prolongation

into this controversy of that English question which we conceive to be wholly different. We think so, because, although in the two countries there may be, and there are, Establishments of religion, we never can admit that an Establishment which we think, in the main, good and efficient in its purposes, is to be regarded as being endangered by the

course which we may adopt in reference to an Establishment which we look upon as being inefficient and bad. The day, therefore, it seems to me, is rapidly approaching when this controversy will come to an end; and I feel I am not

in the months of autumn the discussions which were held in every quarter of the country turned mainly on the subject of the Irish Church. Prosecuted another stage it was, when the completed elections discovered to us a manifestation



DR. MAGEE, BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH.

wrong in appealing to that silent witness to the justice of my anticipations which I am satisfied exists on both sides of the House. Not now are we opening this great question. Opened, perhaps, it was when the Parliament which expired last year pronounced upon it that emphatic judgment which can never be recalled. Opened it was, further, when

of the national verdict more emphatic than, with the rarest exceptions, has been witnessed during the whole of our Parliamentary history. The good cause was further advanced towards its triumphant issue, when the silent acknowledgment of the late Government that they declined to contest the question, was given by their retirement from

office, and their choosing a less responsible position from which to carry on a more desultory warfare against the policy which they had in the previous session unsuccessfully attempted to resist. Another blow will soon be struck in the same good cause, and I will not intercept it one single moment more.'

The division was then taken. The 'Ides of March' had, indeed, proved disastrous for the Irish Church. Great excitement prevailed in the House, and through all its approaches. When the numbers were announced, it was found that there appeared—For the second reading of the Government bill, 368; against, 250—majority, 118. This majority was overwhelming and decisive; it was larger than had been expected on either side. There were actually present in the House, including tellers, 622 members—a number exceeded upon only one or two previous occasions. The division conclusively demonstrated the progress of public opinion upon the question of disestablishment, the majority being almost double that of the previous year. The composition of the House was thus accounted for:—Ayes, 368; Noes, 250; tellers, 4; Speaker, 1; Conservative seats vacant, 8; Liberal seats vacant, 6; and absentees, 21. Lord Elcho, Sir Roundell Palmer, and Mr. Briscoe (Liberals) voted with the Noes. Six Conservatives voted with Mr. Gladstone, while of the absentees eight were Liberals and thirteen Conservatives. On both sides the Whips exercised the greatest vigilance, and the number of

members whose absence could not be accounted for was exceptionally small.

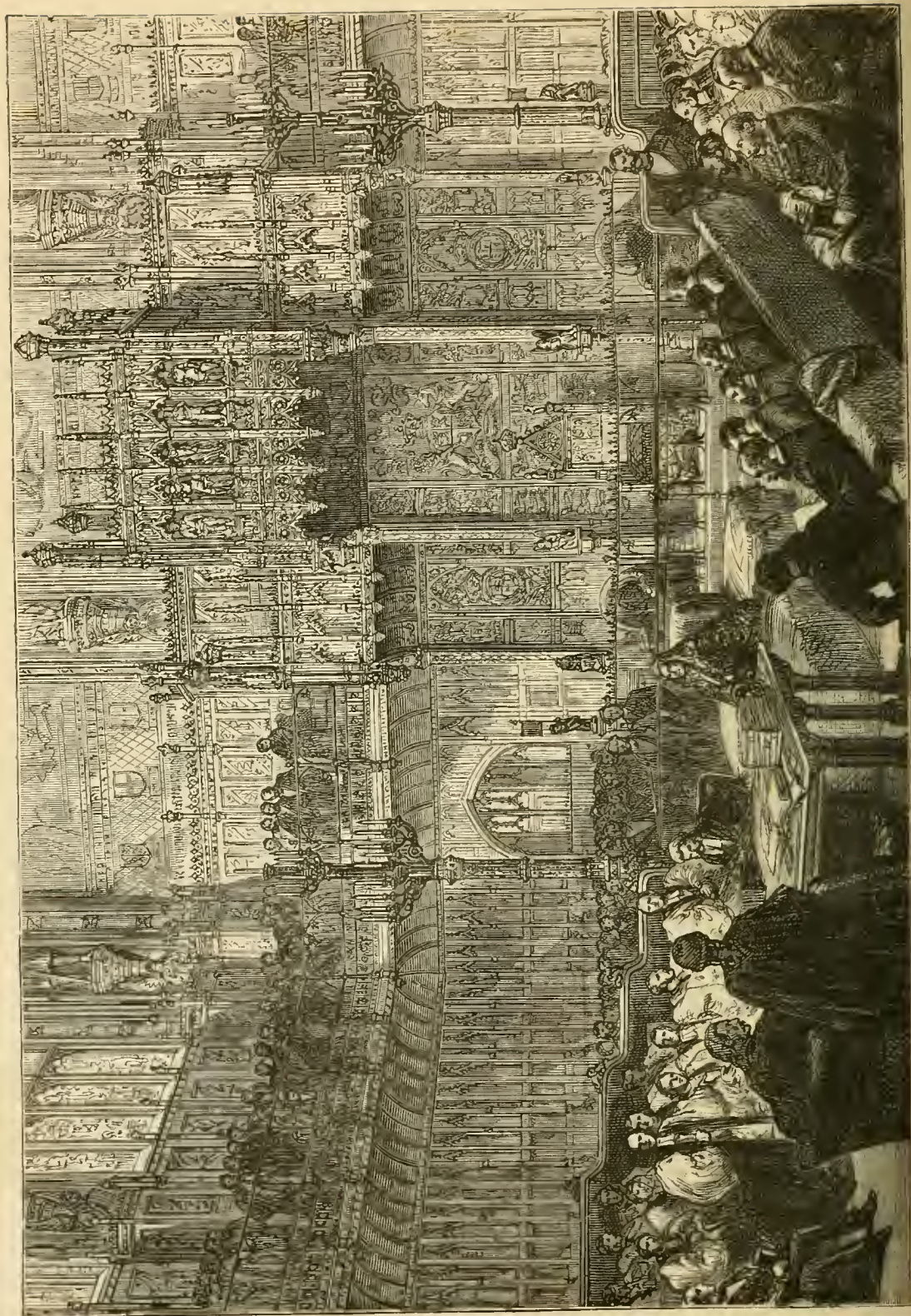
The enormous support which Mr. Gladstone thus received for his proposals fortunately attended the progress of the Irish Church Bill through its remaining stages. The progress of the bill through committee was exceedingly slow, but at length—exactly three months from its introduction in the Commons—the third reading came on. The motion was strenuously opposed, Mr. Disraeli declaring that the passing of the measure would lead to the ascendancy of the Papal power in Ireland, with a consequent reaction in the country. The right hon. gentleman asked—'Are we again to conquer Ireland? Are we to have a repetition of the direful history which, on both sides, we now wish to forget? Is there to be another battle of the Boyne? Another siege of Derry? Another treaty of Limerick? These things are not only possible, but probable. You are commencing a policy which will inevitably lead to such results. It was because we thought that the policy of the right honourable gentleman would lead to such results, that we opposed it on principle; but when the House, by a commanding majority, resolved that the policy should be adopted, we did not think it consistent with our duty to retire from the great business before us, and endeavoured to devise amendments to this bill, which I do not say would have effected our purpose, but which might, at least, have softened the feelings, spared the interests, and saved the honour of

those who were attacked by this bill. In considering these amendments, we were most scrupulous to propose nothing that could counteract and defeat the main principles of the right honourable gentleman. We feel that to do that would be to trifle with the House, would not be what was due to the right honourable gentleman, and could not effect the purpose we had before us. I ask the House to recollect at this moment the tone and spirit in which these amendments were received. Rash in its conception—in its execution arrogant—the policy of the right hon. gentleman, while it has secured the triumph of a party, has outraged the feelings of a nation.’ Announcing the intention of his party to divide, Mr. Disraeli further said—‘We know very well you will have a great party triumph, a large majority, and we shall have what is called loud and continued cheering. But remember this, that when Benjamin Franklin’s mission was rejected, there was loud and long-continued cheering, and Lords of the Privy Council waved their hats and tossed them in the air, but that was the commencement of one of the greatest struggles this country embarked on; it was the commencement of the greatest disasters England ever experienced. You may have a great majority now, you may cheer. You may indulge in all the jubilation of a party triumph, but this is a question only yet begun, and the time will come, and come ere long, when those who have taken part in the proceedings of the House this night, whatever may

be their course, and whatever may be their decision, will look upon it as one of the gravest accidents of their lives, as the most serious scene at which they have ever assisted.’

Mr. Gladstone made a final and eloquent defence of his scheme. He maintained that he was only carrying into effect the views of Mr. Pitt and other supporters of religious equality in Ireland. The measure was neither unjust, illiberal, nor harsh; neither would it permanently cripple Protestantism in Ireland. ‘The Church,’ said Mr. Gladstone, ‘may have much to regret in respect to temporal splendour, yet the day is to come when it will be said of her, as of the temple of Jerusalem, that “the glory of the latter house is greater than that of the former;” and when the most loyal and faithful of her children will learn not to forget that at length the Parliament of England took courage, and the Irish Church was disestablished and disendowed.’ The Government had again a large majority, the numbers being—For the third reading, 361; against, 247—majority, 114. The Premier, however, was still subjected to coarse vituperation out of doors, and even certain English Protestant journals published unfounded reports concerning the Premier’s alleged relations with the Church of Rome—reports only intended to embarrass the author of disestablishment at a critical moment.

In a letter which Mr. John Bright wrote to a friend in Ireland, in January, 1868, we find the following interesting



DR. MAGEE ADDRESSING THE HOUSE OF LORDS.



W. E. Forster

passage referring to the Irish Church and the land question. It will be seen that at this time Mr. Bright scarcely thought Mr. Gladstone was prepared to deal with the land question in the spirit which he believed it demanded, and in which, as a matter of fact, Mr. Gladstone himself grappled with it two years later :—

Lord Russell is old, and cannot grapple with a great question like this. Mr. Gladstone hesitates, and hardly knows how far to go. The material of his forces is not good, and I suspect he has not studied the land question and knows little about it. The English people are in complete ignorance of Irish wrongs, and know little or nothing of the real condition of your country. This is a sad picture; but it is not coloured too darkly. There is no necessary connection between the Church and the land. To make a farmer proprietary would not involve the Government in any permanent expense, and it must be done without touching the Church question; and this again may be dealt with without meddling with the land. Now, the two schemes together and in one is a grand idea, perhaps too grand for so slow a nation and Parliament as ours. Many persons may be willing to get rid of the Church who are unwilling to depart from present theories with regard to the land, and some may go with you on the land and hold back on the Church. Is it supposed that for the whole scheme you can secure a larger support than for either of the two branches of it separately? This is the question you must answer. For myself, I should have no hesitation if I could persuade myself that others in sufficient numbers would follow; and whether they follow or not, I am ready to state my general approval of your great plan, should it be brought before the public. If all the Liberal Protestants and all the Catholic population in Ireland will unite to support you, some impression may be made on English opinion and upon Parliament; but, looking to all past efforts among you, I am not very sanguine that you will succeed in bringing a strong and united pressure to bear upon our ruling class. I am expected to speak to-morrow week at Birmingham, and I intend to speak on Ireland. I am free from the trammels which fetter Mr. Gladstone, and I can speak without reserve and without fear. What I shall say will not increase your difficulties, but will, I trust, rather smooth your path in regard to English opinion. The Liberal party is not in a good position for undertaking any great measure of statesman-

ship. Some Whigs distrust Mr. Gladstone, and some who call themselves Radicals dislike him. He does not feel himself very secure as leader of a powerful and compact force. The Whig Peers are generally feeble and timid, and shrink from anything out of the usual course. We want a strong man with a strong brain and convictions for a work of this kind, and I do not see him among our public men. I hope all that is wise and good in Ireland may support you, and that you may soon affect the opinion and conduct of Parliament.

The Irish Church Bill led to many animated discussions in the House of Lords. At one time it was feared that it would be thrown out upon the second reading. The Earl of Derby and Lord Cairns argued with great eloquence against the measure, but it found a supporter of equal intellectual power on the episcopal bench. The Bishop of St. David's—whose known learning and character had great weight with the country—stigmatised as heathenish the vain and superstitious notion that church property was in any sense divine—that material offerings might be accepted by the Most High as supplying some want of the Divine nature. Miss Burdett Coutts's market at Spitalfields was as religious a work as Mr. Guinness's restoration of Dublin Cathedral. He was as eager as any one for Protestant ascendancy, but ascendancy of a religious, moral, and intellectual character, the ascendancy of truth and reason over error. Of that ascendancy he did not believe the Irish Church to be a pillar. He had no fear of, because no belief in, the power of the Pope. Everywhere he saw it on the decline, and a serious blow would be dealt at it in Ireland by removing a grievance which gave the

priesthood an artificial hold on the sentiment of the people. The Bishop of Peterborough strongly attacked the bill, and Lord Derby denounced it as a scheme the political folly of which was only equalled by its moral turpitude. Lords Westbury and Cairns also made fierce onslaughts upon the measure (though the former voted for it), but the peers did not follow Lord Derby's advice to reject the bill at once. There appeared for the second reading, 179; against, 146—majority for the bill, 33. This was the largest division in the House of Lords within living memory, no fewer than 325 peers having taken part in it. Eighteen also paired. Amongst Conservatives who voted with the Ministry were the Marquises of Bath and Salisbury, the Earls of Carnarvon, Devon, and Nelson, and Lords Wharncliffe, Lytton, Calthorpe, and Abinger. The votes of the episcopal bench attracted considerable attention. Neither of the English Archbishops voted, but the Archbishop of Dublin voted against the bill, which was supported by the solitary vote of Dr. Thirlwall, Bishop of St. David's. The Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Wilberforce), though present, did not vote. Thirteen English and two Irish Bishops pronounced against the bill, while there were many absentees, including the Bishops of Carlisle, Exeter, Manchester, Salisbury, and Winchester. Lord Clancarty alone signed a protest against the bill, as being, in his lordship's judgment, 'directly at variance with the obligations imposed upon the Sovereign by the coronation oath.'

The debate which took place on the second reading fully sustained the reputation of the House of Lords for eloquence, if it did not indeed enhance it. The bill passed this second stage owing to a feeling on the part of many peers, that a measure which was thus supported by the country and a great majority of the Lower House ought not to be lightly thrown out. The question now arose, What would be done in committee? Various amendments were carried of an important nature, to some of which the Government could not agree. The bill eventually passed the Lords by 121 to 114, under a protest signed by Lord Derby and forty-three temporal and two spiritual peers. The Lords' amendments were considered by the Commons, and the chief of them were disagreed with. They were then sent back to the Lords, and an animated debate ensued in the Upper House. Lord Grey complained that the Lords were humiliated and degraded, and Lord Salisbury said their lordships were called upon to yield to the arrogant will of a single man. The Earl of Winchelsea compared Mr. Gladstone to Jack Cade, and after hinting at the coming of an Oliver Cromwell, declared that he was ready for the block sooner than surrender. A conference upon contested points afterwards took place between Lord Granville and Lord Cairns, and a compromise was arrived at. This compromise was accepted by the Commons, and on the 26th of July the Irish Church Bill received the Royal assent.

Thus passed this remarkable measure,

which excited more angry controversy than any measure since the great Reform Bill of 1832. 'It was carried through its various stages in the face of a united and powerful Opposition, mainly by the resolute will and unflinching energy of the Prime Minister, who, throughout the long and arduous discussions, in which he took the leading part, displayed, in full measure, those qualities of acuteness, force of reasoning, and thorough mastery of his subject, for which he had long been conspicuous, but which were never more signally exhibited than on this occasion. Upon the whole, whatever may be thought of its merits or demerits, it can hardly be disputed that the Act for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, introduced and carried into a law within somewhat less than five months, was the most remarkable legislative achievement of modern times.'* The Government had manifestly every right to claim, as they did in the Queen's Speech at the close of the session, that this great measure might be remembered hereafter as a conclusive proof of the paramount anxiety of Parliament to pay reasonable regard, in legislating for each of the three kingdoms, to the special circumstances by which it might be distinguished, and to deal on principles of impartial justice with all interests and all portions of the nation.

Having settled the Irish Church grievance, however, Mr. Gladstone did not rest there. This was undoubtedly

the great sentimental difficulty in the way of a reconciliation between the two peoples, but there was an equally important question behind—that of the land. Not even the Ministry which had disestablished the Irish Church could expect to retain office unless it went farther in the direction of popular progress indicated by the sympathies of both divisions of the United Kingdom. Accordingly, at the opening of the session of 1870, and in the course of the debate on the Address, the Premier stated that the duty of the Government in regard to the condition of Ireland was absolutely paramount and primary. With regard to Fenianism, he believed it would receive its death-blow from the passing of good and just laws for removing the evils accompanying the tenure and cultivation of land in Ireland.

On the 15th of February the Irish Land Bill was brought forward in a crowded house, the galleries being filled with distinguished strangers. In the outset, Mr. Gladstone alluded to the predictions of the opponents of the Irish Church Bill twelve months before, that it was the land and not the Church which lay at the root of Irish grievances. He therefore trusted that the Opposition would approach the question with a due sense of its importance. The necessity for closing and sealing up the controversy was admitted by all fair-minded and moderate men on both sides. Acknowledging the valuable assistance rendered by the recent literature on this great problem, he proceeded to dissipate some of the misapprehensions

* *Annual Register*, 1869.

which prevailed as to the condition of Ireland, such as the notion that the Irish were a Celtic race, prone to disorder; that the land laws were the same in Ireland as in England, and ought therefore to produce the same results in both countries; that Ireland had been prospering for the last twenty years, and that the people had no occasion to exhibit feelings of discontent. On the contrary, with regard to this last item, the speaker demonstrated that the rate of wages had not risen within the last ten years, that the number of persons receiving poor relief had increased, the cost of subsistence had risen, and some of the most imprudent and violent interferences with the fixed usages of the country had occurred. Moreover, the course of legislation for the past fifty years, though intended in a beneficial spirit, had possibly been detrimental to the interests of the occupiers. The Act of 1793 giving the franchise to Roman Catholics had induced the creation of 40s. freeholds, and the abolition of the franchise in 1829 vastly extended the mischief, and, perhaps, under the circumstances of Ireland, the still greater mischief of mere yearly tenancy. The Encumbered Estates Act, which had since passed into the Act for Dealing with the Sale of Landed Estates, by not protecting the improvements of the tenants, had operated as an extensive confiscation. Parliament also, during the previous half century, had completely changed the conditions of eviction against the tenants. Speaking broadly, Mr. Gladstone asserted that after we had been

legislating for a century in favour of Ireland, it was a matter of doubt whether, as far as the law was concerned, the condition of the occupier was better than before the repeal of the Penal Laws. The present bill would reverse the presumption of law in favour of yearly tenancies, and would not leave owners and occupiers full freedom of contract.

The great evil to be dealt with was insecurity of tenure—as pointed out years before by the Devon Commission—which paralysed the occupier's industry, and vitiated his relations with his landlord, with the State, and with society at large. The Premier, having glanced at the various remedies which had been suggested, pronounced emphatically against perpetuity of tenure. He held that to convert the landlords into mere recipients of rent-charge, to divorce them from their responsibilities, and to relieve them of their duties, would not be for the public good, would cramp the development of the agricultural resources of Ireland, and must ultimately reproduce the evils now complained of. Insecurity of tenure manifested itself in four modes—in the withdrawal of privileges hitherto enjoyed by the tenant, in the lavish and pitiless use of notices to quit, in evictions, and in the raising of rents where the increased value of farms had been caused by the tenants' improvements. The remedy for these serious evils might be extracted from the experience of Ulster without any shock to the foundations of property. The rental of eight counties where stability

or security of tenure prevailed was, in 1779, £990,000; in 1809 it was £2,830,000. The rest of Ireland, minus Ulster, had in 1779, according to Arthur Young, a rental of £5,000,000, and in 1869 that rental was £9,200,000.

stone divided them under two heads, viz., the acquisition and the occupation of land. Touching the first, Ireland would come under the operation of the two bills to be introduced for facilitating the transfer of land and the distri-



MR. W. E. FORSTER, M.P.

Further details were adduced, showing that while the rent of England and Scotland, where there was more security of tenure, had tripled and sextupled within the last ninety years, in Ireland it had only doubled; and while in Ulster it had tripled, in the other provinces it had not doubled. Coming to the provisions of the bill, Mr. Glad-

bution of the real estate of intestates, but all the provisions specially affecting Ireland were contained in the present bill. It proposed to increase the power of limited owners with regard to the sale and lease of land, and assistance would be given by treasury loans, through the Irish Board of Works, to tenants desiring to purchase the culti-

vated lands they then occupied, either by private contract or through the machinery of the Landed Estates Court. This assistance would only be given as a rule to tenants purchasing their own holdings; but where a landlord would only sell in gross, and the tenants combined to buy four-fifths, assistance would be given to persons outside the estate to purchase the other fifth. Provision would be made for loans for the reclamation and purchase of waste lands, and for assisting landlords to pay compensation to tenants giving up their holdings of their own free will.

Dealing with the second division of the bill—that relating to the occupation of land—Mr. Gladstone explained the nature of the judicial machinery for carrying out the provisions of the measure. This would be of two kinds—either a court of arbitration or the civil bill court—from which latter there would be an appeal to the Judges of Assize; and under a clause described as ‘the equities clause,’ the courts would be able to take into consideration, not merely the legal aspects of each case, but all the circumstances bearing equitably upon it. There were four main provisions in the bill, corresponding to the four descriptions of Irish holdings, viz., those held under the Ulster custom, those held under analogous customs in other parts of the country not having the same traditionary authority, yearly tenancies which enjoyed no kind of protection from custom, and tenancies under lease. The bill would take the Ulster custom as it existed, and give it

at once the force of law, and it would legalise the other customs subject to the following restrictions:—That the tenant should only claim when disturbed by the act of his landlord, but that he should not benefit if evicted for non-payment of rent or for sub-letting; that all arrears of rent and damages might be pleaded as a set-off by the landlord, and that the custom might be barred by a lease for thirty-one years. For tenants at will, the bill established a scale of damages which the courts—subject to the same conditions as in tenancies under customs—would be able to award to evicted tenants, viz., in holdings under £10 a sum not exceeding seven years’ rent; in holdings between £10 and £50 a sum not exceeding five years’ rent; between £50 and £100 not exceeding three years’ rent; and over £100 two years’ rent. This scale, however, did not include compensation for reclamation of land and permanent buildings, which would be awarded separately. In holdings over £50 the landlord might exempt himself from this scale by giving a lease for thirty-one years, and in holdings over £100 the parties might contract themselves out of it. The Judges would be required in applying this scale to have regard to the injury done to the tenants by eviction and the improvements they had effected. Asking, amidst some laughter, ‘What is an improvement?’ Mr. Gladstone defined it in the first place as an addition to the letting value of the land; and, secondly, it must be suitable to the nature of the holding. The bill would reverse the

present presumption of law; it would presume all improvements to be the property of the tenant, and it would be for the landlord to prove the contrary. Retrospective improvements would be included, but only so far back as twenty years, except in the case of permanent buildings and reclamation of lands; but no claim could be made by a tenant contrary to the terms of his lease. The courts would take into consideration the length of time the tenant had enjoyed the improvement; and no claim could be advanced for tenants' improvements made for a valuable consideration, or where the landlord had contracted to perform them, and had not failed in his engagement. As to the holdings under lease, any owner might exempt his lands from the custom, always excepting the Ulster custom, which would be legalised, and from the scale of damages, by giving to his tenants a lease for thirty-one years—provided that the lease were approved by the court, and gave the tenant at the close of it a right of compensation for manures, permanent buildings, and reclamation of land. In explaining several miscellaneous and subordinate, yet important provisions, Mr. Gladstone said that eviction for non-payment of rent would not, as a general rule, be deemed a disturbance by the landlord; but where it followed on inability to pay an excessive and flagrantly unjust rent, the court would be allowed to take that circumstance into consideration. In future, notices to quit would be for twelve months dating from the last day in the current year, and to make them

a more expensive amusement, they must all bear a half-crown stamp. In every new tenancy over £4, the county cess would be divided between owner and occupier, the occupier below that amount being relieved altogether.

In concluding his statement, Mr. Gladstone said the Government had toiled hard in the construction of their scheme, but they were far from believing it to be perfect; and they invited, in unreserved good faith, the co-operation of all parties and of all members of the House. They desired that the measure should become a great gift to Ireland, and put an end to the grievances and sufferings which had so long accompanied the tenure of land in that country. They had not knowingly proceeded in any spirit of partisanship; and as they had afforded the occupier improved security of tenure, so they had afforded the landlord improved security for his rent, and improved security for the better cultivation of his land. With regard to the Irish labourer, the only great boon—and it was a great boon—which it was in the power of the Legislature to give to him, was to increase the demand for his labour, and, by imparting a stimulus to the agriculture of the country, to ensure its requiring more strong arms to carry it on, and thereby to bring more bidders into the market for those arms, and raise the natural and legitimate price of their labour. Though the general effect of the measure would be to impose the possibility of an immediate loss upon the landlord, he would not ultimately be a loser. He (the speaker)

believed there was a huge fund of national wealth in the soil of Ireland as yet undeveloped. He trusted, in conclusion, that this bill would be accepted

possible of shock or violent alteration into any single arrangement now existing between landlord and tenant in Ireland. There is, no doubt, much to be undone; there is no doubt much to be improved; but what we desire is that the work of this bill



MR. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE (AFTERWARDS LORD CARLINGFORD).

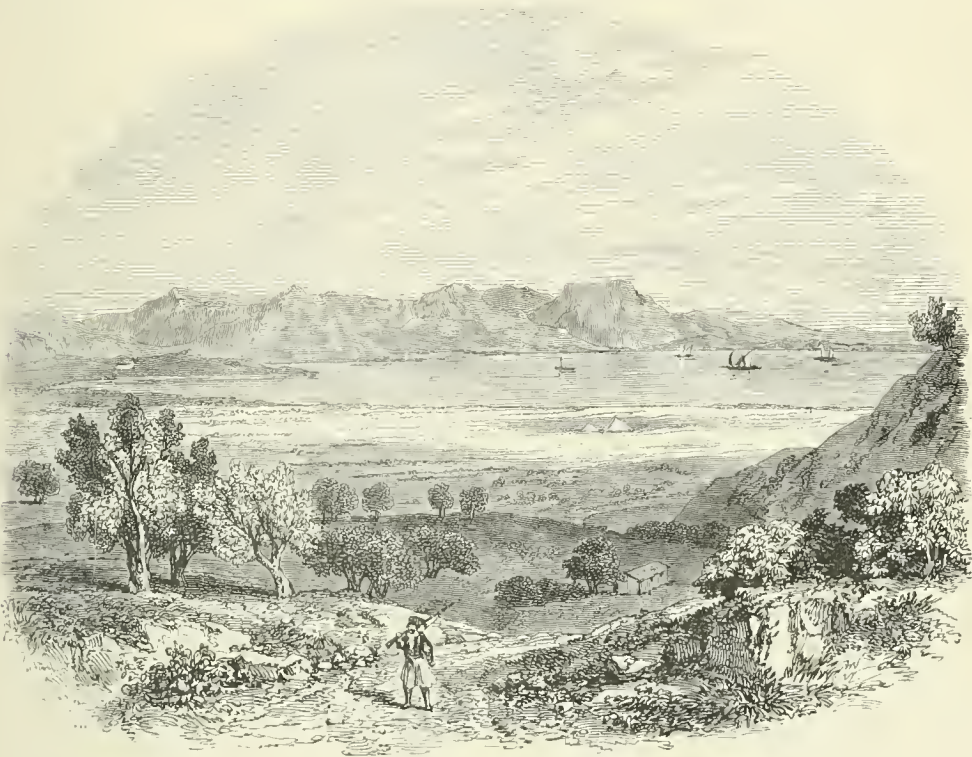
by both landlord and tenant because it was just:—

If I am asked what I hope to effect by this bill I certainly hope we shall effect a great change in Ireland; but I hope also, and confidently believe, that this change will be accomplished by gentle means. Every line of the measure has been studied with the keenest desire that it shall import as little as

should be like the work of nature herself, when on the face of a desolated land she restores what has been laid waste by the wild and savage hand of man. Its operations, we believe, will be quiet and gradual. We wish to alarm none; we wish to injure no one. What we wish is that where there has been despondency there shall be hope; where there has been mistrust there shall be confidence; where there has been alienation and hate there shall, how-

ever gradually, be woven the ties of a strong attachment between man and man. This we know cannot be done in a day. The measure has reference to evils which have been long at work; their roots strike far back into bygone centuries, and it is against the ordinance of Providence, as it is against the interest of man, that immediate reparation should in such cases be possible; for one of the main restraints of misdoing would be removed, if the consequences of

address itself to the work, and sustain the feeble efforts of the Government. And my hope, at least, is high and ardent that we shall live to see our work prosper in our hand, and that in that Ireland, which we desire to unite to England and Scotland by the only enduring ties—those of free-will and free affection—peace, order, and a settled and cheerful industry will diffuse their blessings from year to year, and from day to day, over a smiling land.



THE PLAIN OF MARATHON.

misdoing could in a moment receive a remedy. For such reparation and such effects it is that we look from this bill, and we reckon on them not less surely and not less confidently because we know they must be gradual and slow; and because we are likewise aware that if it be poisoned by the malignant agency of angry or of bitter passions, it cannot do its proper work. In order that there may be a hope of its entire success, it must be passed, not as a triumph of party over party, or class over class; not as the lifting up of an ensign to record the downfall of that which has once been great and powerful, but as a common work of common love and goodwill to the common good of our common country. With such objects, and in such a spirit as that, this House will

Mr. Gladstone's proposals, while they ensured for the tenant security of holding, confiscated not a single valuable right of the Irish landowner. The latter required to be taught the lesson that he would receive the largest amount of rent when he was most liberal in his arrangements with his tenantry. The bill was simple, and was founded on the belief that free contract lies 'at the root of every healthy condition

of society.' The tenant was secured against oppression on the part of his landlord, and the landlord was secured legally against loss or detriment to his property.

The second reading was fixed for the 7th of March, and on that day a long debate began upon the principles and details of the measure. Dr. Ball, in a powerful speech, held that, as regarded Ulster tenant-right, the bill perpetuated and fixed a custom which varied with every estate, which was in itself an evil, making, as it were, a distinct law for every separate holding; as regarded compensation, it was fixed too high, the maximum amounting to one-third of the fee-simple. He did not, however, object to the principle; but, as regarded future tenancies, he thought the bill utterly bad. Amongst succeeding speakers was Sir Roundell Palmer, who described the bill as large and important, but not revolutionary, yet, at the same time, 'a humiliating necessity.'

Mr. Disraeli glanced through the various objections taken to the measure, and then warmly attacked Mr. Horsman (who had spoken strongly in favour of the bill) as 'a superior person.' When Secretary to the Irish Lord Lieutenant, Mr. Horsman had excused himself for not bringing in bills on the ground that his office was a complete sinecure; 'and we,' said Mr. Disraeli, 'knowing what a superior person he was, did not put an uncharitable construction on his conduct, but said, "This is a part of some profound policy, which will end in the regenera-

tion of Ireland and in the consolidation of her Majesty's United Kingdom.'" He (Mr. Disraeli) believed that, without giving any final or general opinion upon the merits of the bill, 'a more complicated, a more clumsy, or a more heterogeneous measure, was never yet brought before the attention of Parliament.' After ridiculing the tribunals proposed by the scheme, his sketch of their difficulties being received with great laughter, Mr. Disraeli said, 'Do not let us vote upon this subject as if we had received threatening letters—as if we expected to meet Rory of the Hills when we go into the lobby. No; let us decide upon all those great subjects which will be brought under our consideration in committee as becomes members of the House of Commons.'

Mr. Gladstone had little to reply to besides invective in closing the debate. Upon all the leading principles of the measure he remained fixed in his opinion—nothing had been brought forward calculated to affect the Government positions. On the general question he observed, 'It is our desire to be just, but to be just we must be just to all. The oppression of a majority is detestable and odious—the oppression of a minority is only by one degree less detestable and less odious. The face of justice is like the face of the god Janus. It is like the face of those lions, the work of Landseer, which keep watch and ward around the record of our country's greatness. She presents the tranquil and majestic countenance towards every point of the compass and every quarter of the globe. That rare.

that noble, that imperial virtue has this above all other qualities, that she is no respecter of persons, and she will not take advantage of a favourable moment to oppress the wealthy for the sake of flattering the poor, any more than she will condescend to oppress the poor for the sake of pampering the luxuries of the rich.'

There was no intention on the part of the Opposition to divide against the second reading of the bill, but a division was forced by a few members with this extraordinary result—For the second reading, 442; against, 11. Mr. Disraeli and many of his influential supporters went into the lobby with Mr. Gladstone, and the eleven members who desired to record their opposition to this measure of pacification were the following:—Sir W. Bagge, Mr. Callan, Mr. D'Arey, Mr. E. Dease, Mr. Digby, Sir J. Gray, the Right Hon. J. W. Henley, Mr. Heron, Mr. J. Lowther, Sir P. O'Brien, and Mr. Sherlock; tellers, Mr. Bryan and Col. White. Before the bill went into committee, Mr. Chichester Fortescue's measure for securing the safety of life and property in Ireland was rapidly pushed forward, in consequence of daring outrages which had occurred in county Mayo. The amendments to the Land Bill, of which notice was given, were no fewer than three hundred in number. Mr. Disraeli moved in committee that the compensation for eviction should be limited by the insertion of the words 'in respect of unexhausted improvements made by him, or any predecessor in title, and of interruption in the completion of any

course of husbandry suited to the holding.' Mr. Gladstone opposed this amendment as an undisguised attempt to overthrow one of the cardinal principles of the bill, and it was defeated by 296 votes to 220. The House thus decided that on the long-disputed question of the tenure of Irish land, Ireland had been right, and England wrong. The principle of tenant-right was afterwards affirmed by a large majority. After many prolonged discussions, the bill was read a third time on the 30th of May. On being brought forward in the Lords, it excited considerable discussion, but after a three nights' debate, the second reading was carried without a division. Struggles took place in committee, but eventually this important measure passed through the Upper House in some respects seriously altered, and on the 1st of August it received the Royal assent. The second of Mr. Gladstone's great legislative acts of a remedial character on behalf of Ireland was thus added to the statute-book.

Commenting upon the effect of Mr. Gladstone's Land Act of 1870, Mr. James Tuke, whose opinions on this subject are deserving of attention, says:—'If the Irish Act seems to give more than the English Act to the tenant, the reason is, that the almost universal practice of Irish landlords is to let the tenants the mere land, leaving to them the erection of buildings and fences, the drainage and reclamation, and everything that is needful to convert it into a farm—a relation of landlord to tenant the very reverse of that which obtains in England. The far-famed Devon



ATTACK BY GREEK BRIGANDS ON ENGLISH TRAVELLERS.

report of 1847, had laid bare the fact that the characteristic tillage of the country is most laborious and unprofitable, and that the introduction of the more profitable courses of cultivation must be impracticable until the requisite preparatory improvements of the soil shall have taken place. The Commissioners show that this requisite preparatory improvement offers the most profitable return for money or labour invested in it that can be imagined, and adds that so far as the small working farmer is concerned, these lucrative operations may be carried out without the investment of money capital, but merely by the judicious application of time and labour of his family, which are now wasted, while he is complaining that employment cannot be had. Even—as the report pointed out—the larger farmers did nothing—(1), because the farmer is not certain of being permitted to reap a remunerating benefit from his exertions; (2), because, if a tenant at will, he may be immediately removed from the improved lands, after having invested his labour, or his capital, without receiving any compensation for what he has done, or his rent may be immediately raised to the full value of the improvements thus effected. If it is urged that such cases seldom occur, the report replies that it does not require many such to do infinite mischief in this respect. A single instance in a large district would naturally paralyse exertions to an incalculable extent. It was to remedy this state of things that the Act of 1870 was passed.'

Besides the Irish Land Question, several prominent topics—one of a domestic, others of a foreign character—were discussed during this session. It had long been admitted (referring now to the former subject) that elementary education in this country was in an unsatisfactory condition, and on the 17th of February Mr. Forster introduced the Government bill providing for elementary education in England and Wales. This measure was based upon the principle of direct compulsion as regarded the attendance of children, and to effect this, power was to be given to each School Board to frame bye-laws compelling the attendance at school of all children from five to twelve years of age within their district. The Government having shown a decided agreement on some points with the members of the Opposition, Mr. Richard charged the Premier with having thrown the Nonconformists overboard. Mr. Forster became extremely unpopular for a time with the latter body, and he was described by Mr. Richard as 'mounting the good steed Conservative, and charging into the ranks of his friends and riding them down rough-shod.' On the order for the third reading, Mr. Dixon and Mr. Miall, speaking on behalf of the Nonconformists, denounced the measure, and attacked the Government for having roused the suspicion and distrust of their own supporters, while they had secured the aid of the Opposition. Mr. Miall said that the Premier had led one section of the Liberal party through the Valley of Humiliation;

but 'once bit, twice shy,' he continued, 'and we can't stand this sort of thing much longer.' Mr Gladstone was roused by this speech, and a sharp passage of arms occurred. 'I hope,' said the Premier, replying to Mr. Miall, 'that my hon. friend will not continue his support to the Government one moment longer than he deems it consistent with his sense of duty and right. For God's sake, sir, let him withdraw it the moment he thinks it better for the cause he has at heart that he should do so. So long as my hon. friend thinks fit to give us his support we will co-operate with my hon. friend for every purpose we have in common; but when we think his opinions and demands exacting, when we think he looks too much to the section of the community he adorns, and too little to the interests of the people at large, we must then recollect that we are the Government of the Queen, and that those who have assumed the high responsibility of administering the affairs of this Empire must endeavour to forget the parts in the whole, and must, in the great measures they introduce into the House, propose to themselves no meaner or narrower object—no other object than the welfare of the Empire at large.' This second important measure of a memorable session eventually passed both Houses, and became law.

In April the country was startled by the report of the seizure and massacre of a party of English travellers by Greek brigands. It seems that the party consisted of Lord and Lady Muncester,

Mr. F. G. Vyner, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Lloyd and child, Mr. Edward Herbert, Secretary to the British Legation, and Count Albert de Boyl, Secretary to the Italian Legation, with their suites. Having visited Marathon, under the protection of an armed escort, they had reached Raphini on their return to Athens, when they were stopped and overpowered by a party of brigands. After rough usage, the ladies were released, and Lord Muncester was also allowed to proceed to Athens for the purpose of securing the consent of the Greek Government to the terms of the release submitted by the brigands. They demanded £50,000, which was afterwards reduced to £25,000, in money, a free pardon, and the release of certain brigands already in custody. The Greek Government, thinking little of the threats to murder the captives if these demands were not complied with, despatched a body of troops to liberate them by force. The British Minister at Athens endeavoured to procure the release of the captives, even on the terms demanded by the brigands. The amnesty was the greatest difficulty in the way. Seeing the active efforts which were being made, the brigands took their captives farther into the interior, and in a few days murdered them in cold blood. Mr. Herbert and Count de Boyl were shot on the 21st, and Mr. Vyner and Mr. Lloyd on the 22nd. It was stated that from the time of their capture until their melancholy death, the party sustained each other with cheerful resignation and true manliness. The brigands were

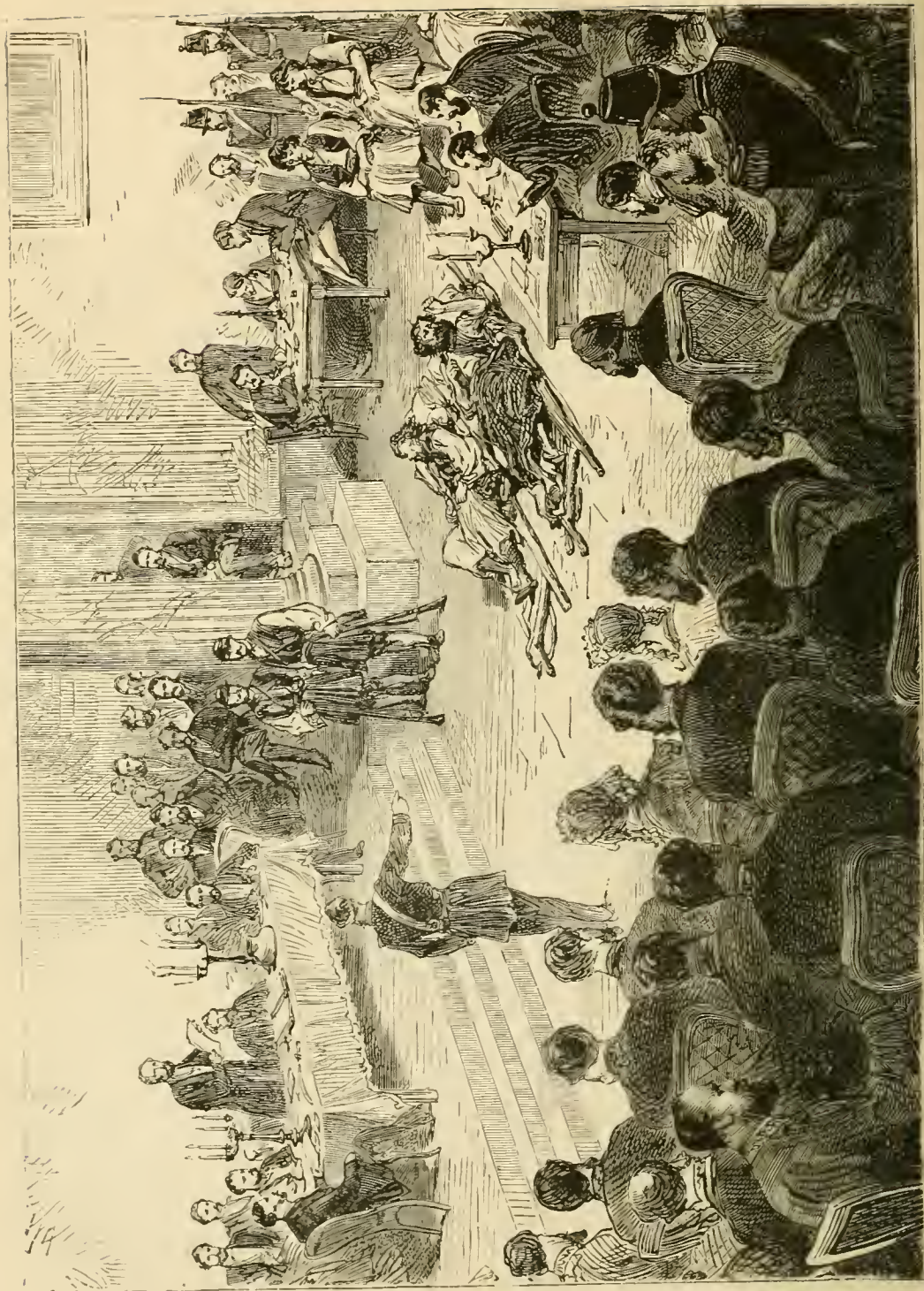
pursued until the greater portion of them were shot or secured, preparatory to being sent to Athens for trial and execution. This terrible incident created a profound sensation in England. It was formally brought under the attention of the two Houses of Parliament, Sir Roundell Palmer being the mover in the Commons. There was a general impression that, from the outset, two parties had been playing their game of ambition with the lives of our countrymen.

Mr. Gladstone acknowledged the gravity of the situation, but pleaded the necessity for further information before taking decided steps. This grievous and shocking tragedy, however, would tend to an opening up of circumstances connected with the condition of Greece, such as former times had probably never afforded an adequate occasion of investigating. But he still cherished a desire that some other method would be discovered of accounting for these mischiefs than that of charging them upon the popular institutions of the country. In consequence of Turkish domination in Greece, it was the class called upon to govern in that country which was defective, far more than the class to be governed. The first duty of the English Government would be to ascertain the facts absolutely, and then comprehensively to consider the obligations which arose. In the House of Lords the Earl of Carnarvon—whose cousin, Mr. Herbert, had been killed—demanded ‘a full, clear, perfectly just trial of every single person, no matter what his rank

or class, against whom there could be any fair suspicion of complicity with these foul murders.’ Ultimately, several brigands were executed, and the band immediately implicated was nearly extirpated. The English Government did not see their way to more active interference, and before the close of the year events of still greater magnitude than this diabolical outrage absorbed the public attention.

In July, 1870, broke out the war between France and Prussia, which resulted in the complete prostration of the former. Much of the responsibility for the conflict was due to the precipitation and the eagerness for war manifested by the French Emperor and the French people. England could not view such a contest without apprehension, chiefly on the score of Belgium—whose proximity to both combatants rendered her an object of great solicitude. The English Government, however, speedily issued a proclamation of neutrality, a policy obviously dictated by the circumstances of the case. This policy was adhered to, but it laid us open to the unreasonable strictures of the German people. We had been successful, with the aid of others, in procuring the withdrawal of the nomination of the Prince of Hohenzollern to the Spanish Crown by Prussia; but diplomatic relations between that country and France were already greatly strained, and the alleged insults to M. Benedetti, at Ems, led to the hostile initiative being taken by France.

The declaration of war produced great excitement in England, and this



TRIAL OF GREEK BRIGANDS AT ATHENS.

excitement was intensified by the publication in the *Times* of a draft treaty between Count Bismarck and M. Benedetti, the French Minister at Berlin. This proposed compact between France and Prussia was regarded as a direct

over-estimated. He awaited, however, declarations from the French and Prussian Governments. France at first denied the authenticity of the document, but this she afterwards admitted. The moment was an anxious



SEDAN.

menace to England by the former Power—France looking forward to the acquisition of Belgium for herself. The publication of the treaty was due to Prince Bismarck, who hoped thereby to procure England and Belgium as German allies. Mr. Gladstone, in the House of Commons, admitted that the Government had been taken by surprise by this treaty, of which the gravity had not, in the slightest degree, been

one for England, but the Premier refrained from adopting a high-handed policy, although he asked Parliament for two millions of money and twenty thousand additional men — demands readily acceded to.

Immediately before the prorogation of Parliament, Mr. Disraeli pressed the Government to make known its intentions, and Mr. Gladstone's reply was criticised as unsatisfactory. He ob-

jected to the idea of 'armed neutrality,' as inconsistent with that 'unequivocal friendliness to both parties' which England was anxious to maintain. The Belgian difficulty received no exposition, but Mr. Gladstone concluded by saying that the country had adequate forces, and he believed that the Government would be able to maintain such a dignified and friendly position as would carry with it no suspicion, and would not, under the idea of securing safety, introduce new elements of danger and disturbance. England hoped, at some happy moment, to be, either alone or along with others, the chosen bearer of a message of peace. In the House of Lords, Earl Granville was more emphatic and explicit, declaring that England meant to be true and faithful to all her treaty engagements. A new and triple treaty was signed by England, Prussia, and France, recording their determination to maintain intact the independence and neutrality of Belgium, as provided in the Quintuple Treaty of 1839. This new engagement was to be binding for one year after the cessation of the Franco-Prussian war, and then the signatories were to fall back upon the Treaty of 1839. The general policy of the Government upon this important question was endorsed by the country, though complaints were made of the unnecessary reticence of the Prime Minister. The war between France and Prussia terminated in the complete humiliation of the former power, the Emperor Napoleon's surrender at Sedan being followed by the Prussian march

upon Paris. Peace was ultimately secured, the terms demanded from France being regarded by many as exorbitant. The German States became consolidated into an Empire, King William assuming the Imperial dignity.

We cannot dismiss this important session of 1870 without a brief reference to certain legislative and other changes which were effected. By an Order in Council it was directed that from the 31st of August next ensuing all entrance appointments to situations in all Civil Departments of the State, except the Foreign Office and posts requiring professional knowledge, should be filled by open competition. The Royal prerogative which asserted that the General Commanding-in-Chief is the agent of the Crown was abolished, and that distinguished personage was formally declared to be a subordinate of the Minister of War. Some difficulty was anticipated in this matter, but her Majesty frankly and promptly surrendered her privileges, and all danger of a collision with Parliament was thereby averted. A new Foreign Enlistment Act was passed, which enabled the Government to prohibit the building as well as the escape of Alabamas, but compelled the Admiralty to release them on receipt of a bond to the effect that they were not to be employed for any illegal work. The disfranchisement of Bridgwater, Beverley, Sligo, and Cashel, was decreed. An Act was passed removing the disabilities of clergymen who abandon the clerical profession; and an Act was also passed

modifying the Law of Married Women's Property. Finally, the halfpenny postage for newspapers was instituted, while the halfpenny post-card was also introduced.

The release of the Fenian prisoners was a matter which attracted considerable attention. Mr. Gladstone wrote to the Lord Mayor of Dublin, announcing the intention of the Government to release the Fenian prisoners then undergoing sentences for treason or treason-felony, on condition of their not remaining in, or returning to, the United Kingdom. The Premier, alluding to the enormity of their offences, said that the same principles of justice which dictated their sentences would amply sanction the prolongation of their imprisonment if the public security de-

manded it. 'It is this last question, therefore, which has formed the subject of careful examination by her Majesty's Government, and they have been able to come to the conclusion that, under the existing circumstances of the country, the release of the prisoners, guarded by the condition which I have stated, will be perfectly compatible with the paramount interests of public safety, and, being so, will tend to strengthen the cause of peace and loyalty in Ireland.' This decision on the part of the Government was very generally approved by the press and the country, though the condition placed upon the amnesty was variously viewed, being severely condemned by one section of the people, and regarded as a wise restriction by the great majority.



THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON ON THE ROAD TO WILHELMSHÖHE, AFTER THE SURRENDER AT SEDAN.



KING WILLIAM IV. OF PRUSSIA.

CHAPTER V.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF LIBERALISM—(*concluded*).

The Black Sea Treaty—Mr. Disraeli on Foreign Affairs—Reply of Mr. Gladstone—Debate on the Policy of the Government—Marriage Grant to the Princess Louise—Alarming Condition of Ireland—Mr. Gladstone's Defence of the Government—The Army Regulation Bill—Abolition of Purchase—Mr. Cardwell's Scheme—Debated in the Commons—The Opposition Defeated—The Bill rejected in the Lords—The Premier abolishes Purchase by Royal Warrant—The Step severely criticised—Vote of Censure in the Lords—Sir Roundell Palmer approves the Royal Warrant—The Ballot Bill—Rejected by the Lords—Other Questions discussed—Mr. Miall's Motion for the Disestablishment of the Church of England—Opposed by Mr. Gladstone, and rejected—Conclusion of the Treaty of Washington—Miscellaneous Questions—Mr. Lowe's Match Tax—Mr. Bruce's Licensing Bill, &c.—The Government and Epping Forest—Mr. Gladstone on his Religion—The Home Rule Agitation—Speech of the Premier—Waning Popularity of the Ministry—Mr. Gladstone's Address on Blackheath—A striking Scene—Defence of the Government Policy—The Constitution of the House of Lords—A new Social Movement—The Future of England—Parliamentary History of the Year 1871—Legislative Achievements of the Gladstone Administration.

WHEN the session of 1871 opened difficulties had already begun to gather round the Gladstone Government, though it was destined to accom-

plish other great reforms ere it fell before the treacherous wave of public opinion. The most important question discussed at an early period was

that concerning the Black Sea Treaty. Taking advantage of the altered circumstances of Europe, the Emperor of Russia declined any longer to recognise the neutralisation of the Black Sea, and withdrew from the naval convention, at the same time restoring to the Sultan the full exercise of his rights, and duly informing the other Powers concerned of his action. The Czar further declared that he had no wish to re-open the Eastern Question, that he adhered to the principles of the treaty as fixing the position of Turkey, and that he was ready to enter into any understanding to this effect with the other Powers. After much diplomatic negotiation, a conference of the Powers was held in London, when the neutralisation of the Black Sea was abrogated, and the Porte was permitted to open the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus to the vessels of war of friendly and allied Powers, in case the Government of the Sultan should think it necessary to do so in order to ensure the execution of the Treaty of 1856. The European Commission of the Danube was also prolonged for twelve years, and the works already made, or to be made, on that river, neutralised, with, however, the reservation to the Porte of its right to send ships of war into the river.

In the debate on the Address, Mr. Disraeli reviewed the state of foreign affairs generally. He thought that England should have made more of the guarantee to Prussia of her Saxon provinces, given us by the Treaty of Vienna, and also, as regarded France,

of the concession obtained from Prussia as to the Hohenzollern candidature. He was sarcastic at the expense of the Government upon our attenuated armaments, which rendered 'armed neutrality' on our part so difficult. After paying left-handed compliments to Mr. Childers, Mr. Cardwell, and Mr. Lowe, upon their economy, the right hon. gentleman ridiculed our proceedings in the matter of the Russian Note, and expressed his belief that there was a secret treaty between Germany and Russia. At the close of his amusing survey, while not prepared to propose an amendment, Mr. Disraeli said that he did not think the state of affairs to be devoid of peril, and all must admit the position to be critical. Mr. Gladstone, in reply, maintained that there was not a shadow of foundation for the accusations which had been made. The Ministry had no knowledge of the coming storm until it broke around them. With regard to the armaments of the country, they had been greatly increased in efficiency since the Conservatives went out of office in 1868; and the Premier rallied the leader of the Opposition on the close resemblance between his conception of a 'bloated armament' in 1861, and his conception of an 'attenuated armament' in 1871. As to the binding character of the guarantee of Prussia's Saxon provinces, given in 1815, Mr. Gladstone showed the fallacy of this from the exposition of the Government of which his opponent was a member, touching the character of a joint guarantee as exemplified in the Luxemburg guarantee of 1868.

He further declared, respecting the Russian Note, that neither Lord Clarendon nor Lord Palmerston had ever believed that the neutralisation of the Black Sea could be more than temporary, assured the House that England would not have had a single ally among the neutral Powers if she had proposed simply to insist on this neutralisation when the Russian Note appeared, Austria being entirely opposed to that course; and he denied that we had made any sort of special appeal for help to Germany, having merely notified our course to Germany as to other Powers. England had traditions and obligations which she would never abandon; but he hoped she would never be guilty of the folly of supposing that she could improve her condition in the face of Europe by setting up imaginary interests which she did not possess. He saw no special or near peril to England, whom he was desirous of making strong, but he admitted the possibility that the neutral Powers might find it necessary to express an opinion upon the terms of peace.

Some days later Mr. Disraeli again returned to the subject of the Black Sea Treaty, and strongly condemned the assembling of a conference merely to register the humiliation of Great Britain. Mr. Gladstone replied with some warmth to the taunt that there was a foregone conclusion in his mind, when the conference met, fatal to the honour of the country. He had never denied that the neutralisation of the Black Sea was a vital part of the Paris Treaty, but only that it was exclusively

vital. He acknowledged his error as to Lord Clarendon's view of the neutralisation condition, but he still believed that Lord Palmerston, while attaching great importance to it, did not think it was one which could be permanently enforced. With regard to Mr. Disraeli's condemnation of the Government policy, Mr. Gladstone said that, with one great quarrel and controversy raging in Europe, the right hon. gentleman would have recommended them to keep open another, and not to take any means to arrive at an amicable solution of the question. Such was the policy which his wisdom and resources suggested to him. But the Government had been desirous to keep together, if possible, in harmony and co-operation, the neutral influences in Europe, in the hope that in some happy moment they might be able to contract that range of misery and destruction which they had long seen extending.

Another debate shortly afterwards took place upon our foreign relations, on a motion by Mr. Auberon Herbert, 'That this House is of opinion that it is the duty of her Majesty's Government to act in concert with other neutral Powers to obtain moderate terms of peace, and to withhold all acquiescence in terms which might impair the independence of France, or threaten the future tranquillity of Europe.' Sir Robert Peel vigorously assailed the policy of the Government. It was one in which 'we ventured' to do this, and 'we ventured' to do that all through—language which he respectfully submitted to the House was not

of the kind which Lord Palmerston would have used. It was unworthy of a great and powerful nation. Mr. Gladstone denied that the attitude of the Government had been one of selfish isolation. To inquiries as to the possibility of concerted action with Russia, an answer was received that it was impossible. Owing to the untoward reception of this overture and the appearance of the Russian Note, Lord Granville could not further develop the idea of mediation. He (Mr. Gladstone) admitted that an extorted peace was one of the alternatives we had to fear, and that the greater magnanimity shown by the victor the better would it be, not only for France and Europe, but for the interests of Germany. Neither of the belligerents desired intervention; on the contrary, they rather thought the premature offer of our good offices might be prejudicial. 'England had no cause to be discontented with her position in Europe; but he warned the House not to set too high a value on the sole influence of England, for the strength of the action of neutrals was that they should be all represented. He reiterated his statement that the conditions of peace were matters of watchful concern to the neutrals, and added that it would be a noble addition to the great deeds of this country, if it should be able to mitigate the necessarily severe conditions of peace so as to make them conducive to a permanent settlement.' Expressing himself satisfied with Mr. Gladstone's statement respecting the position of England, Mr. Herbert withdrew his motion.

Before dealing with the great question of the session—the abolition of Purchase in the Army—several other topics of interest claim attention. The proposed grant to the Princess Louise on her marriage roused the opposition of some members of the House, who affirmed that they represented the sentiments of a considerable number of the people. In view of this opposition, Mr. Gladstone's speech on moving the grant was fuller and more argumentative than had usually been the case on such occasions. The resolution provided an annuity of £6,000 to her Royal Highness, and a grant of £30,000. The Premier stated that the Queen, in marrying her daughter to one of her own subjects, had followed her womanly and motherly instincts, and she had been supported by the advice of her responsible Ministers. Having defended the moderate nature of the provision, and passed a high eulogium upon the economical management of the Royal household, Mr. Gladstone affirmed that the Civil List, when settled at the commencement of her Majesty's reign, did not contemplate provisions of this nature, nor was it convenient that it should. Although the Crown Lands now produced an income only about equal to the Civil List, if they were managed in the same manner as a private estate, they would put the Sovereign in possession of the largest income in the country. But there was a still higher ground than this why the proposition should be supported, namely, the political importance which attached to supporting the dignity of the Crown



SESSION OF 1871.—OPENING OF PARLIAMENT: READING THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

in a becoming manner. The speaker also dwelt upon the value of a stable dynasty, and on the unwisdom of making pecuniary calculations of a minute nature upon such occasions. When the resolution for the marriage portion came to be reported, it was opposed by Mr. P. A. Taylor, supported by Mr. Disraeli, and carried by the singular majority of 350 votes against 1.

The condition of affairs in Ireland, and especially the spread of an agrarian conspiracy in Westmeath, compelled the Government to move for a committee to inquire into the unlawful combination and confederacy existing in Westmeath and adjoining parts of Meath and King's County. Lord Hartington, Chief Secretary for Ireland, in moving for the committee, admitted that it was with feelings of painful dismay that he did so, but he proceeded to explain that the lawless condition of things indicated in a certain quarter was no criterion of the general condition of Ireland. Crime had subsided in the country, and the constabulary reports exhibited a marked improvement. Westmeath and the parts immediately adjacent, however, formed a terrible exception to the general rule, and the state of things having become intolerable, a committee was required to secure a thorough investigation of the case, and to satisfy the House that when the Government asked for any further powers their demand was justified by necessity. Mr. Disraeli was severely sarcastic at the expense of the Government, which had expressed its dismay at Ribandism. Referring to past legis-

lation for Ireland, he observed that the Chief Secretary should have come forward and said, 'It is true that murder is perpetrated with impunity; it is true that life is not secure, and that property has no enjoyment and scarcely any existence; but this is nothing when in the enjoyment of abstract political justice—and by the labours of two years we have achieved that for Ireland; massacres, incendiarism, and assassinations, are things scarcely to be noticed by a Minister, and are rather to be referred to the inquiry of a committee.' The right hon. gentleman added that the people of England, being persuaded with regard to Irish politics that Mr. Gladstone was in possession of the philosopher's stone, had returned him to the House with an immense majority, with the express object of securing the tranquillity and contentment of Ireland. Neither time, labour, nor devotion, had been begrudged him; 'under his influence, and at his instance, we have legalised confiscation, consecrated sacrilege, and condoned high treason; we have destroyed churches, we have shaken property to its foundation, and have emptied gaols; and now he cannot govern the country without coming to a Parliamentary committee! The right hon. gentleman, after all his heroic exploits, and at the head of his great majority, is making Government ridiculous.' Mr. Hardy also bitterly denounced the policy of the Government.

Mr. Gladstone, having administered a rebuke to Mr. Hardy for his heated language in describing murder as 'stalk-

ing abroad,' and the Government as 'becoming contemptible,' announced that the Ministry could not, consistently with their sense of public duty, withdraw the motion for a committee. He was glad that Mr. Disraeli, who had formerly told the House deliberately from his place that the consequences of disestablishment would be more formidable and destructive than those of foreign conquest, had now got down to expressions so moderate and judicial as that the Government had 'legalised confiscation and consecrated sacrilege.' Ministers asked the House to assist them in the elucidation and establishment of facts, but the committee was also necessary from the fact that they desired to prove not only acts that were done but acts that were not done, and to show how the system of terrorism was applied to all the transactions of private life. Much valuable information could be obtained, but only on the condition that those giving it were protected against its publicity. Turning upon Mr. Disraeli, the Premier made an effective point by remarking upon his rival's admission that in the year 1852 he did not adopt the means which he believed most suitable for the protection of life and property in three counties of Ireland, because the Government was weak. 'If the defences of the Government are weak, and the number of troops insufficient, is a Government to make it an apology for departing from the first principles of duty that they sit upon this bench, that they want to sit upon this bench, and therefore can

not propose measures which, in their opinion, principle justifies, and the safety of the country demands?' Mr. Gladstone concluded by observing that, acting upon the immediate elementary obligations of a Government, at all hazards to secure personal peace and freedom in the transactions of life, they submitted their proposal to the House, and were confident it would receive the approval of its reflective and deliberate judgment.

During the debate, Mr. Osborne, in a humorous speech, described the Cabinet as consisting chiefly of 'Whig marionettes.' Alluding to the changes which had taken place in its composition, he said the Cabinet had been lately whitewashed—that is, its members had been shuffled, and they had come back in the old military position of 'As you were.' In his principle of selection, the First Minister, if he had a choice, was in favour of Whig marionettes of the most approved pattern, while he himself held the official wire. He could not help thinking, when he looked through the long and dreary list of gentlemen who bowed to the presiding genius, there was written over the doors of the Cabinet, 'No Irish need apply.' The Solicitor-General for Ireland replied to this speech in a similar vein. Alluding to Mr. Osborne's complaint that the Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant had had been transferred to the treadmill of the Board of Trade, he observed, 'I apprehend that the hon. gentleman would be very glad to work upon that treadmill himself, and I take the liberty

of saying confidentially that in less than eighteen months he would not only become a silent but a grateful member of the Government.' With regard to Mr. Osborne's feeling of satisfaction that he had an Irish seat

on the subject of debate.' The Solicitor-General concluded by adducing arguments in support of the policy of the Government. At the close of the debate, the motion for a select committee was carried by a large majority.

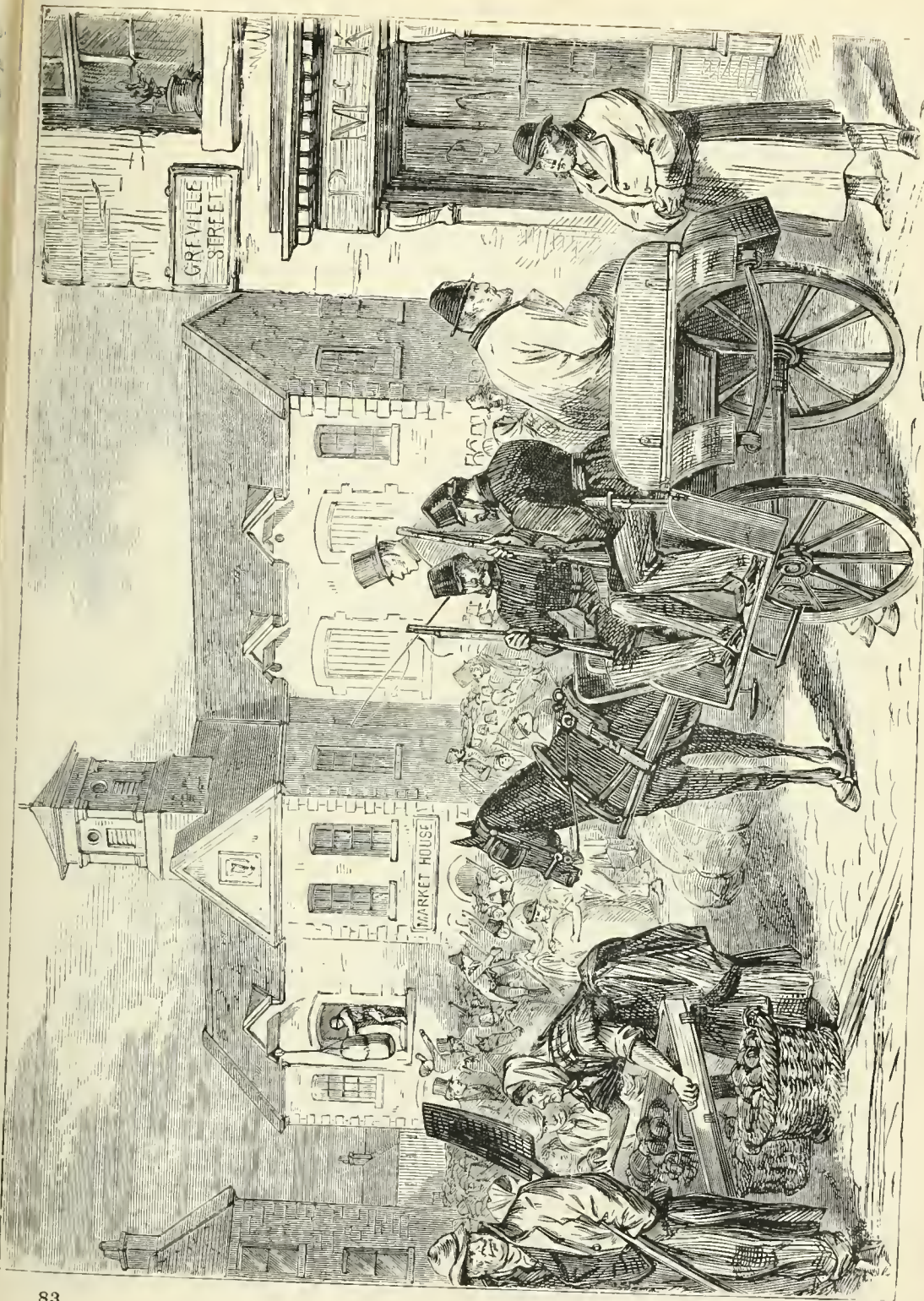


LORD GRANVILLE.

in the House, Mr. Dowse said, 'The hon. member is an Irishman *pro re nata*; he is an Irishman for the present, and will continue one—until the next general election. Having said so much for the hon. member, I promise him, if he gives me another opportunity, to be more liberal in my acknowledgments of his efforts for throwing light

The appointment of this committee was fully justified by subsequent events.

We now come to the Army Regulation Bill of the Government, which was introduced by Mr. Cardwell. The country having pronounced in favour of the abolition of the purchase system, this was the chief feature of the measure introduced by the Secretary at War



A WESTMEATH GENTLEMAN FARMER ATTENDING MULLINGAR MARKET.

In moving the usual army estimates, the Minister explained the nature of the new scheme of army re-organisation. He stated that the Government, agreeing with Lord Derby that it would be cheapest to pay for our military labour, would not recommend compulsory service, but there would be clauses in the bill enabling the Government to raise any number of men upon necessity. After considering the various methods as to how our forces were to be raised, the Ministry had decided to propose the abolition of the purchase system. The necessity of accepting a system of retirement and promotion by selection as distinguished by seniority followed this decision, as well as the payment of a large sum of money by way of compensation, which he calculated would range from £7,400,000 to £8,400,000. The bill fixed a day after which no pecuniary interest would be taken by any one in any new commission; but no officer would be the worse in a pecuniary sense by the abolition of purchase. A commission would be appointed to ascertain the over-regulation price in every regiment, and with money from the Consolidated Fund would stand in the place of a purchaser to the officer who wished to sell out, to retire on half-pay, &c. The number allowed to retire each year would be limited to the average of the last five years. As to first commissions, they would be given without purchase to the general public by competitive examination, to subalterns of militia regiments after two years' good service, and, as before, to non-commissioned officers.

These were the leading features of a measure whose minor details were explained with great minuteness by Mr. Cardwell.

It was not to be expected that so great a change in the constitution of the army could be effected without opposition. Accordingly, on the motion for the second reading of the bill, Colonel Loyd-Lindsay proposed a resolution declaring that the expenditure necessary for the national defences did not at present justify any vote of public money for the extinction of purchase. The resolution was influentially supported, and many arguments were adduced in favour of the retention of the existing system. During the debate Sir J. Pakington severely criticised the measure, which he described as 'a costly party project and a sop to democracy,' and attacked Mr. Trevelyan for circulating 'trash,' which by dint of continual repetition had come to be believed. Mr. Trevelyan, who had, perhaps, done more than any other man to 'educate' the country upon this question, replied with spirit, and quoted the case of Havelock, who declared that he was sick for years in waiting for his promotion; 'that three sots and two fools had purchased over him, and that if he had no family to support he would not serve another hour.' The hon. member for the Border Burghs warned the Opposition that if the defeat of the bill brought on a dissolution, 'Abolition of Purchase' would be an excellent hustings' cry. Mr. Disraeli was in favour of moulding the bill in committee, and urged Col

Lloyd-Lindsay to withdraw his motion. Mr. Gladstone, however, announced that Government would insist upon the amendment being negatived. The speech of Mr. Disraeli he regarded as a landmark in the history of this question, as it admitted that this was the first proposition which had ever attempted to weld into one harmonious whole the three great arms intended for the defence of the country. The bill contained so much of the programme of the Government as needed legislation. Its product would answer to the standard of our requirements, which demanded a small army highly trained, and a large army of reserve ready at any moment. With regard to the reserves, they should not be drawn from the militia, but should consist of seasoned men, regularly trained, corresponding to the German Landwehr. He hoped that Mr. Disraeli's declaration against purchase would have its full weight, and he proceeded to justify Mr. Cardwell's decision to sweep away the whole system by paying off over-regulation as well as regulation prices. He opposed the idea of an increase of pay when purchase was abolished, a cry which had no reason on its side. The best security for the emoluments of the officers, and for a fair system of retirement, was the necessity on the part of the country of attracting the best men into its army. Dealing with the idea that after purchase had been abolished almost everything would remain as it was, Mr. Gladstone said that if the purchase system was to be abolished at this great cost—he would

almost call it this vast cost—the reason why it was to be abolished was that the whole position of the officers of the army might be fully and freely considered, and might be subjected to review in all respects where it should seem susceptible of improvement. The idea was to have the very best men and the very best officers; but they were not to go into the army by compulsion, they were to go into it by free choice. The Government would go into committee expecting, even inviting, criticism, and would look for a spirit of co-operation in all those who were desirous of adjusting the clauses of the bill. They had an object of the highest and purest patriotism, namely, to secure that in the future, if possible even more than in the past, the British army should be and remain worthy of the British nation.

The amendment was negatived, and the bill read a second time. On going into committee, Mr. Mundella moved a resolution to the effect—'That this House, whilst approving the abolition of purchase in the army, is of opinion that the army may be put in a state of efficiency without increasing the ordinary military estimates of last year.' He asked why they should not have more organisation, instead of the cry of more men and more money. When the American war was at its worst, and everybody was crying out for 'more men,' the poet Lowell wrote:—

'More men! More men—that's where we fail,
Weak things grow weaker yet by lengthening,
What is the use of adding to the tail,
When its the head's in want of strengthening?'

The motion was seconded by Mr. Pease, who inveighed strongly against the increase of army expenditure, and appealed to the Prime Minister to reconsider the retrograde step he was now taking; it was unsound, economically; politically an error. It was also an immoral proceeding, internationally, for this country to set the example of a large military expenditure. Mr. Gladstone said he understood the motion to mean that between £2,750,000 and £3,000,000 ought to be taken off the estimates before the House, and that this might be done without impairing the efficiency of the army. He was not prepared to accede to that proposition. The speeches of the two hon. members were rather in favour of retrenchment generally, than in support of the particular motion before the House. Now, after allowing for the increase which had arisen this year in the military expenditure, the total defensive expenditure for the year would exhibit a sum to the credit of the Government estimates of between £600,000 and £800,000. At the same time, he would not have it supposed that the prolonged scale of military expenditure, which the circumstances and exigencies of the time required, would become the normal measure of the military expenditure of the country. After going through the various charges, Mr. Gladstone said that his hon. friends need not apprehend for a moment that the Government were more disposed than they had heretofore shown themselves to encourage unnecessary alarm, that they were less sensible of the duty

and the value of endeavouring to retrench public expenditure, or that they were less disposed, and, so far as depended upon them, less determined to apply that principle, according to the varying exigencies of the time, with a firm and steady hand during the period, whether it were long or short, that they might have the honour to administer the affairs of the country. In the end, Mr. Mundella's motion was defeated by 294 to 91.

There still remained before the Government the great task of abolishing Purchase in the Army. Their labours were facilitated by a recent report of a Royal Commission, to the effect that the practice of bargaining for commissions was inseparable from the permission to buy them; but there was one great obstacle to the proposed abolition in the fact that an expenditure of several millions would be immediately necessary. This part of the Government scheme was warmly opposed by the military members of the House, and an amendment against it was moved by Colonel Loyd-Lindsay. That officer, however, withdrew his motion at the request of Mr. Disraeli; but the clauses of the bill continued to be discussed with great persistency and at undue length. After several months had elapsed, leaving little prospect of the bill being passed in its entirety, the Government were driven to state that they would only insist on the purchase clauses, and the transfer of power over the Militia and Volunteers from the Lords-Lieutenant to the Crown. Mr. Disraeli sharply criticised the policy of

the Government, stating that he had only approved the abolition of purchase as a means towards the re-organisation of the army, which had now been abandoned. Mr. Gladstone replied that the abolition of purchase had always been

the government of the army, enabled Parliament to fix from year to year the number of the militia, authorised Government to insist on six months' continuous training as the condition of entering that force, and rendered volun-



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the chief feature of the Government scheme, and that they must and would clear the ground for re-organisation by abolishing it, as well as the privilege of the Lords-Lieutenant. The bill accordingly passed through committee. Besides securing the leading points just indicated, other principles of the measure were that it restored to the State

teers when under training in the camps subject to the Mutiny Act.

Much speculation arose upon the probable reception of the measure by the House of Lords, and at a meeting of Conservative peers held at the Carlton Club—attended only by a section of the party, however—it was resolved to oppose the bill. On its being brought

forward, the Duke of Richmond moved that the House should not pass the second reading until it had before it a comprehensive plan. Lord Sandhurst defended the bill, but the great majority of the speeches delivered were antagonistic to it. Lord Salisbury said it was the duty of the House to protect the country against rash and imperfect legislation, and he exhorted their lordships not to abandon the army to the influence of combined senility and corruption. The bill was urged forward by the Prime Minister to redeem the barrenness of a useless session. Lord Granville besought the House to pause ere it placed itself in collision with the Commons. Eventually the bill was rejected by 155 to 130; but as regarded actual peers of the realm the Government had a majority of one. The measure was defeated by the Scotch and Irish representative peers, 29 of whom voted or paired with the Opposition, and only three for the Government.

This decision was distasteful to the country, and it was generally felt that the question could not be suffered thus to remain shelved. It was reserved, however, for the Prime Minister to discover a way out of the difficulty which was as extraordinary and unexpected as it was effectual. On the 20th of July, in answering a question addressed to him by Sir George Grey, Mr. Gladstone announced that the Government had resolved to advise her Majesty to take the decisive step of cancelling the Royal warrant under which purchase was legal. That ad-

vice was accepted by her Majesty, and a new warrant had been framed in terms conformable with the law. It was consequently his duty, on the part of the Government, to state that, after the 1st of November ensuing, purchase in the army would no longer exist. When the cheers which followed this announcement had subsided, Mr. Gladstone went on to say that, under the altered circumstances of the case, it was not for them to indicate what course the House of Lords should pursue. In considering this matter, the Government had had no other object in view but simplicity, despatch, the observance of constitutional usage, and the speedy termination of a state of suspense which they thought most injurious—he would not say dangerous—to the army, and calculated to delay the progress of a measure that was likely, in their judgment, to do full justice to the fair pecuniary claims of the officers, and the loss of which might make it difficult to find means of doing justice to those claims. It would not be becoming or appropriate to forecast what course Ministers should take in case they were to fail in prosecuting the bill to its legitimate conclusion. But one thing it was his duty to state on the part of the Government, viz., that they would use the best means in their power, mindful of the honourable pledges they had given, to secure at the hands of Parliament just and liberal terms for the officers of the army.

Mr. Disraeli described this exercise of prerogative as a very high-handed course—he would not say then illegal

course, as he reserved that point for future consideration. He was checked by the Speaker for denouncing the Ministerial policy as 'part of an avowed and a shameful conspiracy against the undoubted privileges of the other House of Parliament.' Having withdrawn these words, he went on to maintain that no Minister acted in a wise manner who, on finding himself baffled in passing a measure which he believed to be of importance, came forward and told the House that he would defy the opinion of Parliament, and who appealed to the prerogative of the Crown to assist him in the difficulties which he had himself created.

When the Royal warrant came on for discussion in the Lords, the Duke of Richmond moved to add the following words:—'That this House, in assenting to the second reading of this bill, desires to express its opinion that the interposition of the Executive during the progress of a measure submitted to Parliament by her Majesty's Government, in order to attain by the exercise of the prerogative, and without the aid of Parliament, the principal object included in that measure, is calculated to depreciate and neutralise the independent action of the Legislature, and is strongly to be condemned: and this House assents to the second reading of this bill only in order to secure the officers of her Majesty's army compensation to which they are entitled, consequent on the abolition of purchase in the army.' Lord Salisbury delivered another bitter speech, and said that although Lord Granville had been made

the most reluctant instrument of insulting the order to which he belonged, their lordships knew the dictator under whom he served. The noble marquiss asked whether it was worth while to retain their power by uniformly acting against their convictions. Lord Romilly stated that he joined with considerable pain the Opposition peers upon this question; but the Duke of Somerset (who had frequently opposed the measures of the Government) said that purchase must go, and no other course than that which they had adopted was really open to the Ministry. After speeches from Lord Russell, Lord Cairns, and the Lord Chancellor, the vote of censure was carried by a majority of 80. The bill itself passed without a division. When the measure came to be discussed in the Commons, after its return from the Lords, there was a wide difference of opinion upon the legal aspects of the question between Sir R. Collier, the Attorney-General, and Sir J. D. Coleridge, the Solicitor-General. This divergence caused Mr. Harcourt to ask, amidst laughter from both sides of the House, which horse the Government intended to win with—the Attorney-General on 'Statute,' or the Solicitor-General on 'Prerogative'? Mr. Harcourt nevertheless cordially supported the issue of the warrant; it was the statute, he held, not the Royal warrant, which would make purchase illegal. Mr. Fawcett spoke strongly against the resort to prerogative, and said that if this act had been done by a Tory Ministry, it would have been passionately denounced

by Mr. Gladstone amid the applause of the whole Liberal party. The Premier, in defending his policy, said that to have proceeded by warrant in the outset would have assumed that the House of Commons of its own authority could

of Commons to prevent any such act. With regard to the question whether he had advised the Crown to issue the warrant on statute or by prerogative, Mr. Gladstone replied that he had advised her Majesty that she was in



THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

compensate persons who had habitually broken the law. As to the argument that the consideration for which the House had agreed to pay a large sum of money had disappeared from the bill, and that purchase might be revived as it had been abolished, the Lords were responsible for this, and he was content to trust to the vigilance of the House

possession of a legal power, and that an adequate necessity existed for exercising it. Although there were precedents for it, he did not deny that it was a grave proceeding; but the great justification for it was the impossibility of otherwise putting a stop to the flagrant and crying evil of over-regulation prices. As to the censure of the House of

Lords, while he did not undervalue it, he appealed to the public opinion of the country for his exculpation.

The absence of Sir Roundell Palmer

said he thought the issue of the warrant was the least objectionable course which the Government could pursue. The measure



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from these debates having been frequently commented upon, on the last day of the session a letter was read from that eminent Liberal lawyer approving of the issue of the Royal warrant. Such a warrant was within the undoubted power of the Crown ; and after recapitulating the existing circumstances, Sir

passed ; and greatly diversified as were the opinions of the people upon the method by which the abolition of purchase was secured, all were agreed in a short time as to the substantial wisdom of the Act itself.

Another measure which was discussed this session with great asperity was the

Ballot Bill. A considerable section of the Conservative party resolved to obstruct the passage of the measure with every available weapon in their power. Mr. Gladstone, who supported the bill, said it must and should pass the Commons before the session was concluded; and the Opposition, in order to defeat his purpose, delivered portentous speeches against the measure, whose relevancy it was sometimes impossible to discover. For nearly six weeks this warfare continued, but at length the bill was carried, though a skeleton only of the original scheme. In the Lords the bill met with scant courtesy, being rejected by 97 votes to 48. Many Liberal peers stayed away, and others voted against the measure on the ground of the late period of the session. A second question of importance, that of University Tests, was settled during the session. Mr. Gladstone introduced a bill substantially the same as that which the Lords had rejected the previous year. On the question again being remitted to the Upper House, Lord Salisbury carried an amendment of a religious nature striking at the root of the bill. This was disagreed with by the Commons, and ultimately the Lords themselves disavowed it by 128 to 89, and the bill, as it finally left the Commons, was agreed to, and received the Royal assent. The result of his measure was that all lay students of whatever religious creeds were in future to be admitted to the Universities on equal terms.

On two other important questions

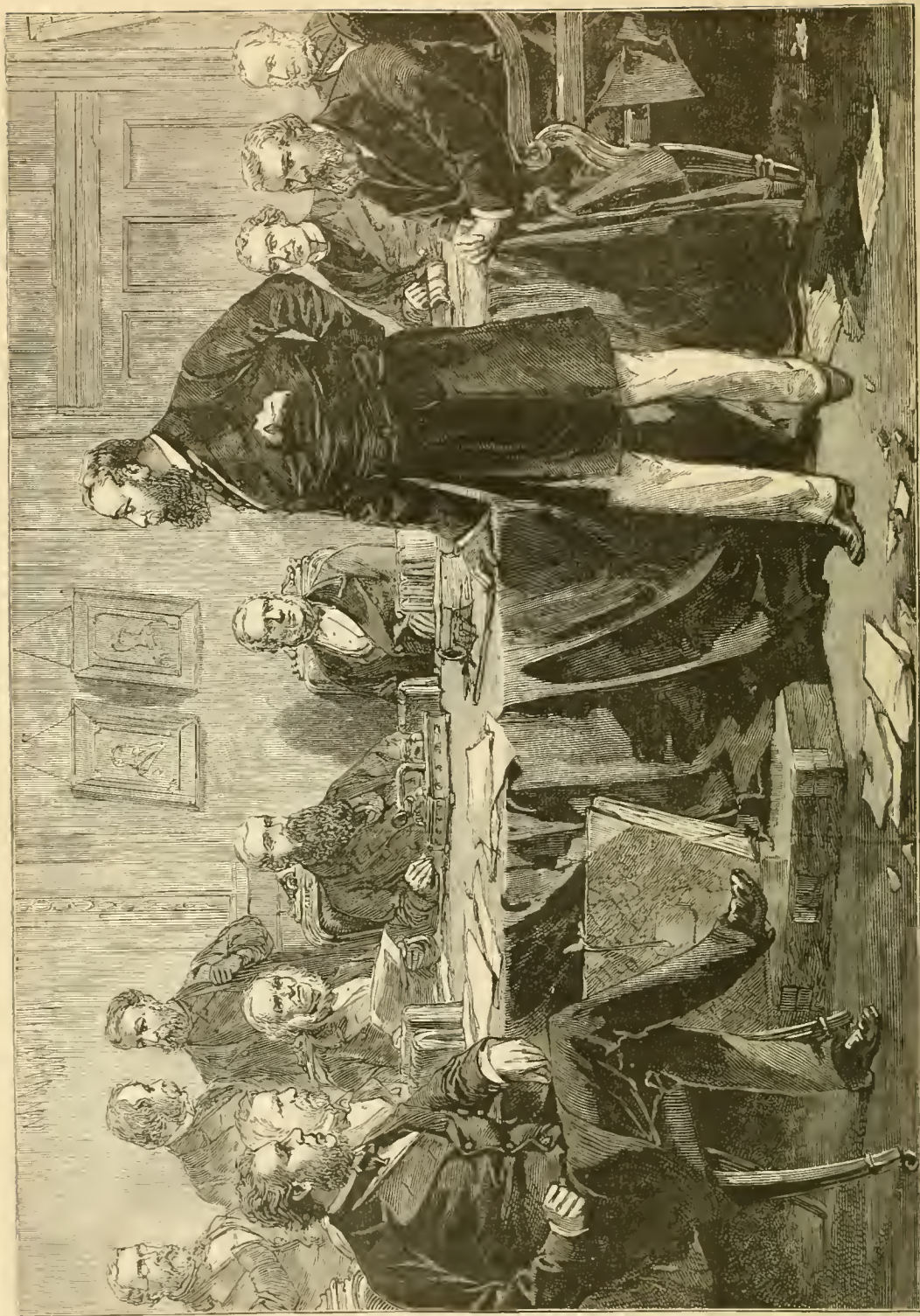
Mr. Gladstone was heard this session, and his utterances attracted great attention. Mr Jacob Bright's bill for conceding the Parliamentary franchise to female householders, if single women, was rejected by 220 to 151; but the Premier caused considerable sensation by admitting that, if the ballot were once established, women might be admitted to the franchise without detriment. A long debate also took place upon Mr. Miall's motion, 'That it is expedient, at the earliest practicable period, to apply the policy initiated by the disestablishment of the Irish Church to the other churches established by law in the United Kingdom.' Mr. Disraeli, in the course of the debate, expressed his confident belief that the great majority, both in the House and in the country, was decidedly in favour of the Church. The Nonconformists had, for the moment, allied themselves with the revolutionary philosophers, but their principles were opposed to the real feeling of the country, and he believed that even now a *plébiscite* would be in favour of the Church. He should oppose the motion in the interests of civil and religious liberty, and more for the sake of the State than of the Church. Mr Gladstone announced emphatically that the Government were hostile to the motion, and did not at all profess to limit their opposition to the present occasion. The Church of England was not a foreign church; it was the growth of the history and traditions of the country. The disestablishment of the Irish Church had been one of

the largest tasks to which a Legislature could address itself. 'But,' added the Premier, 'the question of the Irish Church sinks into insignificance—I mean material insignificance—beside the question of the English Church. It is not the number of its members or the millions of its revenue; it is the mode in which it has been from a period shortly after the Christian era, and has never for 1,300 years ceased to be, the Church of the country, having been at every period ingrained with the hearts and the feelings of the great mass of the people, and having intertwined itself with the local habits and feelings, so that I do not believe that there lives the man who could either divine the amount and character of the work my hon. friend would have to undertake were he doomed to be responsible for the execution of his own propositions, or who could in the least degree define or anticipate the consequences by which it would be attended.' If Mr. Miall sought to convert the majority of the House of Commons to his opinions, he must begin, concluded the right hon. gentleman, by undertaking the preliminary work of converting to those opinions the majority of the people of England. The motion was rejected by 374 votes to 89.

A threatened rupture between Great Britain and the United States was averted by the conclusion of the Treaty of Washington in the month of May. The British Commissioners were Lord de Grey (afterwards created Marquis of Ripon for his services), Sir Stafford

Northcote, Professor Bernard, Sir Edward Thornton, and Sir John Macdonald. After having sat thirty-seven times, the High Joint Commissioners at New York signed a treaty providing for the establishment of two boards of arbitration—one to consider the *Alabama* and similar claims, which would be recognised as national, and settled on the principle of responsibility for depredations where Government had not exercised the utmost possible diligence and precaution to prevent the fitting out of privateers; the other would consider miscellaneous claims on both sides, confined principally to those arising out of the Civil War. No claims arising out of the Fenian invasion of Canada would be admitted. All legitimate cotton claims would be considered, except those of British subjects domiciled in the South. The San Juan boundary question, it was ultimately arranged, should be arbitrated upon by the Emperor of Germany. American vessels were to navigate the St. Lawrence free, and the Canadian canals on payment of the regular tolls. The treaty was ratified towards the close of May.

On miscellaneous questions the Government were responsible for various failures, and they likewise sustained several severe checks. Conspicuous amongst the former was the budget introduced by Mr. Lowe on the 20th of April. In consequence of the abolition of purchase, the army estimates were much swollen, and there was a great excess of estimated expen-



Hon. Hamilton Fish, Justice Samuel Nelson, Lord Tenterden, Sir Edward Thornton, Sir John Macdonald, Sir Stafford Northcote,
 A SITTING OF THE HIGH JOINT COMMISSIONERS AT WASHINGTON FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE ALABAMA CLAIMS.

diture over revenue. The Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to make up this deficiency in various ways, and amongst his propositions was a tax on matches, from which he expected £550,000—‘*Ex luce lucellum*,’ as Mr. Lowe said. The match-box tax speedily

trade would be virtually extinguished by such an imposition. Unable to withstand the dissatisfaction created by his proposal, Mr. Lowe abandoned the tax. Several other propositions in the budget were either modified or withdrawn, and an increased income-tax



SINKING OF THE ALABAMA.

became one of the most unpopular taxes ever proposed; it was the butt of the comic and the *bête noire* of the serious papers, and was condemned by the country generally. The trade rose in arms against it, and it was shown that the proposed duty would vary from 100 to 400 per cent., or even more, on the wholesale price. Thus the duty upon £625 worth of the commonest matches would be £3,000. The match

was imposed. Mr. Bruce's Licensing Bill also excited great opposition. Its two broad principles, as defined by its author, were that the public had a right to a sufficient number of respectably conducted houses; and that all vested interests should be carefully considered. There were certain restrictive clauses, however, in the measure which led to hostile demonstrations on the part of the trade, and in the end Mr. Bruce

abandoned the chief features of his scheme, and declined to pledge himself to re-introduce the bill in the following session. Mr. Goschen introduced two bills on the subject of local taxation, designed to provide a uniform system of local government throughout England and Wales (the metropolis excepted), and to secure uniformity of rating. The bills did not come to a second reading. The Government suffered a further defeat on a matter of the greatest interest and importance to the poorer classes of London. Having proposed a commission to settle the rights of the Crown with regard to Epping Forest, Mr. Cowper-Temple brought forward a motion virtually against the Ministry, as it proposed to secure the preservation of the unenclosed portions of the forest as an open space for the enjoyment of the people of the metropolis. The resolution was opposed by Mr. Gladstone, who stated that the Government had secured one thousand acres of the forest as a recreation ground for the people. Mr. Cowper-Temple's motion, notwithstanding, was carried by a large majority. The loss of the *Captain* and the *Megara* led to grave reflections upon alleged Admiralty mismanagement, but Mr. Goschen, who succeeded Mr. Childers as First Lord, elaborately defended the conduct of the Board. The session, which, spite of its failures, had been far from barren, terminated on the 21st of August.

During the following recess, Mr. Gladstone's energy was as sleepless as ever. In addition to various public appear-

ances which he made, he was once more called upon to defend himself on the score of his religion. The affection with which he was viewed by a large section of the community seemed to be counterbalanced by the animosity of a smaller if more active section. Writing from Balmoral to Mr. Whalley, in answer to a question which the hon. member for Peterborough had put on behalf of his constituents, the Premier said, 'I quite agree with those of your constituents on whose behalf you address me, in thinking that the question "whether the Prime Minister of this country is a member of the Church of Rome," and being such, not only declines to avow it, but gives through a long life all the external signs of belonging to a different communion, is a "question of great political importance," and this not only "in the present," but in any possible condition of the "Liberal" or any other "party." For it involves the question whether he is the basest creature in the kingdom which he has a share in ruling; and instant ejection from his office would be the smallest of the punishments he would deserve. If I have said this much upon the present subject, it has been out of personal respect to you. For I am entirely convinced that, while the question you have put to me is in truth an insulting one, you have put it only from having failed to notice its true character; since I have observed during my experience of many years that, even when you undertake the most startling duties, you perform them in "the gentlest and most considerate

manner.”’ This last sentence was worthy of the Premier’s rival in his best mood. The hon. member for Peterborough was generally condemned for acting as the mouthpiece of an insufferable inquisition into Mr. Gladstone’s religious opinions.

The cry for Home Rule, and the unwarrantable conduct of Irish juries in connection with certain trials for agrarian crime, considerably disturbed the equanimity of the country during the recess. The Prime Minister, however, delivered a speech in connection with these matters which greatly allayed the public excitement. In receiving the freedom of the city of Aberdeen, he took occasion to say that he did not quite know what was meant by the cry of Home Rule. He was glad to know emphatically that it did not mean the breaking up into fragments of the United Kingdom. He—and he hoped all those who heard him—intended that it should remain a United Kingdom. From circumstances which he adduced, the Irish people were liable to become more or less victims from time to time of this or that political delusion. ‘But,’ he continued, ‘there is nothing that Ireland has asked and which this country and this Parliament have refused. This Parliament has done for Ireland what it would have scrupled to do for England and for Scotland. There remains now a single grievance—a grievance with regard to university education, which is not so entirely free in Ireland as it has now been made in England; but that is an exceptional subject, and it is a subject on which I

am bound to say Ireland has made no united demand upon England; still, I regard it as a subject that calls for legislation, but there is no demand which Ireland has made and which England has refused, and I shall be very glad to see such a demand put into a practical shape, in which we may make it the subject of rational and candid discussion.’ There were no inequalities between England and Ireland, the right hon. gentleman maintained, except such as were in favour of the latter. He admitted, nevertheless, that the circumstances under which Ireland was too long governed were hostile, nay, almost fatal to her growth. They ought rather to be pleased with what she had done than to complain of her. But if the doctrines of Home Rule were to be established in Ireland, they would be equally entitled to it in Scotland, and still more so in Wales, where the people spoke hardly anything but their own Celtic tongue. ‘Can any sensible man, can any rational man, suppose that at this time of day, in this condition of the world, we are going to disintegrate the great capital institutions of this country, for the purpose of making ourselves ridiculous in the sight of all mankind, and crippling any power we possess for bestowing benefits through legislation on the country to which we belong?’ With regard to past measures for Ireland, he would not admit that she was not going to be conciliated. But there was a still higher law to remember than that of conciliation. ‘We desire to conciliate Ireland, we

desire to soothe her people—the wounded feelings and the painful recollections of her people. We desire to attach her to this island in the silken cords of love; but there was a higher and a paramount aim in the

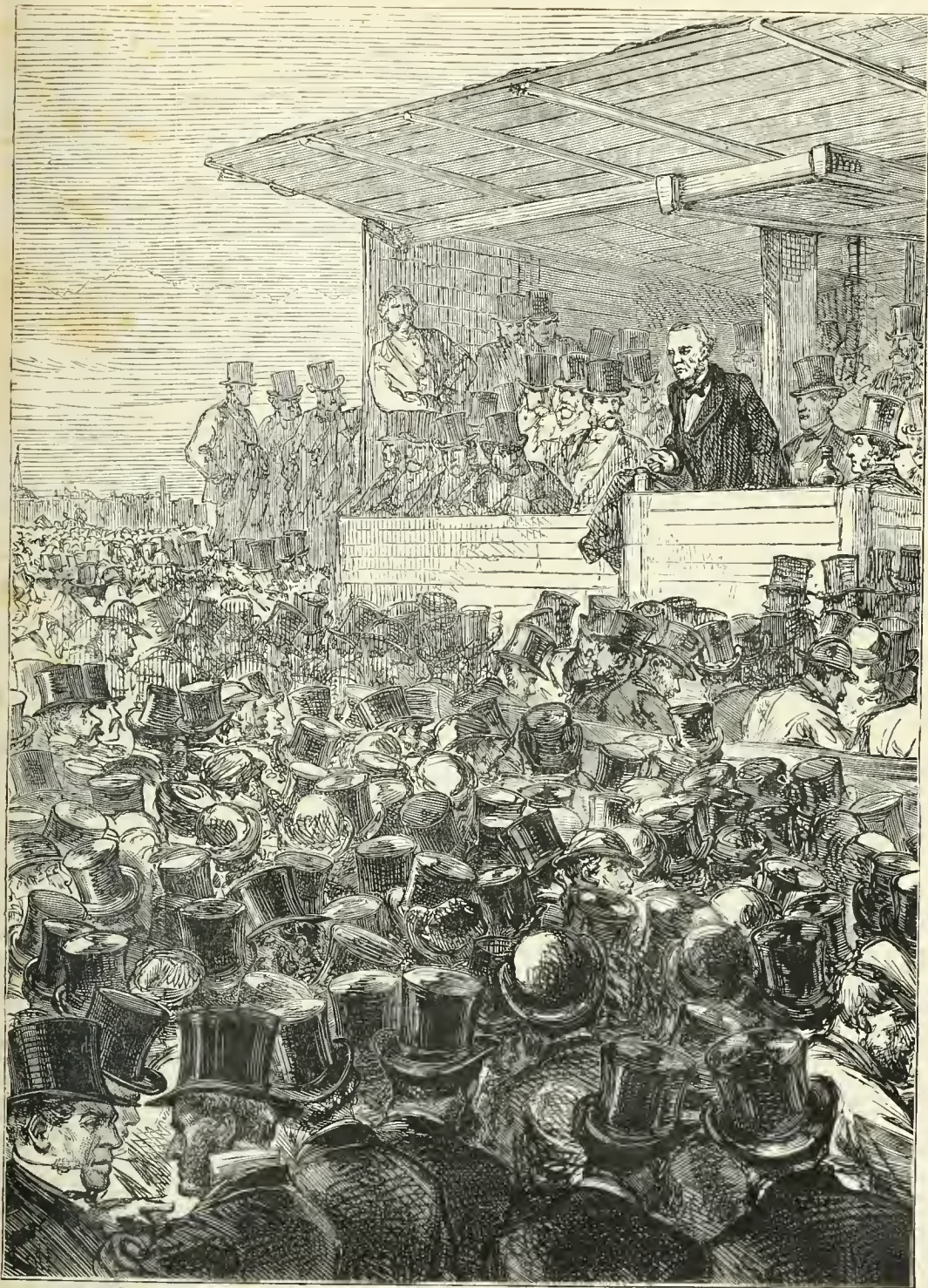
Dealing with the Army Regulation Bill, in a speech at Whitby, the Premier averred that that measure alone was sufficient to make and confer honour upon the session. The power of the Crown was brought in, but it



MR. HUGH CHILDERS, M.P.

measures that Parliament has passed, and that was that it should do its duty. It was to set itself right with the national conscience, with the opinion of the world, and with the principles of justice; and when that is done, I say fearlessly that, whether conciliation be at once realised or not, the position of this country is firm and invulnerable.'

could not have been done without. With regard to the Ballot Bill, although it had been rejected, the time had not been lost. When the measure was presented next session at the door of the House of Lords, he believed it would be with an authoritative knock which it would not have otherwise possessed. After deprecating hasty legislation, Mr. Gladstone said that 'no



MR. GLADSTONE ADDRESSING THE ELECTORS OF GREENWICH ON BLACKHEATH (OCT., 1871).

doubt many a clever fellow writing in a newspaper could put his finger on many a blot on our legislation, and show how it might have been done, and he had no doubt that he thought he could have done it better himself.' Referring next to the magazine article which appeared at the time, and which caused a strong sensation, entitled the 'Battle of Dorking,' the Premier exhorted his hearers not to be alarmed. The disposition to alarm sat worse upon the English than upon any other people, because we were accused abroad of being an arrogant and a self-assertive people; and nothing could be more injurious than for such a people to lash themselves into a state of apprehension and panic, or to endeavour to persuade themselves that all mankind were in a conspiracy against them. He exhorted them to be on their guard against alarmism. 'The power of this country is not declining,' he observed in conclusion. 'It is increasing—increasing in itself, and I believe increasing as compared with the power of the other nations of Europe. It is only our pride, it is only our passions, it is only our follies, which can ever constitute a real danger to us. If we can master these, no other foe can hurt us; and many a long year will make its round, and many a generation of men will be gathered to its fathers, before the country in which we were born, and which we deeply love, need forfeit or lose its place among the nations of the world.'

There were signs during the year 1871—as indeed it has been already

indicated—that the popularity of the Ministry was declining. The Premier was too much in earnest for his Whig supporters, whose political animation was well-nigh suspended by the rapidity of his reforms. Rarely had the apathy of the country to great legislative schemes been so nobly overcome as during Mr. Gladstone's premiership, but a reaction began to set in. Early in 1871, even a section of his own constituents drew up a petition inviting him to resign his seat for Greenwich. This movement had a ridiculous but the only legitimate ending. The Premier was heavily weighted, according to the popular view, by such colleagues as Mr. Lowe and Mr. Ayrton—men of great and unquestionable ability, but whose reading of the public pulse was not of the surest and most satisfactory description. The labours of Hercules were thrown upon the shoulders of the First Minister, and it was a little too much to make him responsible for the erratic action of every subordinate. A meeting was called at the Lecture Hall, Greenwich, in support of the requisition desiring Mr. Gladstone to resign his seat; but the Liberals repudiated all connection with the movement, and the tables were turned in a surprising manner upon the requisitionists. After a scene of considerable violence, a vote of confidence was passed in Mr. Gladstone, and the proceedings closed with a volley of cheers for the right hon. gentleman.

The chief event of the recess, however, was the Premier's great speech

on Blackheath. For two hours, on a bleak October day, Mr. Gladstone addressed an open-air audience, consisting of some 20,000 persons. In his whole career he has, probably, never made a more dramatic appearance. Standing before the immense audience bareheaded, by the sheer force of his eloquence the right hon. gentleman subdued the opposition of those who had come expressly to circumvent him.* He began his speech by craving indulgence in respect to his discharge of local duties, and observed that, though it might be a serious misfortune to many whom it affected, the closing or

restriction of Government establishments might at the same time be a duty to the nation. Three-fourths of the reduction in the number of the dockyard labourers was due to their predecessors, and the whole plan had been devised by a former Government. Touching upon the abolition of purchase in the army, Mr. Gladstone said he rejoiced to think that in a single session they had been able to achieve a task so formidable. He had faith in the army, in spite of all the writings of alarmists. The autumn manœuvres had demonstrated that, if it should please Providence to bring upon us the necessity, never was the country more able to entrust its defence to troops and

* From a description of the scene which appeared in the *Daily News* we take the following passage:—"The dense mass heaved, and there rose from it an audible gasp as a burst of cheering was heard in the offing. Nearer rolled the cheers, mingled with some yells, but the silence of keen expectancy reigned before the hustings. The door at the back of the booth opened, there was some confusion among its occupants, and then—here was Mr. Gladstone, standing at the right hand of Mr. Angerstein. Then the throng broke the silence of expectancy. Peal after peal of cheering rent the air. There was a waving forest of hats. The cheering was spasmodic—it was too loud to be sustained, and ever as it drooped a little was audible the steady automaton-like hissing. But as yet there was little or no hooting, only the bitter, persistent hissing in the lulls of the cheering. If Mr. Angerstein flatters himself that in the remarks he made introducing Mr. Gladstone he was audible ten feet to his front, he simply labours under a delusion. The noise that drowned his words was utterly indescribable. When this brief preface was over, Mr. Gladstone stood forward bareheaded. There was something deeply dramatic in the intense silence which fell upon the vast crowd when the renewed burst of cheering with which he was greeted had subsided. But the first word he spoke was the signal of a fearful tempest of din. From all around the skirts of the crowd rose a something between a groan and a howl. So fierce was it that for a little space it might laugh to scorn the burst of cheering that strove to overmaster it. The battle

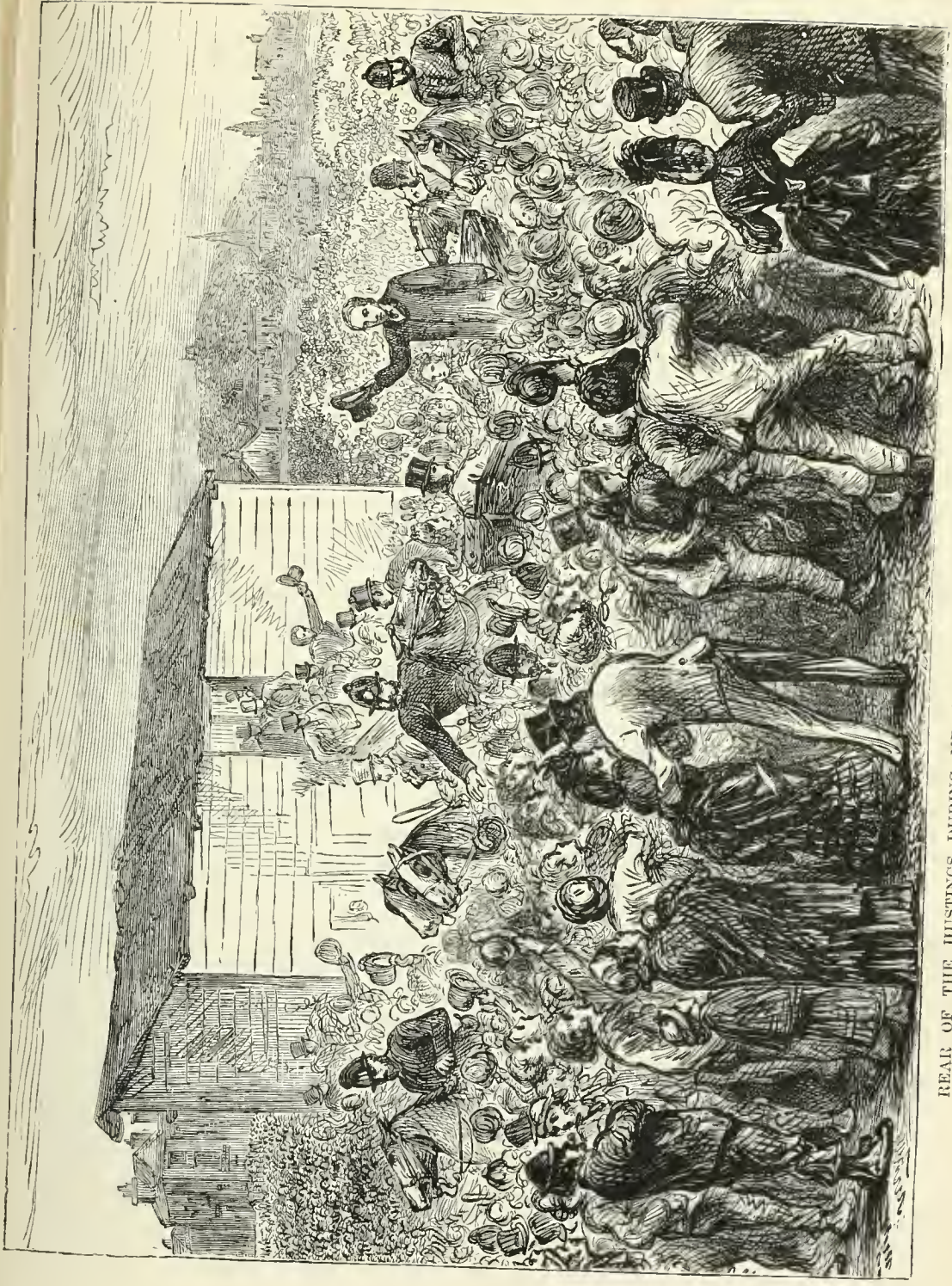
raged between the two sounds, and looking straight upon the excited crowd stood Mr. Gladstone, calm, resolute, patient. It was fine to note the manly British impulse of fair-play that gained him a hearing when the first ebullition had exhausted itself, and the revulsion that followed so quickly and spontaneously, on the realisation of the suggestion that it was mean to hoot a man down without giving him a chance to speak for himself. After that Mr. Gladstone may be said to have had it all his own way. Of course at intervals there were repetitions of the interruptions. When he first broached the dockyard question there was long, loud, and fervent groaning; when he named Ireland a cry rose of "God save Ireland!" from the serried files of Hibernians that had rendezvoused on the left flank. But long before he had finished he had so enthralled his audience, that impatient disgust was expressed at the handful who still continued their abortive efforts at interruption. When at length the two hours' oration was over and the question was put, that substantially was, whether Mr. Gladstone had cleared away from the judgment of his constituency the fog of prejudice and ill-feeling that unquestionably encircled him and his Ministry, the affirmative reply was given in bursts of all but unanimous cheering, than which none more earnest ever greeted a political leader. Rarely has an English Premier ventured to throw himself thus completely upon the sympathies of the great mass of the people.

to officers more worthy of their country, or more certain to make that defence effectual. In defending the War Minister, Mr. Gladstone said, 'There has been a fashion during the present year to scoff at Mr. Cardwell. I can only say that, when he is condemned, I, for my part, am glad to share the condemnation. But I venture to affirm that no man who ever held the seals of office since the Secretaryship at War was established, has done so much for the reform and the efficiency of the army; and I am quite sure that when he retires from the office, he will leave behind a name entitled to the approval and the gratitude of the country.' Dealing with the Education Act, the speaker observed that a great and comprehensive measure of that kind could hardly be perfect. 'Indulgence, equity, the sacrifice of extreme opinions, must be asked for in every quarter. But I ask those who are least satisfied with the Education Act this one and simple question, whether it is not a great stride, and one achieved upon a path of real progress? I will not now attempt to say more upon the question than this:—On the one hand we shall endeavour to adhere to that principle of the Act which aims at the severance between the application of the State funds and controverted matters in religion; and on the other I must pause, for my own part, and I believe my colleagues would feel themselves obliged to pause, before they could resolve to say to the parent desirous to send his child to a school of his own persuasion, compelled by public

authority to send it to school, and unable to pay the charge, If you attempt to send the child to a school of your own persuasion, if you don't consent to send him to a school the principles of which you disapprove—namely, the rate school—we shall send you to prison. I don't think public opinion would sustain us in such a course.' Alluding to the ballot, he expressed his belief that his hearers were of opinion the Government had made a good and wise choice in pressing that important question upon the attention of Parliament.

It was scarcely possible, after the recent important differences of opinion between the two Houses of Parliament, that Mr. Gladstone should avoid all reference to the functions and constitution of the House of Lords. When he arrived at this stage of his address, he was interrupted by a voice, 'Leave the constitution of the House of Lords alone!' Whereupon he proceeded to say:—

I am not prepared to agree with my friend there, because the constitution of the House of Lords has often been a subject of consideration amongst the wisest and most sober-minded men; as, for example, when a proposal—of which my friend disapproves perhaps—was made a few years ago to make a moderate addition to the House of Lords of peers holding their peerages for life. I am not going to discuss that particular measure; I will only say, without entering into details that would be highly interesting, but which the vast range of the subject makes impossible on the present occasion—I will only say that I believe there are various particulars in which the constitution of the House of Lords might, under favourable circumstances, be improved. And I am bound to say that, though I believe there are some politicians bearing the name Liberal who approve the proceedings of the House of Lords with respect to the Ballot Bill at the close of last session, I must own that I deeply lament



REAR OF THE HUSTINGS DURING MR. GLADSTONE'S ADDRESS AT BLACKHEATH (OCT., 1871).

that proceeding. I have a shrewd suspicion in my mind that a very large proportion of the people of England have a sneaking kindness for the hereditary principle. My observation has not been of a very brief period, and what I have observed is this, that wherever there is anything to be done, or to be given, and there are two candidates for it who are exactly alike—alike in opinions, alike in character, alike in possessions, the one being a commoner and the other a lord—the Englishman is very apt indeed to prefer the lord.

In giving instances in support of his opinion, Mr. Gladstone dealt with a new social movement which at that time was the subject of much discussion. This movement was originated by Mr. Scott Russell, and its object was to improve the condition of the working classes by an alliance of workmen with (chiefly) Conservative statesmen. The memorandum which formed its basis was signed by Lords Salisbury, Carnarvon, Lichfield, Sandon, and John Manners, Sir J. S. Pakington, Sir Stafford Northcote, and Mr. Gathorne Hardy. Mr. Gladstone indulged in a little pleasantry at the expense of this scheme, whose ultimate issues did not satisfy its promoters. ‘Here was one body on one side, another body on the other side, and in the middle Mr. Scott Russell. Mr. Russell comes in communication with both of these bodies. He speaks first to the one and then to the other. You have seen a clergyman in a large church when he gives out his text; he first of all looks to the people in one part of the church, and says, “You will find it written so-and-so,” and then to the other side of the congregation, “You will find it so-and so.” This is exactly, or almost exactly, what seems to have been done

by Mr. Scott Russell. The only difference is this—that, unfortunately, Mr. Scott Russell gives a text out of one Testament to the people on this side, and a text out of the other Testament to the people on the other side. As to the composition of the body he had organised, he might have said, “I have organised a body of educated, intelligent, and independent men,” and perhaps that would have occurred in another country. But what is the language he used? He said, “I have organised this body, and what does it contain? It contains peers, lords, baronets, and one commoner—one solitary commoner among peers, lords, and baronets.” It was by these means that Mr. Scott Russell thought to make his prescription most acceptable to those for whom it was intended.’ The right hon. gentleman, however, speaking of the House of Lords, went on to acknowledge the admirable and exemplary manner in which many of the peers performed their duties.

Detailing the great advantages which had accrued from the legislation of the past generation, including Free Trade, the removal of twenty millions of taxation, a cheap press, the passing of the French Treaty, and an education bill, Mr. Gladstone enforced the lesson that Englishmen must depend upon themselves for their future well-being and improvement. After describing those who promised Utopian benefits to the working man as quacks, deluded and beguiled by a ‘spurious philanthropy,’ the Premier thus concluded his long and animated address:—

How, in a country where wealth accumulates with such vast rapidity, are we to check the growth of luxury and selfishness by a sound and healthy opinion? How are we to secure to labour its due honour—I mean not only to the labour of the hands, but to the labour of the man with any and all the faculties which God has given him? How are we to make ourselves believe, and how are we to bring the country to believe, that in the sight of God and man labour is honourable and idleness is contemptible? Depend upon it, gentlemen, I do but speak the serious and solemn truth when I say that beneath the political questions which are found on the surface lie those deeper and more searching questions that enter into the breast and strike home to the conscience and mind of every man; and it is upon the solution of these questions that the well-being of England must depend. Gentlemen, I use the words of a popular poet when I give vent to this sentiment of hope, which for one I venture to look forward to the future of this country. He says:—

“The ancient virtue is not dead, and long may it endure,
May wealth in England—”

and I am sure he means by wealth that higher sense of it—prosperity, and sound prosperity—

“May wealth in England never fail, nor pity for the poor.”

May strength and the means of material prosperity never be wanting to us; but it is far more important that there shall not be wanting the disposition to use those means aright. Gentlemen, I shall go from this meeting, having given you the best account of my position in my feeble power, within the time and under the circumstances of the day—I shall go from this meeting strengthened by the comfort of your kindness and your indulgence to resume my humble share in public labours. No motive will more operate upon me in stimulating me to the discharge of duty than the gratitude with which I look back upon the, I believe, unexampled circumstances under which you made me your representative. But I shall endeavour—I shall make it my hope—to show that gratitude less by words of idle compliment or hollow flattery than by a manful endeavour, according to the measure of my gifts, humble as they may be, to render service to a Queen who lives in the hearts of the people, and to a nation with respect to which I will say that through all posterity, whether it be praised or whether it be blamed, whether it be acquitted or whether it be condemned, it will be acquitted or condemned upon this issue, of having made a good or bad use of the most splendid opportunities; of having turned to proper account, or failed to turn to account, the powers, the energies, the faculties which rank the people of this

little island as among the few great nations that have stamped their name and secured their fame among the greatest nations of the world.

The year 1871 was, in many respects, a memorable one. When it opened war was still raging between Prussia and France, but, as previously observed, a treaty of peace was signed in the month of May. We have already seen how our own difficulties with the United States were placed in the way of a satisfactory adjustment. Towards the close of the year the whole nation was moved with a sense of gratitude for the recovery of the heir to the Throne from a dangerous illness, and one to which for a long period a fatal result was feared and anticipated.

The Parliamentary history of the year was not altogether satisfactory, though there have been sessions since quite as barren in acts of great and useful legislation. On the 1st of January the disestablishment of the Irish Church was finally completed.

With regard to extra-Parliamentary politics, in the autumn an agitation was commenced for the reform or the abolition of the House of Lords, but it speedily subsided; and Mr. Gladstone, as we have seen, defended the Lords in his speech at Blackheath, while admitting that the constitution of the House might be improved. Sir Charles Dilke caused considerable sensation by first attacking the Queen's administration of the Civil List in a lecture delivered at Newcastle, and avowing himself a Republican a few days later in a speech made at Bristol. Not, perhaps, as the

consequence of this, but owing rather to a special conjuncture of circumstances, the country shortly afterwards testified its loyalty to the Throne in an especially marked and enthusiastic degree. Lastly, there was a continuance of the Home

had already begun. There are some reforms which, when they do not touch the mass of the people, are readily acquiesced in; but when a Ministry resolutely sets itself to the reform of abuses in all directions, however laud-



H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.

Rule agitation, while Mr. Dixon and a powerful body of Nonconformists strongly attacked the clauses of the Education Bill which allowed of aid to denominational schools—one leading object sought being the exclusion of religious teaching from day schools.

The Gladstone Administration had now passed its zenith, and its decadence

able its objects, it is sure to incur the hostility of individual interests. Mr. Bruce alienated the whole of the brewing interests by his Licensing Bill, and the Government acquired further unpopularity by the disasters reflecting upon the Admiralty. Indignation was caused when, upon the promotion of Sir M. Smith to the Privy Council, the

Attorney-General (Sir R. Collier) was gazetted as a Puisne Judge of the Common Pleas, for the purpose of qualifying him for an appointment to the Judicial Committee, which was soon

the Premier—to whom personally little or no blame could attach for many of these transactions—found towards the close of the year that his popularity was waning. A reaction had set in against



H.R.H. THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

afterwards completed. Opponents of the abolition of purchase, moreover, did not forget to enlarge upon what they described as the straining of the Constitution by the issue of the Royal warrant. Rightly or wrongly, these and other matters led to much obloquy being cast upon the Government; and

so-called 'heroic' legislation—which really meant that Mr. Gladstone, who in 1868 so clearly and unmistakably interpreted the public sentiment, was now in advance of it. His earnestness and enthusiasm were already beginning to be but ill appreciated by the very classes who had wafted him into power,

and given him such an enormous majority.

But, in looking back upon the legislative enactments of the three sessions of 1869, 1870, and 1871, who can deny that they warrant the designation which we have given to the present chapter of this work? That period which (to say nothing of minor measures) witnessed the passing of the Irish Church Act, the Endowed Schools Bill, the Bankruptcy Bill, the Habitual Criminals Bill, the Irish Land Act, the Elementary Education Act, the Abolition of Purchase in the Army, the negotiation of the Washington Treaty, the passing of the University Tests Bill and of the Trades Union Bill, and the repeal of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, may well be entitled to the appellation of the 'golden age of Liberalism.' There have been few periods in the history of this country—we might venture almost to say there have been

none—when measures of equal magnitude have been passed within this limited space of time. 'The hour and the man' were both designed for the task which had to be accomplished. Never was there an age when a stronger zeal for reform was manifested—taking reform now not merely in a political and Parliamentary, but in a social, religious, and national sense; and never was there a statesman more fully capable of meeting the needs of such an age than Mr. Gladstone. They were the complement of each other, and when Englishmen reflect upon the great legislative achievements of the time, it is well to remember that the cry of justice to Ireland, and other demands for imperial legislative reforms, owed their fulfilment to the untiring energy, the dauntless will, and the high moral and political courage of him whose name now occupies so conspicuous a position in the annals of our country.

CHAPTER VI.

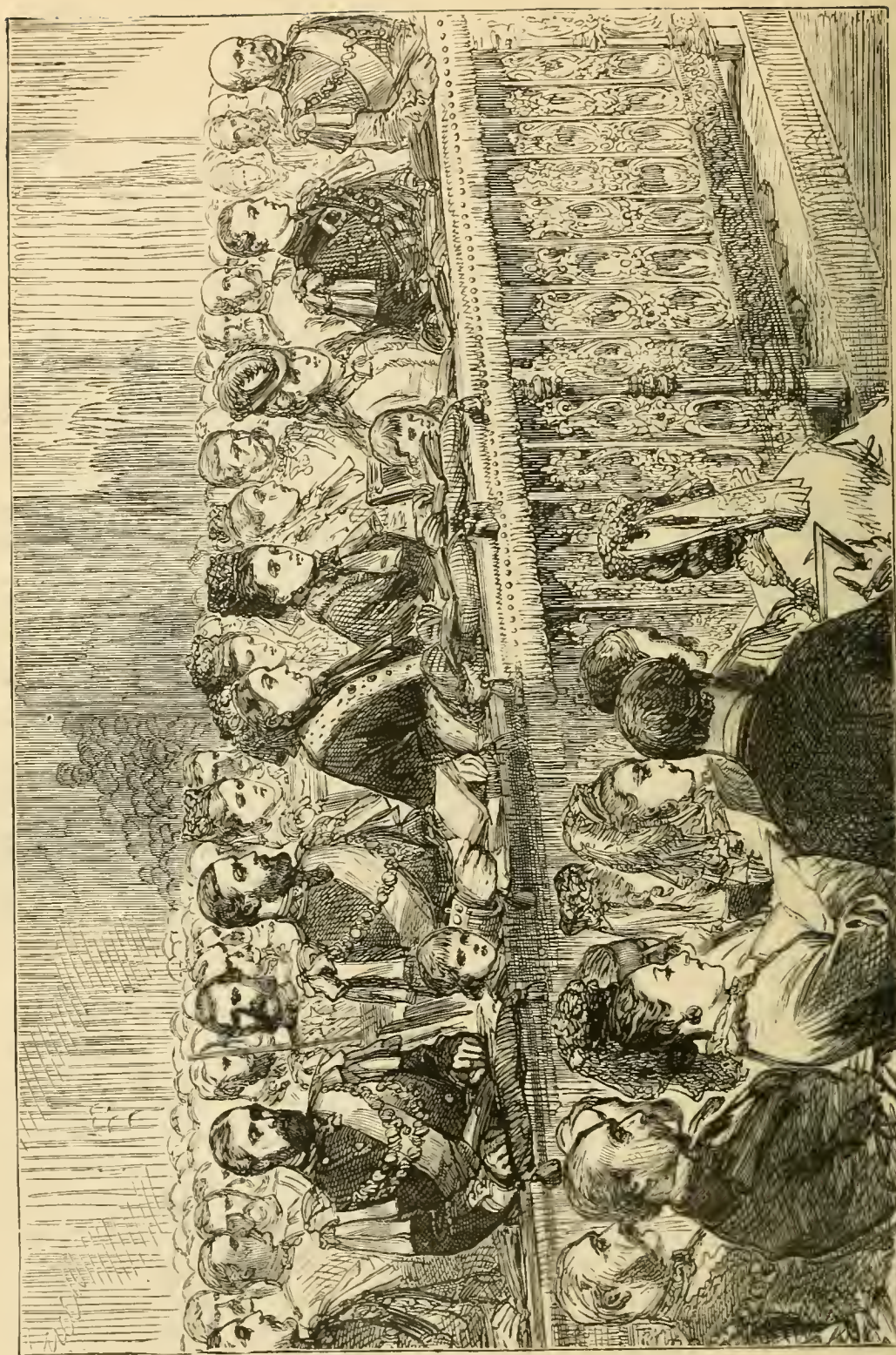
THE ALABAMA CLAIMS—THE BALLOT—IRISH UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

THE Year 1872—Recovery of the Prince of Wales—Growing Unpopularity of the Government—Debate on the Address—The Premier on Mr. Disraeli's Survey of the Ministerial Policy—Debates on Sir Robert Collier's Appointment—The 'Ewelme Scandal'—The Government and the Public Parks—Sir Charles Dilke's Motion on the Civil list—Opposed by Mr. Gladstone—Extraordinary Scene in the House—The Ballet Bill—The Measure carried—The Alabama Claims—Mr. Gladstone on the Washington Treaty—The Geneva Arbitration—Award of the Arbitrators—Protest of Sir Alexander Cockburn—Irish University Education—Scheme of the Government—Great Speech by the Premier—Details of the Measure—The Bill in Danger—Debate on the Second Reading—Speeches of Mr. Lowe, Mr. Disraeli, and Mr. Gladstone—Defeat of the Government—Ministerial Interregnum—Mr. Disraeli declines to take office—Mr. Gladstone on the Situation—Resumes the Premiership—Measures of the Session of 1873—Ministerial Changes.

THE new year dawned amid universal symptoms of rejoicing on the part of the people. The Queen invited her subjects to share in her gratitude for the recovery of the Prince of Wales, and a thanksgiving service was held in St. Paul's Cathedral, under circumstances of splendour and impressiveness. The reception which the Sovereign and the Heir to the Throne met with on their progress from Buckingham Palace testified to the hold which the Royal family had upon the affections of the people, whose demonstrations acquired a deeper fervour from the recollection of the period of deep anxiety, now happily overpast. National prosperity, too, was advancing in a marked degree, and there seemed no reason to dread the introduction of discordant elements into the life of the commonwealth.

The chief political feature of the period was the continued unpopularity of the Government. Speculation was rife as to its stability, and yet those who predicted its downfall during the session of 1872 were unable to point to

a combination powerful enough to take its place. For that reason, the strongest opponents of the Ministry, while anxious to damage its prestige and to humiliate it in the eyes of the country, were not desirous of witnessing its overthrow. By way of illustrating the divisions and the spirit which existed, a Liberal journal observed that 'many would like to knock over Lord Hatherley, many to expel Mr. Forster, many to rid the Government of Mr. Bruce, many to hurt Mr. Lowe, most of all, perhaps, to humiliate Mr. Gladstone. But they all want to know how this can be done without causing a dissolution or change of Government. It is a spiteful problem in *maxima* and *minima*, how to inflict on the Government the maximum of discredit with the minimum of immediate results. The censors of the Government are like a dueller who declares he does not want to kill his antagonist, but only to "give him a lesson that he will remember to the day of his death." That, however, is a very delicate feat



THE QUEEN AND THE ROYAL FAMILY AT THE THANKSGIVING SERVICE IN ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

to achieve when you are playing with deadly weapons. You may wish to "wing" your adversary, and send a ball just through his heart. And the great question now is, Can the Government, even with the cordial help of

ment was labouring. But while not exempting the Ministry from blame in several matters, every candid mind must confess that much of the criticism passed upon it was groundless.

In the debate on the Address, Mr.



SANDRINGHAM HOUSE.

its many open enemies and insincere friends, manage to receive the tokens of the accumulated dislikes of so many different sections, and yet survive the session?' The Prime Minister, looking round upon his lieutenants, could scarcely discover one who was not credited, justly or unjustly, with having contributed his share to the weight of opprobrium under which the Govern-

Disraeli challenged the policy of Ministers, remarking that they had adopted a new system of vindicating their characters during the recess. 'We really have had no time to forget anything. Her Majesty's Ministers may be said during the last six months to have lived in a blaze of apology.' After protesting against this new system, the right hon. gentleman con-

tinued, 'The notices of the motion given this evening will afford her Majesty's Government ample opportunities for defending their conduct, past or present. If it is in the power of the Government to prove to the country that our naval administration is such as befits a great naval power, they will soon have an occasion of doing so; and if they are desirous of showing that one of the transcendental privileges of a strong Government is to evade Acts of Parliament which they have themselves passed, I believe, from what caught my ear this evening, that that opportunity will also soon be furnished them.' Attacking next the clauses of the Queen's Speech, Mr. Disraeli observed, with regard to Ireland, that there had originally been a reference to the 'third branch of the Upas tree,' but it had slipped out at the last moment. The Ballot had been preferred to such measures as the Mines Regulation Act and Sanitary Legislation. He condemned the paragraph relating to the Washington Treaty as frigid and jejune, and utterly inadequate to the occasion. Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville, having full control and supervision of the negotiations at Washington, were solely responsible for the treaty, whose terms he proceeded to discuss, objecting strongly to its retrospective clauses. He demanded from the Government their grounds for stating that the treaty excluded claims which were preposterous and wild, and which equalled a tribute from a conquered people. He asked for the view of the American Government upon our

reading of the treaty. Her Majesty's Ministers must be perfectly frank upon the question, for it appeared to him that if they got into a Serbonian bog of diplomacy upon this matter the consequences might be enormous and fatal.

Mr. Gladstone, undisturbed apparently by his rival's sarcasm, at once said that the Government courted the most searching inquiry into the case of the *Megara*, and into Sir Robert Collier's appointment. Every assistance would be given by the Government to the taking of the judgment of the House upon these questions. Having adverted to the recovery from illness first of her Majesty and then of the Prince of Wales, the Premier touched upon the Irish references in the Speech, and assured the leader of the Opposition that he was mistaken in his assumption as to the question of education in Ireland. He next justified the precedence which had been given to the ballot; and with regard to the Alabama case, he said that it was the duty of Ministers to state their case to the Government of the United States, and especially to the people of this country, in the mildest terms possible consistent with an appreciation of the momentous importance of the question. The paragraph relating to the treaty was in his opinion, therefore, quite adequate to the emergency. Mr. Disraeli's historical retrospect of the negotiations he accepted as proving that the British Government had at no time acceded, either in intention or otherwise, to an instrument admitting constructive claims. Whatever blame fell on those

who concluded the treaty must be borne by the Government, the Commissioners were entirely free from it; but he denied that there was blame anywhere. Large concessions had undoubtedly been made to the American Government—such as accepting retrospective action and abstaining from claiming compensation for the Fenian raids in Canada—but they were justifiable. The American Government had made no protest against the interpretation publicly put on the treaty in the House of Lords in the previous June. In consequence of the American case having been only in possession of all the members of the Cabinet for a week or so, a communication could not be addressed to the American Government until within the last few days. The treaty was not ambiguous, and could not be read in two contradictory senses; on the contrary, the Government would contend that, tried by grammar, logic, common sense, policy, or any other conceivable criterion, its only just and unequivocal meaning was that which they put upon it. It amounted almost to an interpretation of insanity to suppose that any negotiators could intend to admit, in a peaceful arbitration, claims of such an unmeasured character as the right hon. gentleman had partially described, such as he (Mr. Gladstone) for a moment glanced at, and such as it was really impossible to have supposed the American Government to intend; these would be claims transcending every limit hitherto known or heard of—claims which not even the last extremities of war and the

lowest depths of misfortune would force a people with a spark of spirit, with the hundredth part of the traditions or courage of the people of this country, to submit to at the point of death. They relied on the friendly disposition which prevailed between the two peoples for an amicable settlement, but under no circumstances would the Government allow themselves to swerve from their sacred and paramount duty to their country.

Sir Robert Collier's appointment led to very warm debates in both Houses. In the Lords the Duke of Argyll severely condemned the letter from Lord Chief Justice Cockburn protesting against the appointment—a letter which, he said, contained ‘railing, nay, almost ribald accusations.’ Lord Stanhope's vote of censure upon the Government was negatived by 89 against 87 votes. A similar vote was moved in the Commons by Mr. Cross, whereupon Sir Roundell Palmer moved an amendment to the effect that there was no just cause for Parliamentary censure. His speech was of great service to the Government. Mr. Gathorne Hardy said that he did not wish to impute wrong motives, but there were cases in which Acts of Parliament had been dealt with in a peculiar manner, and statutes dispensed with by the Premier. Mr. Gladstone rose and complained that irrelevant topics—such as the appointment to the living of Ewelme—had been introduced into the debate by the preceding speaker. He asked the House to reserve its judgment, and not to allow the question of the construction

of an Act of Parliament to be prejudiced by the introduction of matters which had nothing whatsoever to do with it. If he (the speaker) had been guilty of obeyed, and that a competent man had been appointed—nay, more than a competent man, looking to the status and rights of an Attorney-General.



LORD CHIEF JUSTICE COCKBURN.

the wilful violation of a statute, he should deserve not merely exclusion from office but from Parliament altogether. The admissions made in the course of the debate, however, showed that the statute had been The Government had unsuccessfully applied to three Judges before appointing Sir Robert Collier, and without such a resource would have been brought into serious practical difficulty, having regard to the dignity of the office.



L. Canfort.

They had not violated the statute—this was admitted as affecting the letter of it—but only somebody's idea of the intention of the statute. The meaning of the qualification specified in the Act was judicial *status*,

of censure passed upon a Government—a sentence of capital punishment—that hung upon so slender a thread? He hoped the House would never be drawn aside from the straight road of justice into slippery paths. He did not



SIR CHARLES WENTWORTH DILKE.

judicial experience being merely one element among others. The burden of proof to the contrary lay upon the mover of the motion. The Government did not foresee the storm that would be raised over this appointment, and if they had foreseen it they would not have been so foolish as to evoke it. But was there ever a vote

consider the consequences to the Government of this motion; he put it upon higher grounds. Moreover, if carried, Sir Robert Collier would feel that a shade rested upon his judicial fame, and that it possibly might become the end of his judicial career. The House of Lords had declined to pass judgment against this appointment; and he was

well convinced that the House of Commons would refuse to fall into the snare.

The House negatived the vote of censure by a majority of 27.

Another matter which led to a debate in the month of March was one described by the papers as 'the Ewelme scandal.' In this case the Premier had appointed the Rev. W. W. Harvey to the vacant rectory of Ewelme; but as the statute required that the rector of that parish should be a member of the Oxford Convocation, Mr. Harvey—who had been educated at Cambridge—was made a member of the Oxford Convocation, in order to satisfy the statute. Here again no question arose as to the fitness of the appointment; but Mr. Mowbray, in bringing the matter before the House of Commons, affirmed that the act was a direct and wanton violation of the statute of Parliament and of the statutes of the University, and that it had led to most reprehensible delay. Mr. Gladstone, in his reply, having thrust aside the irrelevant portions of Mr. Mowbray's speech, asked what the Government had to do with the qualifying office for Mr. Harvey. As a Minister, he had nothing to do with it; and had it been a qualifying office given by the Emperor of China or the Mikado of Japan it could not have been more independent of the action of the British Government than in this case. Neither had the qualification anything to do with the duties of the post. Membership of Convocation did not imply education at the University, and if the words introduced in the

Lords had been understood so to limit the rights of the Crown, it would have been his duty to advise the Crown to withhold its assent. Mr. Harvey had not acquired a colourable qualification, but one solid, substantial, and perfect. As to the probable question, what demon prompted him to create this difficulty for himself, Mr. Gladstone said that his demon was simply and solely the desire to appoint the fittest man to the parish fittest for the man. Mr. Harvey was eminent as a divine, and his ill-health rendered his immediate removal to a more salubrious neighbourhood desirable. The Premier concluded by saying that he stood upon the construction of the Act, which he had in no sense violated. The debate closed without a division.

Several scenes occurred at an early period of the session in connection with Mr. Ayrton's Bill for the Regulation of the Parks. The Government introduced a clause throwing on the Houses of Parliament the responsibility of certain bye-laws for the parks. Mr. Hardy stigmatised this as a cowardly proceeding, whereupon Mr. Gladstone rebuked him for bringing an acid and venomous spirit into the debates, and said that it was the bungling and feeble conduct of the late Government which had led to the present difficulties. Mr. Disraeli complained that when his friend Mr. Hardy moved in this question in 1866, the present Prime Minister sat night after night in sullen silence, and never spoke with reference to the proceedings that took place in the Park, except when he

addressed a tumultuous multitude from the balcony of his own private residence. Mr. Gladstone replied with excusable warmth that his opponent's imagination had led him astray; but, as Mr. Sheridan had remarked, there had been former occasions when a gentleman had drawn on his memory for his jokes and his imagination for his facts. With respect to the one intelligible sentence in the right hon. gentleman's observations, there was no foundation of fact in it whatever. When the right hon. gentleman said that after the lapse of six years it was necessary to rub up one's recollection by reference to what had really occurred, he strongly recommended him to practise the doctrine he had preached, and to improve his memory of those things before he ventured to make such extraordinary statements. Colonel Gilpin having attacked Mr. Gladstone in a similar manner, the Premier retorted, amidst the cheers and laughter of the House, that he did not think the imagination which prevailed on the front bench had extended so far back as the third. The Government ultimately carried their proposals.

Of all the scenes, however, which took place this session—and indeed for many years previously—the most violent and discreditable was that which arose out of Sir Charles Dilke's motion for returns bearing upon the Civil List. Lord Bury having asked whether the oath of allegiance and Sir C. Dilke's declaration at Newcastle that he was a Republican were not irreconcilable, and having observed also that

the present motion was a colourable method of repeating that declaration, the Speaker decided that there was nothing irregular in the motion, and Sir C. Dilke was allowed to proceed. The hon. member said his aim was to show that Parliament had a general and special right to inquire into the management of the Civil List, and that there ought to be such an inquiry. The object of an inquiry was not to destroy the vested interests of the holders of sinecures and unnecessary offices, but to prevent any new interests being created, and to facilitate the next settlement of the Civil List. After a lengthy explanation of the nature of the returns moved for, and an examination of the Exchequer accounts from the beginning of the reign, Sir Charles Dilke withdrew a previous statement of his that the Queen had paid no income-tax, and expressed his regret that he had been misled. His reasons for the opportuneness of the present inquiry were — the public belief that the Sovereign had accumulated large savings; the grants to the Princesses, which he asserted were entirely unprecedented; and the secrecy maintained in respect of Royal wills, which made it impossible to ascertain the Sovereign's private fortune. He urged the importance of granting the inquiry because of an impression which prevailed that under the shadow of the Crown large sums were wasted.

When the hon. member sat down there was a general impression that the House would go to a division at once, but Mr. Gladstone rose, and re-

plied to Sir Charles Dilke's address. The Premier, who was loudly cheered throughout by both sides of the House, complained that the hon. member had been careless in the investigation of his facts, and observed that the result of the inquiry of a select committee had been to prove a very large reduction in the Civil List compared with that of the two former reigns. To go into the charges brought forward was impossible, without notice; but these charges and the observations about sinecures were equally beside the mark, and would not bear the inference which Sir Charles Dilke had suggested. Some portion of the information now asked for was already before the House in a different form. With regard to the new portion, Mr. Gladstone said it was impossible to consider it without referring to the incident in which the motion originated; and, by his unfortunate speech at Newcastle, the hon. member had brought the subject into an ill-omened association with proposals to change the form of our Government which were most repugnant to the great body of the people. Mr. Gladstone severely condemned the circumstances of that meeting, and said it was Sir Charles Dilke's duty, in his assumed character of a 'public instructor,' to have made it clear to his audience that Parliament was solely responsible for the Civil List, and that the Queen had nothing to do with the settlement of it. To grant the motion would be to propagate the belief in the country that the House of Commons had assented to it in direct

reference to the Newcastle speech, and as an initiation of the change. The Government were not willing to contribute to the creation of such an impression. Her Majesty had faithfully adhered to her compact with the nation, and, contrasting this with former times, the Premier mentioned that the Queen had, since the commencement of her reign, spent £600,000 on private pensions; and he urged the evil precedent it would set to future Sovereigns if the people attempted to re-open the life bargain. He concluded by asking the House, as a matter of policy, and as a matter of grateful duty to the Queen, to reject the motion, and that without further discussion.

For the honour of the House of Commons it may be hoped that the scene which ensued is unexampled in its history. The number of sympathisers with Sir Charles Dilke's resolution, either in the House or the country, may have been very small; but, as the Speaker had ruled that there was nothing irregular in it, he and his seconder were, of course, entitled to that hearing which would have been given to motions less distasteful. Members hooted and groaned with stentorian power, and the scene baffled description. Mr. Liddell afterwards expressed a hope that the whole proceedings would be regarded as a comedy, but it was a comedy into which only the rougher elements of burlesque entered. Mr. Auberon Herbert endeavoured to second the motion, but was met with a storm of cries and howls which completely drowned his



SIR CHARLES DILKE'S MOTION ON THE CIVIL LIST: SCENE IN THE HOUSE.

voice. When the cries of 'Divide!' mingled with groans and hisses had to some extent subsided, the hon. member apologised for Sir Charles Dilke, for his unintended personal attack on the Sovereign, and then proclaimed his own preference for a Republican form of Government. A large number of members hereupon left the House, while those who remained continued to shout and to interrupt the speaker. Mr. Herbert, with much *sang-froid*, sent for a glass of water, which was interpreted as a sign that he meant to be heard out. The remainder of his speech consisted only of disjointed sentences.

Just as Mr. Herbert was replying to Mr. Gladstone's complaint that the hon. baronet had not supplied full information, an hon. member rose, and blandly said that he did not think there were forty members present. Several members immediately left the House, calling upon others to 'Come out;' but the Speaker found that more than the required number still remained. Mr. Herbert rose again as the Speaker reached the magical number of 'forty,' and was entering into further details connected with the Privy Purse and the Duchy of Lancaster, when another hon. member rose, and, addressing the Speaker, observed, 'It appears to me, sir, the House has considerably thinned since you last counted; I move that it be counted.' There were still more than forty present, and this was found to be the case on a third count. At last an hon. member thought he had hit upon a solution of the difficulty. This was Lord George Hamilton, who rose and

said, 'Mr. Speaker, I espy strangers present.' The Speaker then ordered strangers to withdraw—'strangers,' of course, including the reporters. It was understood that during the remainder of Mr. Herbert's speech the cries and interruptions were renewed with increased vehemence. The cries proceeded chiefly from members in the more remote and obscure parts of the House. Amid the general confusion were heard imitations of the crowing of cocks, whereat Mr. Dodson rose to order. He said he would not ask whether the state of the House and the scene they were witnessing were for the credit and dignity of the House of Commons; he would merely, as a point of order, ask whether the sounds that proceeded from near the chair were not un-Parliamentary and disorderly.

The Speaker said the sounds he had heard were undoubtedly gross violations of the order of the House; and he could not refrain from expressing the pain with which he had witnessed the scene that had just taken place. Other members having spoken, and a motion for adjournment made by Mr. Dillwyn having been defeated by a large majority, Mr. Fawcett rose, and said that though a year ago he might have voted for the motion, now that it was associated with the Newcastle speech, which he thoroughly disapproved of, he should vote against it. The question of Republicanism ought not to be raised on a miserable haggle over the cost of the Queen's household. Mr. Liddell denied that the Conserva-

tive party had attempted to stifle discussion. He blamed Mr. Herbert for endeavouring to brave the House, and then said that when history looked back upon the proceedings of that evening, it would probably be all regarded as a 'Comedy of Errors.' Sir Charles Dilke having expressed his determination to divide the House, the original question was put, when there appeared—Ayes, 2; Noes, 276. The two members who supported Sir C. W. Dilke and Mr. Herbert were Mr. G. Anderson and Sir Wilfrid Lawson. The result of the division was hailed with loud cheering.

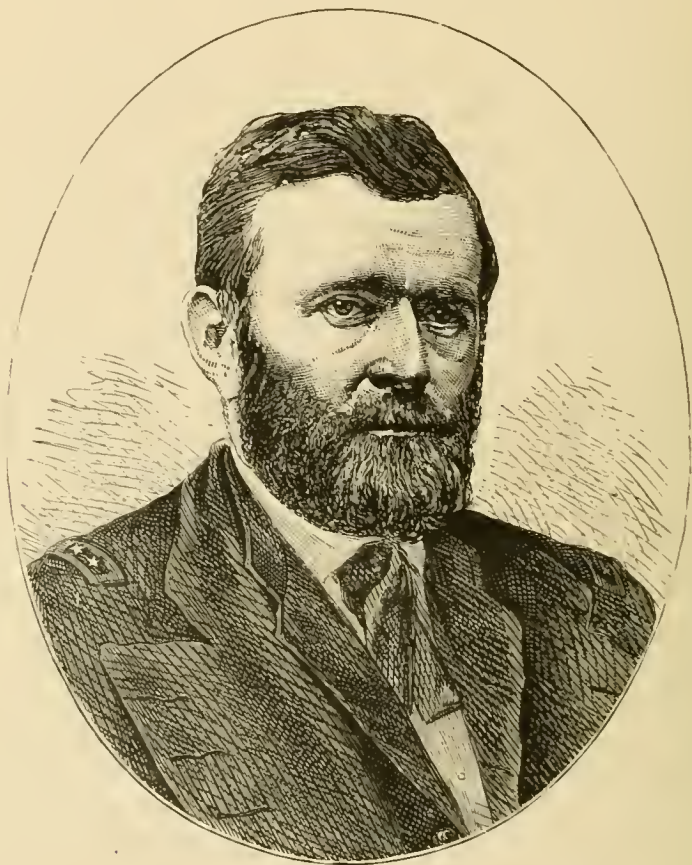
The Ballot Bill, the chief measure of the session, led to many protracted debates. It was introduced by Mr. Forster, and its second reading was carried in a meagre house by 109 to 56. Mr. Walter said he had voted against the ballot, believing that its introduction was but preliminary to a new reform bill, which would abolish all little boroughs, and boroughs which were really fragments of counties, and enfranchise all county householders. He believed that these boroughs would, under the bill, be bought wholesale, and that equal electoral districts would soon be inevitable. Unless the country was prepared for that, the House ought not to pass the bill. For himself, however, he should oppose it no more. After the discussion of many of the details of the measure, a crisis arose in connection with an amendment moved by Sir W. Harcourt, which was carried against the Government by 274 votes to 246, a large

number of Liberals voting with the majority, and others absenting themselves. The Government agreed to accept a modified form of this amendment as follows:—'No person shall, directly or indirectly, induce any voter to display his ballot-paper after he shall have marked the same, so as to make known to any person the name of the candidate for or against whom he has so marked his vote'—the penalty for doing this to be three months' imprisonment with hard labour. Mr. Gladstone then announced the intention of the Government to proceed with the bill, and the third reading was eventually carried by 276 votes to 218. Some amendments to the bill were carried in the Lords, and when it was returned amended to the House of Commons, Mr. Forster moved to disagree with making the ballot optional. This, he said, would render the bill useless, or worse than useless. Mr. Disraeli, in supporting the Lords' amendments, remarked that he regarded compulsory secrecy as a degrading punishment for 'the excesses of electoral society,' much as the Riot Act for rioting. He denied entirely the demand of the country for the ballot.

Mr. Gladstone retorted that his opponent, who thought the ballot stood in the same relation to corruption as the Riot Act did to rioting, evidently regarded it as an efficient remedy. He (Mr. Gladstone) appealed not only to the Liberals, but to the newly-elected Conservative members for various constituencies specified, to show that there

was a very great demand for the ballot. The right hon. gentleman also pointed out that very stringent securities were taken against any publication by the presiding officer of an illiterate person's

operation of the bill temporary. This important measure, effecting a complete revolution in the system of voting, then received the Royal assent; and the first elections conducted under its



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vote, which securities the Lords had done away with.

The option-giving amendments of the Lords were disagreed with. A compromise was subsequently effected, the Upper House yielding the main point in dispute, and the Commons accepting, with certain modifications, the Scrutiny clause, as well as Lord Beauchamp's amendment making the

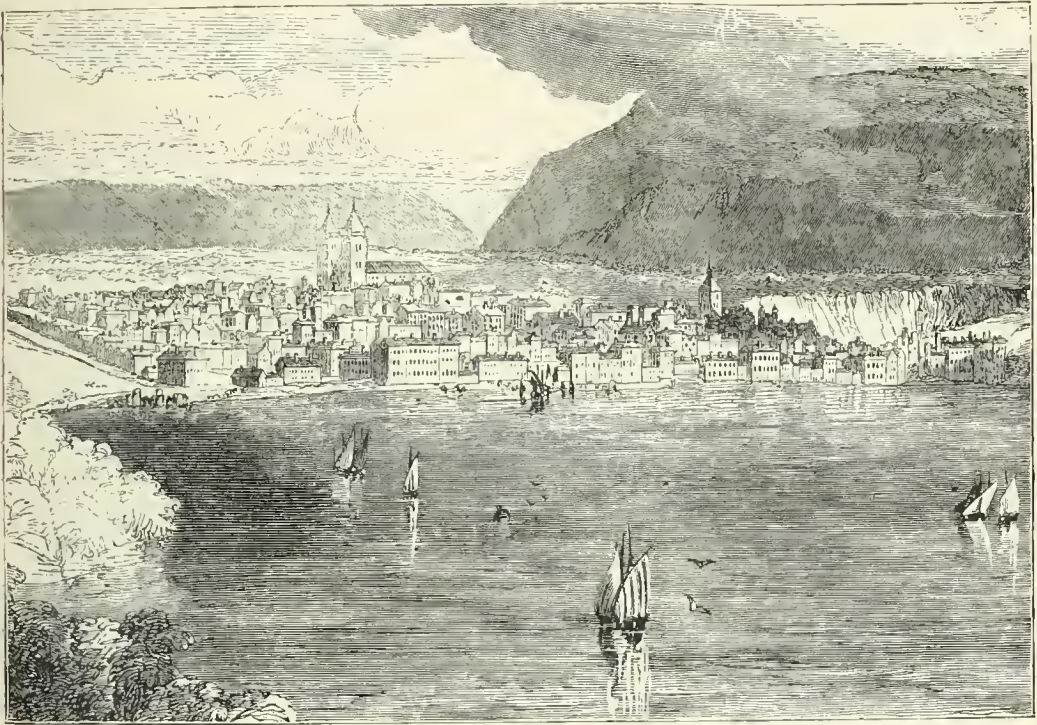
provisions were of the most orderly and satisfactory character.

Although the ballot was the chief incident in the domestic legislation of this session, the question of the Alabama claims more than rivalled it for the excitement which it caused throughout the country. In December, 1871, there was a formal meeting at Geneva of the Arbitration Com-

mission appointed to consider these claims. The sittings were adjourned until the following June. Meanwhile, by January, 1872, the agitation in England had become still more pronounced by the presentation of the British and American cases on the 20th

presented at Geneva. To have acceded to the American claims as originally presented would have been to involve this country in liabilities which no nation could possibly have accepted.

Mr. Gladstone, having discovered that certain observations which he had



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of December. The English people learnt with amazement that enormous claims for indirect losses had been introduced into the American case—which losses were defined under the heads of transfer of trade from American to British ships, increased rates of marine insurance, and losses incident to the prolongation of the war. A long correspondence ensued between the British and American Governments, and in April counter-cases were

made upon this subject, during the debate on the Address in answer to the Queen's Speech, had been misinterpreted, wrote as follows to the London Correspondent of the *New York World* :—

Permit me to assure you it is an entire mistake to suppose I have ever said that 'every rational mind' must see but one meaning in the Treaty of Washington. Nothing could have induced me to use such an expression. The limit of my assertion, stated briefly, was, and is, as follows :—

I believe the meaning of the Treaty to be clear

and unambiguous, according to any legitimate test whatever which can be applied to it. This proposition I am, of course, ready to sustain in argument. But every other person is equally entitled to think, if he see cause, that what I hold to be clear and unambiguous is dark and doubtful; or, that it is clear and unambiguous in the sense contradictory to mine. What I trust is that others, upon a close examination, will not see cause to think any such thing. This point a little time and patience cannot fail thoroughly to elucidate.

Setting aside the remark which I did not use, and which I think open to severe animadversion, I have always understood, and still understand, that any man is at liberty to hold and to state with the utmost confidence an opinion as to the meaning of a document (and this I have done), without being open to the charge of what I conceive to be a gross offence, viz., his presuming to restrain for others the liberty which he claims himself. Indeed, speaking according to the usages and habits of the English public life, I feel as if the utterance of such a proposition were not so much a truth as a truism.

If, however, this truth or truism be applicable to documents in general, it requires but a moderate share of modesty to adopt it in the case of documents such as a treaty and its protocols.

In May a draft supplementary treaty was drawn up, by which both nations agreed in future to abstain from claims for indirect losses. This treaty was presented to the American Senate, and approved. In the House of Commons, on the 27th of May, Mr. Disraeli put several questions to the Prime Minister upon the state of the negotiations. Mr. Gladstone replied that the American Senate had agreed, by a large majority, to the last article which had been prepared by her Majesty's Government, but with certain verbal amendments. The English Cabinet, which had only met an hour and a half ago, had not yet been able to transmit its final argument to the American Minister. He was, therefore, not prepared at present to state the proposed modifica-

tions; they were strictly confidential between the two Governments, and could not be disclosed until the disclosure might be made without disadvantage to the important interests involved. As to ratification, before that could take place the conditions must be transmitted across the water. He considered it would be premature to make any announcement in Parliament with respect to the steps which might be taken at Geneva, until they had been able to conclude the business then in hand as to the supplementary enactments. The proceedings at Geneva must depend in a material degree upon the result of these negotiations. If an enlargement of time should become necessary, power could be given by agreement between the two Governments. The Government appreciated the importance of the element of time as respected Geneva, but they were still more impressed with its importance as regarded the negotiations now going on; and on behalf of his colleagues and himself, he assured the House that not one moment would be lost in returning their reply to the last proposal of the American Government, so as to make their contribution towards producing the consummation which both nations so ardently desired.

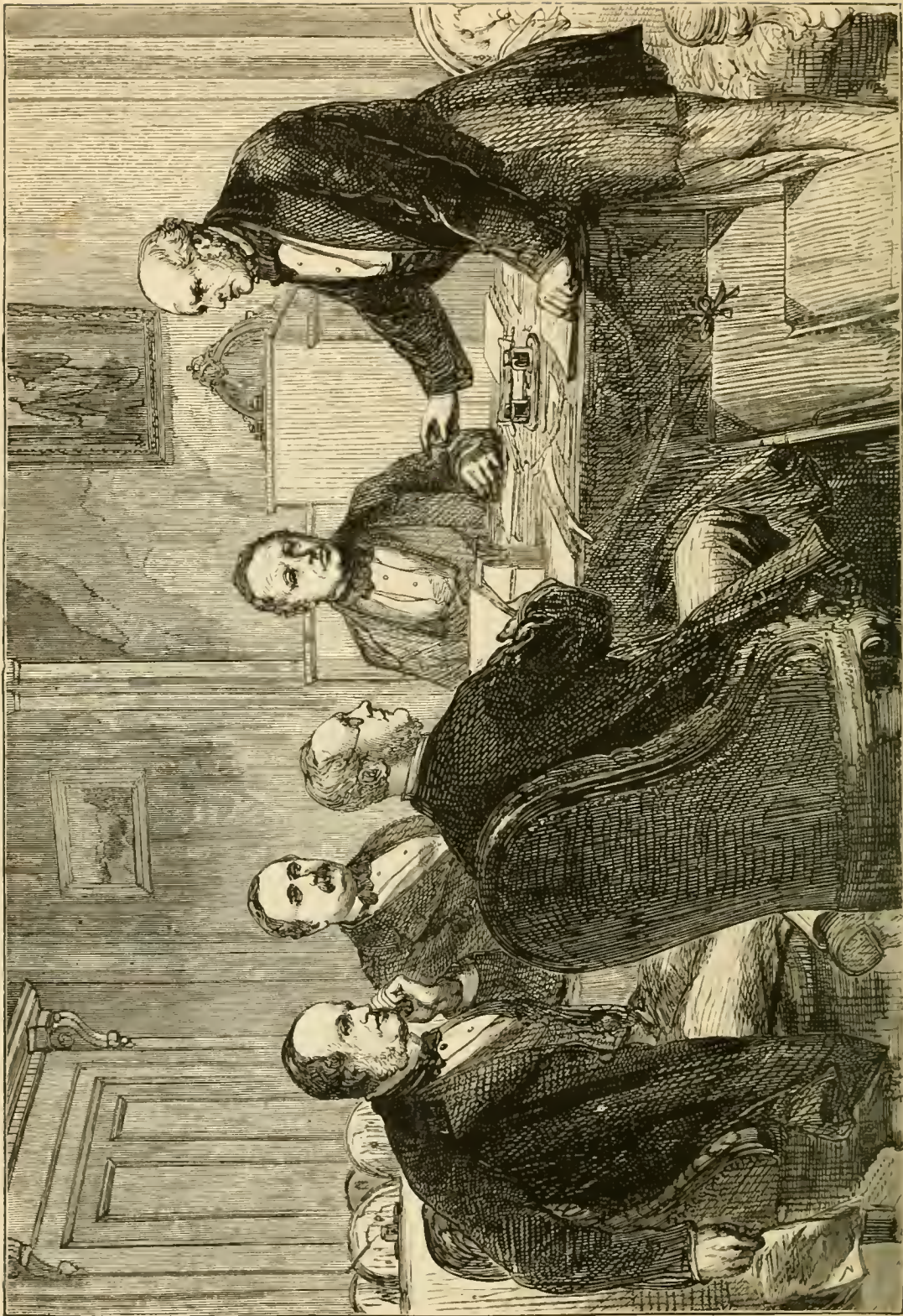
The British Government having objected to certain modifications in the supplementary article, a lengthened correspondence ensued, and the feeling of the country found vent in debates in Parliament. On the meeting of the Congress in June, differences arose as to the mode of procedure. The

arbitration tribunal, however, commenced its sittings, and was constituted as follows:—Count Frederick Sclopis, for Italy, president; M. Stämpfli, for Switzerland; Vicomte d' Itajuba, for Brazil; Mr. C. F. Adams, for the United States; and Sir Alexander E. Cockburn, for Great Britain. After several adjournments, the arbitrators voluntarily declared that the indirect claims were invalid, and contrary to international law; whereupon President Grant consented to their withdrawal. On the 14th of September, at a final meeting, the arbitrators agreed upon their award. All the arbitrators found Great Britain liable for damages for the injuries done by the *Alabama*; four mulcted us for those done by the *Florida*; and three for those done by the *Shenandoah*. The liability in the case of these vessels was to extend to the tenders as well as the cruisers to which they were attached. Great Britain, however, was held not to be responsible for the acts of the *Georgia*, or of any of the Confederate cruisers beyond the three above-named. The arbitrators likewise rejected altogether the claim of the United States Government for expenditure incurred in the pursuit and capture of the cruisers. The practical or pecuniary result of the award was, that England was adjudged to pay a gross sum of 15,500,000 dollars in gold (or £3,229,166) in satisfaction and final settlement of all claims, including interest. The amount of claims preferred before the tribunal by the United States in the revised statement presented in April, 1872,

was 19,739,095 dollars in gold, to which was added a claim for expenses of pursuit and capture to the amount of 7,080,478 dollars, with interest at seven per cent. on the whole amount for about ten years, or, in all, 45,500,000 dollars in gold, being some £9,479,166 sterling.

Sir Alexander Cockburn differed from the rest of the arbitrators, and published his reasons for so doing. This document, which did not assume the nature of a formal judgment, occupied nearly three hundred pages of the *London Gazette*, being one of the most elaborate official papers on record. The English representative made a powerful reply to the unjust aspersions which had been cast upon this country, but admitted the justice of the award for the *Alabama*. While strongly opposing the other awards, he counselled the acceptance by the British people of the judgment of a tribunal by whose award they had freely consented to abide; and he hoped that in time to come, as the result of the Geneva arbitration, 'no sense of past wrong unredeemed would stand in the way of the friendly and harmonious intercourse which should subsist between two great and kindred nations.' Some time afterwards a final settlement was effected of this great difficulty on the basis indicated in the award.

Though the session of 1872 could scarcely vie with some of its predecessors in the matter of its legislative acts, it is yet not without its title to remembrance. Besides the satisfactory adjustment of the *Alabama* claims and the



Count Selopis
(Italy).

M. Stampfli
(Switzerland).

Baron d'Hotzaba
(Brazil).

Sir A. Cockburn
(Great Britain).

Mr. C. F. Adams
(United States).

MEETING OF THE AUTHORITY IN THE ALABAMA CLAIMS AT GENEVA.

conclusion of a new French treaty, the following measures of great domestic importance were passed:—The Ballot Act, the Scotch Education Act, two Acts relating to the Regulation of

its most serious stumbling-block. The Irish University question had long awaited a settlement, and Mr. Gladstone addressed himself to the task at an early period in the session of 1873.



M. STEMPFLI.

Mines, the Licensing Act, the Public Health Act, and the Adulteration Act. These measures at least demonstrated that the welfare of the people was not neglected by the Government.

Ireland—a name associated with the most brilliant legislative triumphs of the Government—was fated also to be

Successfully to have grappled with this difficulty would have justified Mr. Gladstone's boast that, in its effects, as well as its magnitude, his proposed scheme was in no wise inferior to the Irish Church and the Irish Land Acts. But so many considerations were involved in dealing with this subject,

that the country was scarcely surprised when the Premier ultimately failed in his purpose. Of all questions upon which a perfect unanimity of sentiment was essential, that of university education stood foremost, and it was found that this sentiment was lacking. On the 13th of February the Ministerial scheme was unfolded. The Premier said that for the third time he now endeavoured to discharge a duty vital not only to the honour and existence of the Government, but to the welfare and prosperity of Ireland. He emphatically declared on the part of the Ministry that they did not share the opinion held in some quarters that Ireland offered but a barren field for these efforts of legislation. Industry flourished in Ireland, the wealth of the community was increasing, order was respected, ordinary crime was less than in England, agrarian crime had greatly diminished, and treasonable crime had disappeared. After bespeaking indulgence for the intricate and complex details into which he should be obliged to enter, and observing that though the Government admitted the urgent necessity for dealing with intermediary education, they yet did not intend to mix up that question with university education, Mr. Gladstone referred in a sarcastic vein to the anticipatory criticisms in one of the daily journals upon his measure, and repelled energetically the insinuation that it would be tinged with Ultramontane influence. So far from this being the fact, the Government had not even communicated with any of the bodies

interested in university education, and the measure appealed for support solely to the equity and justice on which it was based. At the same time, he could not wonder that apprehensions with respect to Ultramontane influence should enter into the minds of the British public, whenever legislation affecting the position of Roman Catholics in Ireland was projected; and the House could not be surprised that the influences which prevailed within the Roman communion should be regarded by a very great portion of the people of this country with aversion, and by some portion of them even with unnecessary dread. 'It appears to us, however,' continued the speaker, 'that we have one course, and one course only to take, one decision and one only to arrive at, with respect to our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects. Do we intend, or do we not intend, to extend to them the full benefit of civil equality on a footing exactly the same as that on which it is granted to members of other religious persuasions? If we do not the conclusion is a most grave one; but if the House be of opinion, as the Government are of opinion, that it is neither generous nor politic, whatever we may think of this ecclesiastical influence within the Roman Church, to draw distinctions, in matters purely civil, adverse to our Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen—if we hold that opinion, let us hold it frankly and boldly; and, having determined to grant measures of equality as far as it may be in our power to do so, do not let us attempt to stint our action in

that sense when we come to the execution of that which we have announced to be our design.' Mr. Gladstone next examined the alternatives which had been offered to the Government or imputed to them, and declared that with regard to denominational endowment, they were not only precluded from proposing it by their own pledges, but by a sincere belief that it would be unwise. The 'Supplemental Charter' scheme had entirely gone by, and was not equal to the present emergency, and to set up another university by the side of the Dublin University and the Queen's University would be no settlement of the question. Defining the principles on which the Government had decided to act, the right hon. gentleman started from the proposition that the exclusion of the Roman Catholics from university education in Ireland constituted a religious grievance—a civil disability, imposed for religious opinions. That both Roman Catholics and Presbyterians were debarred from the benefits of university education by their unwillingness to send their children to places where religion was not taught on authority as part of the system of training was a fact which, however some might deplore it, must be dealt with as a fact that could not be altered. In proof of this Mr. Gladstone quoted returns showing that there were only 145 Roman Catholic students in Arts at the Dublin and Queen's Universities—a state of things which he described as miserably and scandalously bad. Again, the total number of students in Arts in Ireland

was 1,179. So that the Roman Catholics—with more than two-thirds, nearly three-fourths in fact, of the population—supplied only an eighth part of the students in Arts. He therefore considered that he had shown there was a great religious grievance in Ireland. Had he been able to point to a state of things in which the movement was in the other direction—in which, instead of an almost constant decrease of Roman Catholic attendance at the Queen's Colleges, there was a steady, healthy, and progressive increase—the case would have been greatly different. Quitting the topic of the religious grievance, Mr. Gladstone stated, from the most recent statistics, that the whole number of university students in Ireland amounted to the very poor and scanty figure of 1,634, of whom less than one-half were university students in the English or in the Scottish sense of the word. Of students in that sense in Ireland there were but 784, against 4,000 whom Scotland, with not much more than half the population, sent to her universities. That was a pretty strong case as regarded the absolute supply of university and academic training in Ireland. But the case was stronger still when they considered the comparative state of the academical supply. Figures demonstrated that notwithstanding the efforts of Parliament, notwithstanding the general increase of education, notwithstanding the opening of Queen's Colleges with large endowments, the university students of Ireland in the proper sense—that is, the

students in Arts—were fewer at that moment than they were forty years before, when no Queen's Colleges were in existence. At that moment, the students in Arts in Ireland, even Gladstone dwelt upon the anomalous position of the university, and the strange inversion of the relations between it and Trinity College. After a long retrospect of the history of the



MR. C. F. ADAMS.

including men who were merely examined and who did not attend lectures, only numbered—as he had already remarked—1,179; while in 1832 the students in Arts at Trinity College alone numbered 1,461.

Coming to the second cause of the demand for academical reform, Mr. university, he drew the conclusion that by its original design it was always intended to include several colleges—and that, in fact, various colleges had from time to time existed, although none had survived but Trinity College. He therefore based the main principle of his bill on this historical conclusion—

that the University of Dublin—as distinct from Trinity College—was the ancient historical University of Ireland, and that within its precincts should be effected the academical reform which was needed. There was also a collateral proposition which he had to mention, viz., that the Queen's Colleges of Belfast and Cork would be retained, that the Galway College would be wound up by 1876, and that it would be proposed to merge the Queen's University into Dublin University. On this last point, however, the Government were not unwilling to defer to the judgment of the House. The principles which had been already applied to the reform of the English universities distinguished the present bill—that is to say, tests would be abolished, the university emancipated from the colleges, members would be introduced into the university not belonging to any of the colleges, and the colleges would be taxed for the benefit of the university. There were some points on which it would be necessary to depart from the English precedent—for example, a limit must be placed on academical teaching; and for a time, at least, the governing body must be subjected to the action of the Crown and Parliament. The bill contemplated three periods. On January 1st, 1875, the powers exercised by the Provost and the seven Senior Fellows of Trinity College in relation to the university, would be handed over to the new governing body; then would follow a provisional period, during which certain special arrangements would pre-

vail; and after 1885, when the new system had been fully developed, the permanent rules would come into force. With regard to the changes to be made in the existing position of the university, first of all the University of Dublin would be incorporated, which it had never been yet; the Theological Faculty would be separated from Trinity College and handed over to the representative body of the disestablished Church, with compensation for vested interests and a charge for its maintenance. The Chancellor would be appointed by the Crown, and would retain his present function of Visitor of Trinity College; and the Vice-Chancellor would be elected by the governing body. The Queen's Colleges of Cork and Belfast, the Roman Catholic University, and the Magee College, would become colleges of the university; as would probably other institutions also. With regard to the very important change in the constitution of the new governing body of the University of Dublin, Mr. Gladstone stated that there would be, in the first place, twenty-eight ordinary members, to be nominated in the Act, all vacancies to be filled alternately by the Crown and by co-optation during the preliminary period of ten years, and afterwards four members would retire annually—one successor to be filled up by the Crown, one by the council, one by the professors, and one by the senate. In addition to these ordinary members, every college which had fifty students *in statu pupillari* matriculated in the university would be allowed to

elect one member of council, and each college which had 150 such students might elect two members. The senate would consist of all Doctors and Masters of Arts who kept their names on the books, and would include both those now qualified in Dublin and the Queen's University; with special powers during the first three years after 1875, for the admission of persons who resided for a sufficiently long time in the other colleges. The new university would be a teaching as well as an examining body, and in describing the securities for conscience which would be taken, the Premier said there would be no chairs in theology, moral philosophy, or in modern history. With regard to the two latter subjects, no student would be examined in them against his will, and these subjects would be completely excluded from examinations for emoluments. The main security for the rights of conscience, on which the Government relied, was such a representation of all parties, within moderate and safe limits, in the body of the council, as could be usefully and beneficially introduced into its constitution.

The next and the last of the difficult subjects Mr. Gladstone had to lay before the House was that concerned with the financial arrangements of this comprehensive scheme. The general result of his investigations was, that from the present revenues of Trinity College would be taken the cost of providing for vested interests, and a contribution of £12,000 a-year to the new university. This would still leave

Trinity, he observed, the richest college in Christendom; and for its consolation, he added that in all probability it would be necessary to apply the same treatment to some of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge when the commission then prosecuting its inquiries had reported. The Premier estimated the expenses of the extended University at £50,000,—namely, £25,000 for the encouragement of learning, thus divided,—ten fellowships annually of £200 each, tenable for five years; twenty-five exhibitions annually of £50, and one hundred bursaries annually of £25 each, tenable for four years—£20,000 a-year for the staff of professors; and £5,000 for examinations, buildings, and general expenses. It was proposed to provide this sum as follows,—£12,000 by Trinity College, £10,000 from the Consolidated Fund, £5,000 from fees, and the remainder from the surplus of the ecclesiastical property of Ireland. Mr. Gladstone further mentioned that powers would be given to Trinity College to form a scheme for its own self-government. The other colleges, also, would have the same powers; and as to the preponderance of lay or ecclesiastical influence in them, each must settle that for itself; all that the Legislature could do was to give them an open career and fair play. The Premier paid a warm tribute to Trinity College, and expressed a hope that for generations and for ages it would continue to dispense more unrestrainedly than ever the blessings of a liberal culture. He also indicated additional advantages

which the college would possess under the new *régime*. As regarded the voluntary colleges, they would enjoy an entire freedom of internal government. Remarking upon the important, he might almost say—from the many classes it concerned and the many topics it involved—the solemn nature of his subject, Mr. Gladstone thus concluded his lengthened address :—

We have not spared labour and application in the preparation of this certainly complicated, and, I venture to hope, also, comprehensive plan. We have sought to provide a complete remedy for what we thought, and for what we have long marked and held up to public attention as a palpable grievance—a grievance of conscience. But we have not thought that, in removing that grievance, we were discharging either the whole or the main part of our duty. It is one thing to clear obstructions from the ground; it is another to raise the fabric. And the fabric which we seek to raise is a substantive, organised system, under which all the sons of Ireland, be their professions, be their opinions what they may, may freely meet in their own ancient, noble, historic university for the advancement of learning in that country. The removal of grievance is the negative portion of the project; the substantive and positive part of it, academic reform. We do not ask the House to embark upon a scheme which can be described as one of mere innovation. We ask you now to give to Ireland that which has long been desired, which has been often attempted, but which has never been attained; and we ask you to give it to Ireland, founding the measure upon the principles on which you have already acted in the universities of England. We commit the plan to the prudence and the patriotism of this House, which we have so often experienced, and in which the country places, as we well know, an entire confidence. I will not lay stress upon the evils which will flow from its failure, from its rejection, in prolonging and embittering the controversies which have for many, for too many, years been suffered to exist. I would rather dwell upon a more pleasing prospect—upon my hope, even upon my belief, that this plan in its essential features may meet with the approval of the House and of the country. At any rate, I am convinced that if it be your pleasure to adopt it, you will by its means enable Irishmen to raise their country to a height in the sphere of

human culture, such as will be worthy of the genius of the people, and such as may, perhaps, emulate those oldest, and possibly best, traditions of her history upon which Ireland still so fondly dwells.

It was scarcely to be expected that the leaders of the Opposition would be prepared to discuss proposals of such magnitude immediately upon their introduction; and Mr. Disraeli asked—as in the case of the Irish Church Act—that a period of three weeks might elapse before the second reading of the bill. Mr. Gladstone consented to fix the second reading for the 3rd of March. Meanwhile, the House and the country had leisure to digest the provisions of the scheme. In the outset it seemed as though the bill would please all those parties whom the Ministry had chiefly in view in its construction. But this hope speedily gave way to an opposite feeling, and it became evident before many days had elapsed that an amicable settlement of university education in Ireland was as far off as ever. The Roman Catholic bishops strongly denounced the measure, and, while not unprepared to take what it offered, left it to be sufficiently understood that they claimed much more. The advanced Liberals also passed an adverse judgment upon the bill. Objection was likewise strongly taken to the exclusion of mental and moral science from the course of study. The appointment of the ordinary members of the council was another important matter, and as the Government did not state the names of these members, the scheme encountered the

hostility of the Protestant-Conservative section of the House. Irish members—whom it was thought the bill would conciliate—were its chief opponents when it came on for discussion; and

Accepting the suggestion made by Queen's College, Cork, the power of affiliating new colleges would be vested in the Crown, acting on the inquiries and recommendations of the

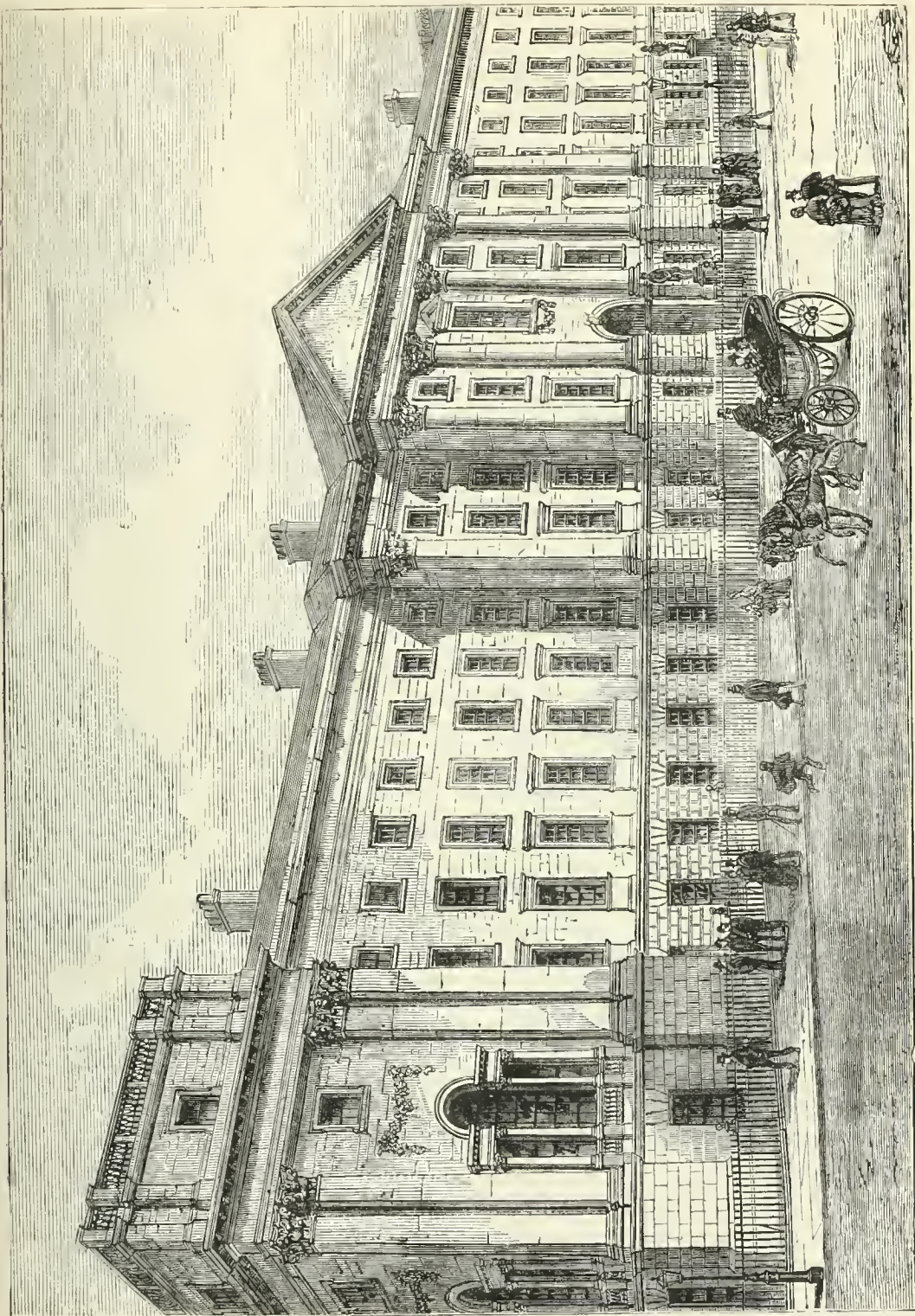


MR. FAWCETT.

the chorus of disapproval showed the Ministerial scheme to be in danger.

In moving the second reading, Mr. Gladstone did not remain content with formally rising for that purpose, but availed himself of the opportunity offered for correcting some of the prejudices created against the bill. He announced, however, several minor changes which he proposed to make.

governing body. As to the alleged insufficient provision for vested interests, the speaker had no doubt the House would be disposed to act liberally both as to money and status. Changes would be introduced into the definition of persons *in statu pupillari*, and also in the powers of the council to divide students in Arts into different branches for the purposes of examina-



TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN

tion. Anticipating the amendment to be moved by Mr. Bourke, Mr. Gladstone admitted that the anxiety of the House to learn the constitution of the governing body was excusable, but what the hon. member asked was impossible. He pointed out that it was contrary to all precedents—to the course taken on the English University Bills, on the Reform Bill of 1867, and the Irish Church Bill of 1870. It was the desire of the Government to select men of the greatest weight to serve on the council, without reference to their political opinions or the course they might have taken in regard to this Bill; but it would be impossible to ask such men to undertake the duty until the bill had made some way in committee, and it was obvious that if they were willing to serve before they knew what shape the bill would take they would not be fit for the position. ‘Are we to be told,’ demanded the Premier, ‘that the House of Commons is to be asked to pass a vote of censure on the Government for not having attempted what it would be ridiculous to attempt and impossible to perform? That such a vote of censure would be passed I am not going to assume, but that such a vote should be asked for is worthy of commemoration in the annals of Parliament.’

The opposition to the bill, as already intimated, was remarkable both for the diverse politics of the speakers, and the arguments they advanced against the Ministerial

scheme. Many of the strong points of Mr. Gladstone’s case, however, were left untouched. Mr. Bourke having moved his amendment expressing the regret of the House that the Government had not stated to the House the names of the twenty-eight ordinary members of the council, Lord E. Fitzmaurice seconded the resolution, strongly condemning the ‘gagging clauses,’ and maintaining that the bill would destroy Protestant separate education, and the mixed system of education, in order ultimately to give the Roman Catholics the monopoly of a second-rate article. Mr. C. E. Lewis combated the arithmetical arguments upon which Mr. Gladstone had built up his measure, and the O’Donoghue opposed the bill, not for the benefits which it conferred on Episcopalians and Presbyterians, but because it did nothing for the Roman Catholics. The latter would be content with nothing but a separate Catholic university. Lord R. Montagu said that the majority of the people of Ireland would continue to agitate for denominational education until Parliament complied with their demands, and Sir M. Hicks Beach remarked that though he was not particularly friendly to Mr. Fawcett’s bill, he preferred that settlement of the question to this. Mr. Fawcett, however, pronounced the strongest condemnation of the scheme, in language sometimes open to animadversion. He maintained that it would make the condition of university education in Ireland more unsatisfactory than ever, and

would create worse evils than those with which it was meant to deal. It was a mere compromise intended to please everybody, but which pleased nobody. He entered an emphatic protest against the abolition of the Queen's University and the Galway College, took exception to the constitution of the governing body, and denounced the 'gagging clauses,' and the degrading censorship of professorial teaching which they involved. The bill would lead to no other conclusion but the establishment of denominational education in Ireland, and he hoped the House would reject it on its merits without reference to the collateral issue of a Ministerial crisis.

On the first night of the discussion, the only speakers in defence of the Government University scheme were the Marquis of Hartington and Mr. Osborne Morgan; and upon the resumption of the debate, Mr. Horsman created some astonishment by delivering a clever but bitter diatribe against the bill, which he had at first welcomed as a settlement of the question. He alleged in justification of this change of opinion the demands of the Roman Catholic Bishops, and asked, 'Why does not the Government withdraw the bill? Nobody wants it—nobody accepts it—it settles nothing, but unsettles everything. Had any English or Scotch member ever gone through the hypocrisy of proposing to feel confidence in the Government on this question? To ask for such a vote was a piece of effrontery worthy of a cartoon in *Punch*.' Such a vote,

continued the right hon. gentleman, would be regarded by the country as a vote of confidence in Cardinal Cullen and the priests. The measure was defended by Mr. Chichester Fortescue, and opposed, in able speeches, by Dr. Playfair and Mr. Gathorne Hardy.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, nevertheless, came to the support of the Ministerial scheme in an address, which, for the moment, seemed as though it would do much to retrieve the fortunes of the Government. Remarking, with respect to the 'gagging clauses,' that they were not of the essence of the bill, Mr. Lowe showed that their meaning had been entirely misapprehended. A number of objections urged against the essential principle of the measure arose from the ambiguous use of the words 'university' and 'college.' While 'college' only implied teaching provision, 'university,' as well as teaching, implied the power of giving degrees, and he maintained, therefore, that while colleges could not be over-multiplied, a university ought to have as nearly as possible a monopoly. He justified the scheme of the bill on this ground—the collection of a number of colleges under a single university. The present necessity for legislation arose from three causes: the imperfect constitution of Trinity College, the insufficient education given at the Queen's Colleges, and the refusal of the Roman Catholic Bishops to allow their youth to seek a degree either at Trinity College or the Queen's Colleges. He expressed his regret that the Roman



LIBRARY OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, BELFAST.

Catholic Bishops had signified their disapproval of the bill, but that event must be treated as an earthquake, or any other natural calamity which could not be helped. While admitting that the Government had met with more hostile criticism than they anticipated, he nevertheless maintained that this bill was the only means of applying a real remedy to the grievance.*

The fact that the Government were willing to give up the 'gagging clauses,' combined with the admission that they had never intended to sanction the wholesale affiliation of diocesan colleges, afforded a momentary but delusive hope that the measure might ultimately weather the storm.

Sir W. Harcourt, who spoke on the third night of the discussion, supported

* The happiest passage in Mr. Lowe's speech was its conclusion, in which, amid continuous cheers and laughter, he retorted thus effectively upon Mr. Horsman:—"There are Abdieels who will not leave their friends. There is one member of the House whose sympathy with us I feel unequal to express, and would, therefore, for that purpose, take the liberty of resorting to the words of a bard of Erin:—

"Come rest in this bosom, my own stricken deer,
Though the herd have all fled thy home is still here;
Here still is a smile that no cloud can o'ercast,
And a hand and a heart thine own to the last."

The House will see that I am not too high-flown in the panegyric I give, when I read a brief extract from this letter:—"Mr. Gladstone has introduced a measure of university education that does him great honour, and when perfected by amendment in committee, and it takes its place on the Statute Book, it will be a noble crowning to the work of the present Parliament. We must all resume its consideration with an earnest desire to acknowledge the large and generous spirit with which the Government has addressed itself to the subject, and co-operate with the high purposes it has in view; and as the erroneous impression conveyed by Mr. Gladstone's allusion to Sir Robert Inglis and the Pope

the bill, though he was far from admitting that it was a successful specimen of legislating according to Irish ideas. Dr. Ball vigorously attacked the measure; and Mr. Bernal Osborne expressed his surprise that a Cabinet with eight double first-class Oxford men in it could have so blundered in a matter of education. Mr. Cardwell said that all the points which had been objected to were open for discussion in committee, and there was nothing to bind the House to abide by the bill as it stood.

This admission had the unfortunate effect of damaging instead of aiding the cause of the Government. While it alienated the Ultramontane interest, it failed to conciliate the wavering allegiance of the discontented Liberals. The close of the debate was therefore looked forward to with augmented interest. On the fourth night, about half-past ten, Mr. Disraeli rose, and

could not pass without notice, I have written this letter with a view of getting it out of the way before we come to the real business." Mr. Horsman—"What is the date of that letter?" "The date is 7, Richmond Terrace, Feb. 15, and it is signed "Edward Horsman." I have read the House the letter, and in the early part of the evening they have been furnished with the comment. And now I will say this—Whatever faults you may find with this bill, I believe it will be recognised by the country as an attempt to deal thoroughly with what appears to me to be a great and crying evil, and one which ought no longer to be allowed to exist. We have encountered a great deal of opposition, and shall, no doubt, have to encounter still more; but I am very much mistaken if behind this storm we do not receive an acknowledgment from the people of these islands of the honesty and fairness of the intention of this bill—an acknowledgment which will brush aside all captious criticism, and help to make it, in the language of my right hon. friend the member for Liskeard, "the crowning work of the present Parliament."

delivered a speech which, in some parts, was unusually brilliant, but equally irrelevant. Although they had been assured, he said, that those points which were not of 'the essence of the bill' were dead, and Mr. Cardwell had spoken in the direction of surrender, Mr. Gladstone had disclaimed this meaning, and declared that the only concession was that these points should be fully discussed. Having no proof, therefore, that the Government had withdrawn any of the clauses, he (Mr. Disraeli) would discuss the bill on its merits. First, he objected to it because it proposed to institute a university that was not universal. He also objected strongly to the transfer of the theological faculty to the disestablished Church; and as to the proposed exclusion of mental and moral philosophy and modern history, it was an astounding proposal to come from the leader of the Liberal party at this day. 'This is essentially a material age,' he remarked. 'The opinions which are now afloat, which have often been afloat before, and which have died away, as I have no doubt these will die in due time, are opposed, in my opinion, to all those sound convictions which the proper study of mental and moral philosophy has long established. But, that such a proposition should be made in the land of the university which produced Berkeley and Hutcheson, makes it still more surprising. We live in an age when young men prattle about protoplasm, and when young ladies in gilded saloons uncon-

sciously talk atheism. And this is the moment when a Minister, called upon to fulfil one of the noblest duties which can fall to the lot of the most ambitious statesman—namely the formation of a great university—formally comes forward and proposes the omission from public study of moral and mental philosophy.' The speaker next demanded some information upon the composition of the 'despotic and anonymous council,' and observed that, arguing from previous experience, it would be like the House of Commons, and would consist of two well-organised parties arrayed against each other, with a few trimmers inclining the balance. Discussing the situation of the Roman Catholics, Mr. Disraeli said he pitied their position, but it was their own doing. His own Government had entered into negotiations with the Roman Catholic bishops, and while vindicating the principle of concurrent endowment, the House knew that it was held to be dead. Mr. Gladstone had capped his negotiations with the policy of confiscation. The Roman Catholics fell into the trap, and lost sight of university education in the prospect of destroying a Protestant Church. Alluding to the policy of confiscation, the right hon. gentleman said: 'You have now had four years of it. You have despoiled churches. You have threatened every corporation, and every endowment in the country. You have examined into every one's affairs. You have criticised every property, and vexed every trade. No one is certain of his property, and

no one knows what duties he may have to perform to-morrow. This is the policy of confiscation as compared with that of concurrent endowment. The Irish Roman Catholic gentlemen were perfectly satisfied when you were despoiling the Irish Church. They looked, not unwillingly, upon the plunder of Irish landlords, and they thought that the time had arrived when the great drama would be fulfilled, and the spirit of confiscation would descend upon the celebrated walls of Trinity College, would level them to the ground, and endow the University of St. Stephen's Green. I ventured to remark at the time, when the policy of the right honourable gentleman was under discussion, that the policy of confiscation was contagious. I believe that the people of this country have had enough of the policy of confiscation. From what I can see, the House of Commons elected to carry out that policy are beginning to experience some of the inconveniences of satiety; and, if I am not mistaken, they will give some intimation to the Government that that is their opinion also.' Mr. Disraeli concluded by saying that he had no desire to disturb the Premier, but he should vote against the bill, believing it to be monstrous in its principle, pernicious in many of its details, and utterly futile as a measure of practical legislation.

Before the vehement cheering on the Opposition benches had subsided, Mr. Gladstone had risen to reply to Mr. Disraeli, and wind up the debate. In the opening of his speech the Premier

drew forth prolonged applause from his supporters by calling upon the House to note that, though the leader of the Opposition had declared concurrent endowment to be dead, it yet lived in his mind, and might revive under his magical touch. After explaining that the attitude of the Government on this question was not due to any words of his, and deprecating the introduction of religious heat and party temper into its discussion, he repeated once more the grounds on which the measure had been introduced, namely, the grievance of the Roman Catholics, and the necessity for academic reform in Ireland. The history of the bill had some dramatic features; it had suffered a catastrophe; on its introduction all the 'waiters on Providence' in London were in favour of it, but now not an individual of the species had a word to say for it. The question, however, was, Should the House go into committee on the bill? In deciding that, the House ought to have no other motive but to endeavour to do that now which a few years hence it would regret it had not done. He denied that the bill would lower the standard of education, and reminded the House that the London University—a mere examining body—had certainly raised education. They had been told the bill should be given up on account of the opposition in Ireland; but that opposition had been most inaccurately stated in the House. Yet even if the opposition had not been exaggerated and misrepresented, in dealing with a measure like this it

would be impolitic and unparliamentary on that account to withdraw the bill before it had been considered in committee. The general effect of the speech of Mr. Cardwell—with

cited—against Mr Disraeli's condemnation of going into committee on the ground that a measure came out substantially the same—the precedent set by the right hon. gentleman him-



SIR WILLIAM VERNON HARCOURT.

which he entirely agreed—was to show that it was a wise course in a question of this character, where it was difficult to retrieve ground once lost, to go into committee, to compare their several notions and demands at close quarters, and to see what they could effect towards bringing them into harmony. Mr. Gladstone then

self as regarded the Reform Bill of 1867. The history of that bill in committee had its lessons. Referring to the banishment of ethics and modern history from the curriculum and the introduction of collegiate members into the council, the Government would not adhere to them, and there were also other points upon



A DIVISION IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS: MEMBERS PASSING THE TELLERS.

which they would meet the House on equal terms. Any amendments which were real improvements would be welcomed, and even those which were not improvements would be welcomed if deemed of importance by the House, and if they did not touch the vitality of the bill. As to the actual vital principle of the bill, it was this—there must be a complete removal of the admitted religious grievance by opening degrees under an impartial and unsectarian authority to men of all opinions, whether educated under the mixed or separate system. The university must be relieved from the monopoly of Trinity College, and must have an independent governing body and a competent endowment, and the faculty of theology must be separated from it. Mr. Gladstone next proceeded to condemn the principle of concurrent endowment, observing that he wished to leave on record the strong conviction he entertained that it would be a grave and serious error on the part of the House, were they to give the slightest encouragement to the demand that was made for introducing into Ireland the system of separate endowment for separate religious institutions for academic purposes, and thereby to distinctly renounce and repudiate the policy of 1869, to which the great majority of that House were parties. Having alluded to the concord which had for the moment been established between the Conservatives and the Roman Catholics, and further entreating the House to remove the grievance rather than follow Mr. Disraeli's alter-

native of withdrawing from the task, Mr. Gladstone thus concluded his powerful speech:—

For the House, for us all, for the country, I ask what is to be the policy that is to follow the rejection of this bill? What is to be the policy adopted in Ireland? Perhaps the bill of my hon. friend the member for Brighton will find favour, which leaves the University of Dublin in the hands of Trinity College, and which, I presume, if passed, will only be the harbinger of an agitation fiercer still than that which we are told would follow the passing of the present bill. It will still leave the Roman Catholic in this condition, that he will not be able to obtain a degree in Ireland without going either to the Queen's College, to which he objects, or placing himself under examinations and a system of discipline managed and conducted by a Protestant board—a board composed of eight gentlemen, of whom six are clergymen of the disestablished Church of Ireland. The other alternative will be the adopting for Ireland of a new set of principles, which Parliament has repudiated in Ireland and has disclaimed for Great Britain, not only treating the Roman Catholic majority in Ireland as being the Irish nation, but likewise adopting for that Irish nation the principles which we have ourselves overthrown even within the limits of our own generation. I know not with what satisfaction we can look forward to these prospects. It is dangerous to tamper with objects of this kind. We have presented to you our plan, for which we are responsible. We are not afraid, I am not afraid, of the charge of my right hon. friend that we have served the priests. (Mr. Horsman: I did not say so.) I am glad to hear it. I am ready to serve the priests or any other man as far as justice dictates. I am not ready to go an inch farther for them or for any other man; and if the labours of 1869 and 1870 are to be forgotten in Ireland—if where we have earnestly sought and toiled for peace we find only contention—if our tenders of relief are thrust aside with scorn—let us still remember that there is a voice which is not heard in the crackling of the fire, or in the roaring of the whirlwind or the storm, but which will and must be heard when they have passed away—the still small voice of justice. To mete out justice to Ireland, according to the best view that with human infirmity we could form, has been the work, I will almost say the sacred work, of this Parliament. Having put our hand to the plough, let us not turn back. Let not what we think the fault or perverseness of those whom we are attempting to assist have the slightest effect in turning us even by a hair's-breadth from the path

on which we have entered. As we have begun, so let us persevere even to the end, and with firm and resolute hand let us efface from the law and the practice of the country, the last—for I believe it is the last—of the religious and social grievances of Ireland.

The amendment having been negatived, a division was taken upon the main question, that the bill be read a second time. A scene of great excitement ensued when, upon the return of the tellers, the clerk at the table handed the paper to Colonel Taylor, the Conservative whip. The tellers approached the table, and comparative quiet having being restored, the numbers were declared as follows:—For the bill, 284; against 287—majority against the Government, 3. Thirty-five Irish, eight English, and two Scotch Liberal members, voted against the Government, while eighteen Liberals were absent, and eighteen paired.

The Government did not, of course, count upon this defeat of their measure, and were quite justified in the hope that the House would support them in removing the last of the great grievances of the Irish people. Some years after the defeat of his scheme, Mr. Gladstone was questioned as to whether he was really surprised at the rejection of the Irish University Bill, or whether he dealt with the subject as a matter of duty, knowing that he risked almost all that followed. The right hon. gentleman replied, that considering the extremely favourable reception which the bill met with in the outset, he was most emphatically astonished at its ultimate fate. He

had been very anxious to dispose of this vexed question of Irish University education. Had this been happily accomplished, in all probability he would have been able to bring forward some other schemes of Irish legislation.

Following his specifically-declared intention, Mr. Gladstone resigned office, whereupon a peculiar difficulty arose. The Premier was unfeignedly desirous of being relieved of his onerous duties, but Mr. Disraeli, acting upon the wishes of the great bulk of his followers, declined to accept office with a majority of the House of Commons against him. Some days later, Mr. Gladstone made a statement in the House of Commons to the effect that he and his colleagues had consented to resume their positions. He also explained the nature of the transactions which had taken place in the interregnum. The Queen having requested his advice upon Mr. Disraeli's unconditional refusal to take office, he (Mr. Gladstone) submitted a statement to her Majesty. That was made known to Mr. Disraeli, and his reply to it was received. Perceiving from the unequivocal nature of this reply that there was no chance of a Government being formed by the party opposite, he had agreed to resume office. Referring to a difference of opinion which had arisen between himself and Mr. Disraeli upon the duties of an Opposition when it had brought about the fall of a Government, Mr. Gladstone read an extract from his letter to the Queen, in which he con-

tended that his rival's summary refusal to accept office was contrary to precedent and Parliamentary usage. With regard to the delay which had occurred, the Government and the Opposition in a manner not likely to contribute to the satisfactory working of our Parliamentary system. The Govern-



THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH.

he was not conscious of its being due to any personal reluctance to resume office, although he did feel it, and thought he had earned a right to rest so far as it could be earned by labour. That which had occurred, however, he feared would modify the relations of

ment would endeavour fully and honourably to discharge their duty, and nothing had transpired to shorten the existence of the present Parliament, either as touching the course of public business or the duration of time. Nothing could be more injurious than

the prevalence of opinions to the contrary effect. The Government would endeavour to proceed, both with respect to legislation and administration, in to the country. He pointed out that the majority against the Government had been created by a considerable section of the Liberal party, with



THE DUCHESS OF EDINBURGH.

the same manner and upon the same principles as those which had heretofore governed their conduct.

Mr. Disraeli then gave his version of the Ministerial difficulty and the advice he had tendered to the Queen. His speech was in reality a manifesto

whom he had no bond of union. He had had experience of office under such circumstances as those which had recently arisen, and it had convinced him that such an experiment weakened authority and destroyed public confidence. He had consequently prayed

her Majesty to relieve him of the task. Upon the question why he had not advised the Queen to dissolve, he remarked that although a Minister in office could perform it with great promptitude, it was not so with a Minister who had to form his Government. He might, perhaps, have been able to dissolve in May, but what could he have dissolved upon? The Irish University Bill was not sufficient, nor could a Government appeal to the country without a policy. The function of the Opposition was essentially critical, and it was totally impossible for them suddenly to have a policy matured. Mr. Disraeli next illustrated in an amusing manner the difficulties of a Government which endeavoured to carry on public business in the face of a hostile majority. After stating that the Queen had given him permission to dissolve if it would assist him, Mr. Disraeli—with a view of showing that he had exhausted all means before refusing office—read an extract from his letter to her Majesty, in which he stated he had represented to her Majesty that Mr. Gladstone had resigned on very inadequate grounds, and that his honour having been satisfied by a resignation, his return to office was the best solution of the difficulty. ‘We are now emerging,’ said Mr. Disraeli in conclusion, ‘from the fiscal period in which almost all our public men have been brought up. All the questions of trade and navigation, of the incidence of taxation and of public economy, are settled. But there are

other questions not less important, and of deeper and higher reach and range, which must soon engage the attention of the country:—The attributes of a constitutional monarchy; whether the aristocratic principle should be recognised in our constitution, and if so, in what form? whether the Commons of England shall remain an Estate of the Realm—numerous but privileged and qualified—or whether they should degenerate into an indiscriminate multitude? whether a national church shall be maintained; and if so, what shall be its rights and duties? the functions of corporations, the sacredness of endowments, the tenure of landed property, the free disposal, and even the existence, of any kind of property. All those institutions, and all those principles which have made this country free and famous, and conspicuous for its union of order with liberty, are now impugned, and in due time will become great and burning questions. I think it is of the utmost importance that when that time arrives, there shall be in this country a great constitutional party, distinguished for its intelligence as well as for its organisation, which shall be competent to lead the people and to direct the public mind. And, sir, when that time arrives, and when they enter upon a career which must be noble, and which I hope and believe will be triumphant, I think they may perhaps remember, and not perhaps with unkindness, that I at least prevented one obstacle from being placed in their way when, as the trustee of their honour and their

interest, I declined to form a weak and discredited administration.'

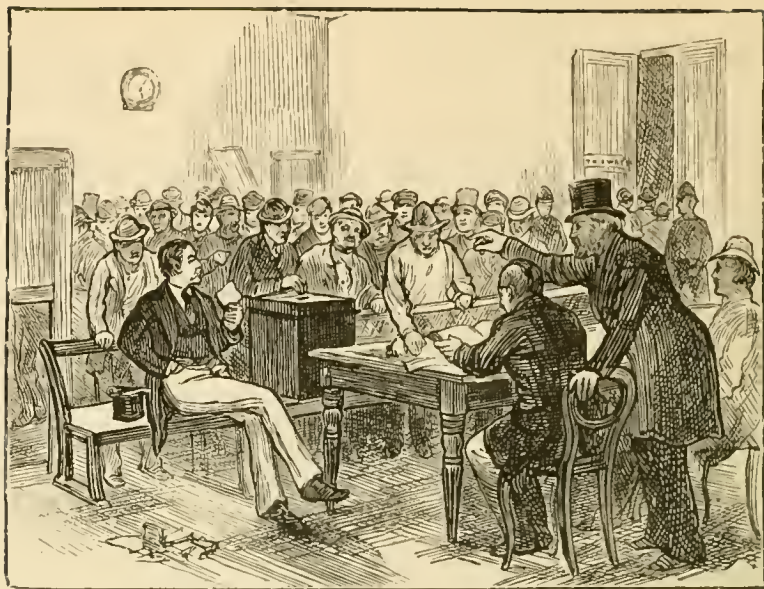
Thus closed a remarkable episode in the history of Irish university education. Although much of the time of the session of 1873 was devoted to this important scheme, some measures of great value were passed. Foremost of these was Lord Selborne's Judicature Bill. Mr. Forster brought forward in the Commons a bill transferring from the school boards to the guardians of the poor the duty of determining whether the fees of indigent children should be paid out of the rates; and this bill passed. Mr. Lowe was not so successful with his financial measures as the chief of the Government had been in former years, and Mr. Gladstone came to his assistance in the debate on Mr. W. H. Smith's motion upon the subject of local taxation, which the Premier said was aimed at all indirect taxes. The resolution was negatived without a division. Mr. Fawcett carried his bill for the reform of the University of Dublin, but it was so changed as to become a simple measure for the abolition of tests. Mr. Miall's motion for the disestablishment of the Church of England was defeated by 356 to 61 votes, Mr. Gladstone delivering the most important speech against it. He said that he not only opposed the motion on its merits, but because it was ill-timed and incapable of present discussion. The popular feeling was not favourable to the proposal, and if a general election were to occur he

believed a House would be returned much less disposed to entertain the question than the existing one. Mr. Gladstone also opposed Mr. Cowper-Temple's proposal for the delivery of sermons in churches by laymen and Dissenters. The principle of extending household suffrage to counties received the personal adhesion of the Premier this session.

In proposing the usual grant on the approaching marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh to the Grand Duchess Marie Alexandrovna of Russia, Mr. Gladstone said the union would be one of affection, and expressed his trust that the day had gone by when royal personages connected with this country were required to enter into matrimonial engagements 'without the consecrating element of personal attachment, which was the solemn basis on which this union was founded.'

Several Ministerial changes of an important character occurred shortly after the close of the session. Mr. Lowe having resigned the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, Mr. Gladstone took up the duties himself, and filled the double offices of Premier and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Ripon, Mr. Childers, and Mr. Baxter, retired from the Government, and Mr. Bright re-entered it as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Vigorous speeches in defence of the Ministerial policy were made during the recess, but the Government failed to recover its once overwhelming popularity.



THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1874: WORKING MEN VOTING BY BALLOT DURING THE DINNER-HOUR.

CHAPTER VII.

FALL OF MR. GLADSTONE'S MINISTRY.

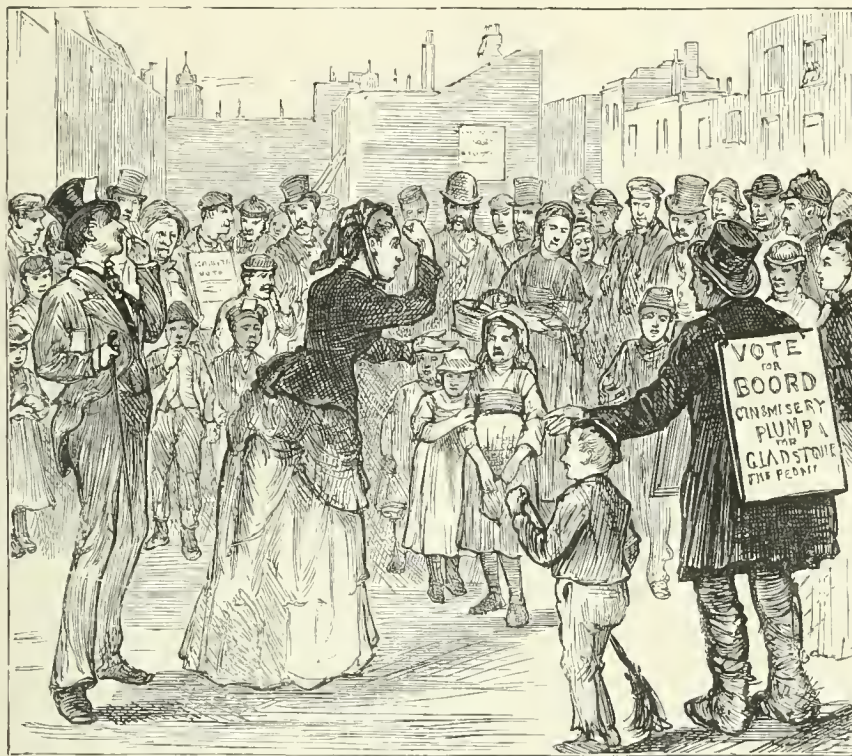
Mr. Disraeli on the Policy of the Government—Reaction against the Liberal Ministry—The Premier's Manifesto to the Electors of Greenwich—Dissolution of Parliament—Reasons for the Step—A Record of distinguished Service—Mr. Gladstone's Proposals—Public Opinion on the Manifesto—Mr. Disraeli's Counterblast—The Straits of Malacca—A Geographical Quarrel—Result of the General Election—Resignation of Mr. Gladstone—Character and Labours of his Administration.

THE autumn of 1873 was a time of strange transition in the political feeling of the country. The people clearly demonstrating that they no longer desired to keep up with the reforming zeal of the Government, Mr. Disraeli stepped in, and cleverly guided the public sentiment to the advantage of the Opposition. Writing to 'my dear Grey,' in October, he observed that 'for nearly five years the present Ministers have harassed every trade, worried every profession, and assailed or menaced every class, institution, and

species of property in the country. Occasionally they have varied this state of civil warfare by perpetrating some job which outraged public opinion, or by stumbling into mistakes which have been always discreditable, and sometimes ruinous. All this they call a policy, and seem quite proud of it; but the country has, I think, made up its mind to close this career of plundering and blundering.' This strongly-exaggerated description of the Premier's policy had the effect of fanning the popular discontent.

The bye elections which had recently occurred had mostly proved substantial Conservative victories; and indications were not wanting that many Liberal members who had long endorsed Mr. Gladstone's action were falling away from him. The Bible was affirmed to

—assured by the press that the people whom he had so long and so faithfully served had turned their backs upon him, and weary of the half-hearted support of his own party—resolved to take the direct judgment of the country itself upon the aspect of public



THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1874: A WOMAN'S RIGHTS ADVOCATE.

be in danger; and when it came to 'beer' as well, amongst other things, the work of revolution was pronounced by many powerful classes as certainly going too far. The joint flag of 'Beer and Bible' having been hoisted, the cry against the Ministry became irresistible.

Something must be done. That which was done was an equal surprise to both political parties. The Premier

affairs. Accordingly, on the 23rd of January, he issued a lengthy manifesto to the electors of Greenwich, announcing that the existing Parliament would be dissolved, and a new one summoned to meet without delay. The excitement of the people was intense when they learnt that the Parliament of 1868—the Parliament which had disestablished the Irish Church, dealt with the Irish land ques-

tion, abolished Purchase in the Army, founded a system of National Education, and established the Ballot—was declared, as Cromwell once declared a Parliament, to be no longer a Parliament.

In the fullest and frankest manner, Mr. Gladstone—in a document entitled to rank as a State paper from its political and historical importance—stated his reasons for what was regarded in many quarters as a political *coup d'état*. After observing that the welfare of the country can never be effectually promoted by a Government which is not invested with adequate authority, he wrote:—‘In the month of March last the Government were defeated in their effort to settle upon just and enlarged principles the long-disputed question of the higher education in Ireland, if not by a combined, yet concurrent effort of the leader of the Opposition and of the Roman Catholic prelacy of Ireland. Upon suffering this defeat the Government, according to the practice of our Constitution, placed their resignation in the hands of the Sovereign. Her Majesty, in the just and wise exercise of her high office, applied to the leader of the Opposition. He, however, declaring that he was not prepared with a policy, and could not govern in the existing Parliament, declined to fill the void which he had made. Under these circumstances, we thought ourselves bound by loyalty to the Queen not to decline the resumption of our offices. But this step we took with an avowed reluctance. We felt that, in

consequence of what had happened, both the Crown and country were placed at a disadvantage, as it was established that, during the existence of the present Parliament, one party only could govern, and must, therefore, govern without appeal. We also felt that a precedent had been set, which both diminished our strength and weakened the general guarantees for the responsibility and integrity of Parliamentary opposition. Of this diminution of strength we were painfully and sensibly reminded during the session by the summary and rapid dismissal, in the House of Lords, of measures which had cost much time and labour to the House of Commons. But we remembered that in the years 1868 and 1870, when the mind of the country was unambiguously expressed, the House of Lords had, much to its honour, deferred to that expression upon matters of great moment; and I cannot doubt that it would have continued in this course had the isolated and less certain, but still frequent and fresh, indications of public opinion at single elections continued to be in harmony with the powerful and authentic, but now more remote, judgment of 1868.’

This state of things not having improved, however, during the latter part of the recess, the Administration desired to pass from a condition thus fitful and casual, to one in which the nation would have full opportunity of expressing its will and choice as between the two political parties. The Government of the day, whatever it

might be, would thus be armed with the just means of authority. Mr. Gladstone next reviewed the measures of his Ministry, and claimed a renewal of confidence. He promised a diminution of local taxation and the total repeal of the income-tax, for which the surplus of upwards of four millions which he would have to show would afford justification. He observed that the income-tax had been borne with exemplary patience, mainly on the ground of the great work of liberation which had been achieved by its aid. But no Government had ever been able to make it perpetual. The proceeds of the income-tax for the present year were expected to be between £5,000,000 and £6,000,000, and at a sacrifice for the financial year of something less than £5,500,000, the country might enjoy the advantage and relief of its total repeal. He declared that this advantage was in present circumstances practicable, but added that it was manifest they ought not to aid the rates, and remove the income-tax, without giving to the general consumer, and giving him simultaneously, some marked relief in the class of articles of popular consumption.

The Premier next pointed out that the changes indicated would dispose of considerably more than the surplus named, but there was nothing to preclude the Government from asking Parliament to consider, in conjunction with those great remissions, what moderate assistance could be had from judicious adjustments of existing taxes.

Pointing to his own declarations of 1868, he affirmed that he could not belong to a Government which did not on every occasion seek to enlarge its resources by a wise economy. As some earnest of his sincerity in this matter, he added, 'The policy of the Government for the last five years in particular, the character and opinions of my colleagues, and the financial and commercial legislation with which I may say that, since 1842, I have been associated, are before you.' In concluding, Mr. Gladstone referred to the charge sometimes made that the Liberal Government and party had endangered the institutions and worried all the interests of the country. As to the interests, he was aware of no one that had been injured, and if unhappily they had offended any, it was not their intention or wish, but in consequence of their anxiety to consult the highest interest of all—the interest of the nation. 'As to the institutions of the country, gentlemen, the charge is the very same that you have been accustomed to hear urged against Liberal Governments in general for the last forty years. It is time to test by a general survey of the past this trite and vague allegation. Now, there has elapsed a period of forty, or more exactly a period of forty-three, years since the Liberal party acquired the main direction of public affairs. This followed another period of about forty years, beginning with the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, during which there had been an almost unbroken rule of their opponents, who

claimed, and were reputed to be the great preservers of the institutions of the country. But I ask you to judge the men by the general results. I fear we must admit that the term of forty years of Tory rule which closed in 1830, and to which you are invited

of forty years leaves the throne, the laws, and the institutions of the country not weaker, but stronger than it found them. Such, gentlemen, is the issue placed before you, and before the nation, for your decision. If the trust of this Administration be by the effect



THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1874: A POPULAR CANDIDATE.

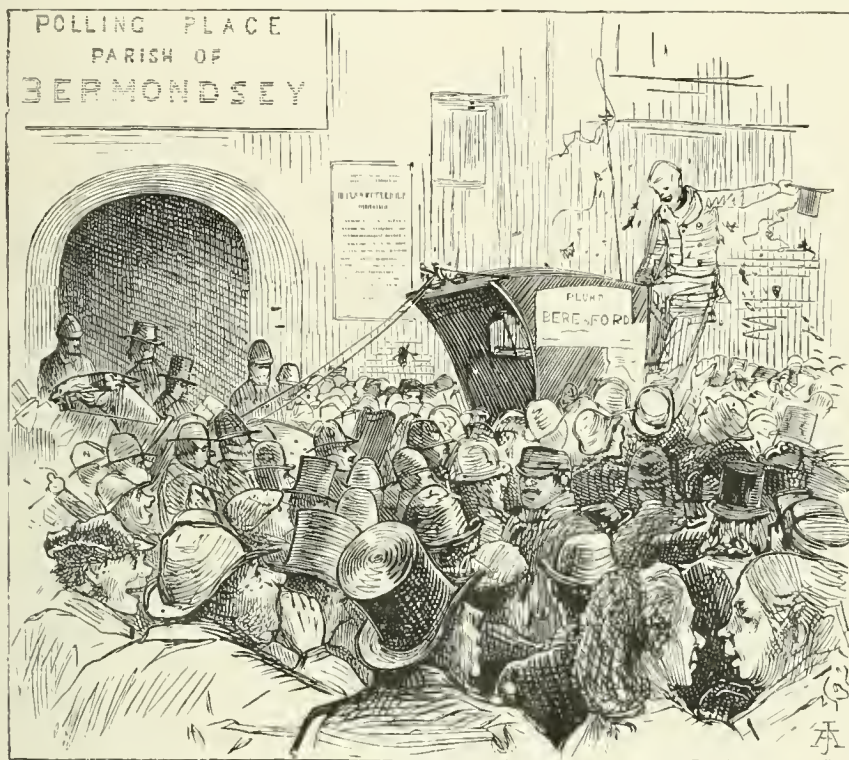
to return, left the institutions of the country weaker, ay, even in its peace and order less secure, than at the commencement of the period it had found them. I am confident that if now the present Government be dismissed from the service of their gracious mistress and of the country, the Liberal party, which they represent, may at least challenge contradiction when they say that their term

of the present elections virtually renewed, I, for one, will serve you, for what remains of my time, faithfully; if the confidence of the country be taken from us and handed over to others whom you may judge more worthy, I, for one, shall accept cheerfully my dismissal.'

The opinions of the press upon Mr. Gladstone's Address of course varied in tone. The *Times* wrote:—'The

Prime Minister descends upon Greenwich amid a shower of gold, and must needs prove as irresistible as the Father of the Gods. The benefits he proposes to confer upon the tax-payers of the country will seem to them miraculous, as they will feel at first

these great remissions, there must still be a vast balance of relief in their favour. . . . The issue is before the country, and Mr. Gladstone is to be approved for no longer delaying it.' The *Daily News* said:—'Here is a full and attractive programme of



THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1874: A MARTYR IN THE CAUSE.

some difficulty in understanding how so much relief from taxation can be got out of even £5,000,000. Upon this head, however, they will reassure themselves by remembering that few venture to assail Mr. Gladstone's arithmetic, and even if it should prove necessary, as Mr. Gladstone hints, that some moderate assistance to the revenue, through judicious adjustments of existing taxes, should accompany

Liberal policy. The Liberal party are, in fact, invited to open a fresh chapter of their history. . . . Whatever may be said of the time or manner of the dissolution, it is, beyond all dispute, a policy to awaken—or, if anybody will have it so, to revive—the enthusiasm of the Liberal party, and to benefit the country.' 'Mr. Gladstone,' said the *Standard*, 'probably finds that he could not meet the pre-

sent Parliament, for all his nominal majority, without sustaining an immediate and decisive defeat. . . . We have condemned, as the country will condemn, a policy which must be described as one of surprise and intrigue.' The *Daily Telegraph* thus expressed itself:—'It is an admirable record of success, and it will remain for others to celebrate his share in the work. The country will not forget that share when it pronounces judgment in the present House of Commons on the Liberal party. Mr. Gladstone has given it the materials for a mature verdict. But the all-important necessity is that the House of Commons should again be brought into harmony with the country, and be endowed with new vigour. . . . If the nation should express its trust in Mr. Gladstone, he will be able to proceed with the great financial work in hand as vigorously as he did when he took office at the head of a great majority in 1868.' The *Morning Post* remarked that, 'Taken altogether in its general bearings, it must be allowed that the address to the electors of Greenwich is a very able apology for the Administration, and does great credit by the boldness of its language, if not by its lavish bids for support, to the statesman who penned it. Whether it will stand analysis remains to be seen.' The *Pall Mall Gazette* took the following view of the Premier's appeal for a renewal of confidence:—'The authority which he wants and openly asks for is a personal authority, renewed and confirmed by a *plébiscite*.

"Unambiguously express your opinions once more, or, in other words, make me again personally supreme and paramount over the other branch of the Legislature. Make me again the absolute ruler I was five years ago, confirm the powerful and authentic but now more remote judgment of 1868, and I in return will remit you the income-tax, lighten your local burdens, and free your breakfast tables." Such is the offer; and, whatever we think of its terms or its morality, its candour is undeniable.' 'The issue upon which attention must be concentrated,' contended the *Globe*, 'is that upon which lies the appeal to the country. . . . Accepting Mr. Gladstone's account of the situation, we deem it the most humiliating a Prime Minister could voluntarily assume; and while we appreciate the wisdom of his appeal to hope instead of gratitude, we have little doubt the country will discount his draft on its confidence on the terms he has himself established, as only reasonable and only safe.' The *Echo* observed that, 'Whatever difference of opinion may agitate the country for the next few weeks, we are confident there will be but one as regards the illustrious statesman whose address we are now considering. No one of his opponents will advocate the repeal of any one of the great measures by which his Administration has been signalled, while his supporters will remember that no other five years have been equally fruitful in wise, just, and beneficial legislation.' Coming to the weekly

journals, we find the *Saturday Review* opposed to the spirit of the manifesto. 'The Liberal party has done great things in the last forty years, and some of the greatest have been done since Mr. Gladstone has been Prime Minister. But although we may honour statesmen for what they have done in the past, we are obliged to judge their present policy by its own special character, and it is difficult to see anything in this sudden dissolution, and in Mr. Gladstone's bargaining for the price of a financial secret, which raises the reputation of the Liberal party, or adds to the benefits it has conferred on the country.' The *Spectator* was more just in its views as to the rights of a statesman at a critical moment to appeal to a long record of distinguished services, and more generous in its recognition of those services. 'No sincere Liberal will doubt that Mr. Gladstone's appeal to the people of England ought to meet with a cordial and grateful response. This Government has been distinguished above all other Liberal Governments for the honesty and earnestness with which it has redeemed its pledges, instead of using them mainly as baits to catch votes. It has been a steady, and an upright, and a Liberal Government, not a Conservative Government with a Liberal name; and has done more to gain for the people of the United Kingdom some addition to that stock of human happiness which Mr. Gladstone, as truly as pathetically says, is never too abundant, than any

Government of the present generation. The genuine Liberals, who see its shortcomings best, will also see best its immeasurable superiority to anything likely to replace it.' The *Examiner* took the advanced Radical view, and cared little whether Mr. Gladstone was accepted or rejected at Greenwich, or whether he or Mr. Disraeli came into power. The *Nonconformist*, while exhorting Nonconformists throughout the country to close up their ranks and to act upon the maxim 'Measures not men,' observed of the Government, 'We have nothing to say against their being upheld. They are very much to be preferred to any Conservative Government of which we can conceive.'

The leader of the Opposition lost no time in issuing a counterblast to the Prime Minister's address. On the very day upon which the document which we have just summarised appeared, Mr. Disraeli indited an epistle to the electors of Buckinghamshire. Its phraseology, if in some parts brusque, was undoubtedly clever. This brief definition, nevertheless, exhausts its merits. Commencing with a reference to the dissolution, he said, 'Whether this step has been taken as a means of avoiding the humbling confession by the Prime Minister that he has, in a fresh violation of constitutional law, persisted in retaining for several months a seat to which he was no longer entitled, or has been resorted to by his Government in order to postpone or evade the day of reckoning for a war carried on without communication with Parliament, and the ex-

penditure for which Parliament has not sanctioned, it is unnecessary to consider.' The right hon. gentleman then described the Prime Minister's address as 'a prolix narrative, in which he mentions many of the questions

voured, and would continue to endeavour, to propose or support all measures calculated to improve the condition of the people; but he did not think this great end could be attained by incessant and harassing



VIEW IN THE STRAITS OF MALACCA.

that have occupied, or may occupy, public attention, but in which I find nothing definite as to the policy he would pursue except this, that, having the prospect of a large surplus, he will, if retained in power, devote that surplus to the remission of taxation, which would be the course of any party or any Ministry.' Mr. Disraeli next declared that he had always endea-

legislation. 'By an act of folly or of ignorance rarely equalled,' he continued, 'the present Ministry relinquished a treaty which secured us the freedom of the Straits of Malacca for our trade with China and Japan, and they at the same time entering, on the West Coast of Africa, into those equivocal and entangling engagements, which the Prime Minister now deprecates, involved

us in the Ashantee War. The honour of the country now requires that we should prosecute that war with a vigour necessary to ensure success, but, when that honour is vindicated, it will be the duty of Parliament to inquire by what means we were led

counties, criticised adversely the more prominent features of Mr. Gladstone's policy, and thus concluded:—'Gentlemen, the impending general election is one of no mean importance for the future character of this kingdom. There is reason to hope from the



THE ASHANTEE WAR: ON THE MARCH TO COOMASSIE.

into a costly and destructive contest, which neither the Parliament nor the country have sanctioned, and of the necessity or justice of which, in its origin, they have not been made aware.' Mr. Disraeli—the flippancy of whose address contrasted strangely with the dignity and gravity of that of his rival—pronounced against the extension of household suffrage to the

address of the Prime Minister—putting aside some ominous suggestions which it contains as to the expediency of a local and subordinate legislature—that he is not certainly at present opposed to our national institutions, or to the maintenance of the integrity of the Empire. But, unfortunately, among his adherents some assail the monarchy, others impugn the inde-

pendence of the House of Lords, while there are those who would relieve Parliament altogether from any share in the government of one portion of the United Kingdom. Others, again, urge him to pursue his peculiar policy by disestablishing the Anglican as he has despoiled the Irish Church; while trusted colleagues in his Cabinet openly concur with them in their desire to thrust religion from the place which it ought to occupy in national education. These, gentlemen, are solemn issues, and the impending election must decide them. Their solution must be arrived at, when Europe is more deeply stirred than at any period since the Reformation, and when the cause of civil liberty and religious freedom mainly depends upon the strength and stability of England. I ask you to return me to the House of Commons to resist every proposal which may impair that strength, and to support by every means her Imperial sway.'

In the work of a critic friendly to the Gladstone Administration,* some of the main causes for the decline in popularity of Mr. Gladstone's Government are thus enumerated:—'There had been a good deal of discussion all through the summer and autumn of 1873, as to the position of the Government. The bye-elections had turned against them during the discussions on the Education Act, and each succeeding year had given a heavier balance in favour of their opponents.

* 'England under Lord Beaconsfield,' by P. W. Clayden.

They won four seats and lost one in 1870; the gain was reduced to one seat, and the losses rose to six, in 1871; in 1872 there were seven defeats, and not a single victory, and in the fifty-three weeks which ended with the Stroud election, in January, 1874, two Liberal seats had been lost; and though Bath and Taunton had been kept, after most exciting contests, in the former of which Mr. Disraeli wrote his celebrated letter, accusing the Ministry of "blundering and plundering," not one had been gained. In the whole Parliament fifty-two seats had changed sides; ten which were Conservative at the general election having become Liberal; and thirty-two Liberal seats having been surrendered to the opposition. The gain on one side and the loss on the other represented forty-four votes on a division. The Liberal majority of 112 with which the new Parliament had opened in December, 1868, was therefore reduced to sixty-eight during the recess which followed the session of 1873, and Mr. Gladstone had the prospect of this still diminished, but still powerful majority in the session to which the country were looking forward in 1874.

'There were other sources of anxiety to the Ministry than the weakening of their parliamentary majority. Every fresh defeat in the country increased the chance of humiliation in Parliament. In any party division they were still safe as to numbers, but their legislative authority had departed from them. The Con-

servative majority in the House of Lords, which had been cowed by the striking expression of public opinion in the first two years of the new Parliament, and had passed the Irish Land Bill, and the Irish Church Bill, and the Education Act, had gradually recovered confidence; had thrown out the bill for abolishing Purchase in the Army, and had first scornfully rejected, then mutilated the Ballot Bill. In the session of 1873 the Lords had greatly modified the Judicature Bill; had thrown out the Rating Bill on which the House of Commons had spent much of its time, the Registration Bill, and several other Liberal measures. The centre of gravity in legislative measures was shifting. The Conservative victories in the constituencies had practically transferred the supreme authority in Parliament from the reduced Liberal majority in the House of Commons to the constant Conservative majority in the House of Lords. The suspensive veto claimed for the Upper House became absolute for the existing Parliament, and the Ministry probably felt that, though they would be sustained in office by their House of Commons majority, they were only nominally in power. The Opposition, on the other hand, gained confidence and audacity with every victory scored in the constituencies, but showed no signs of any expectation of office.'

In November, 1873, the Scotch Conservatives improved the occasion of Mr. Disraeli's visit to Glasgow—when he delivered his address as

Rector of the University—to make a great Tory demonstration. Mr. Disraeli delivered a lengthy speech, in which he reiterated all his charges against Mr. Gladstone's Ministry, but did not offer an exposition of his own policy. He appealed to the electors to fall back upon the principles of the Reformation.

'Reflecting people,' observes the writer whom we have just quoted, 'asked what there was to put in the place of the Liberal policy if the Liberal Ministers were dismissed? Meanwhile, Mr. Bright's return to the Ministry was believed to have strengthened it with the country, and Mr. Lowe's removal from the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, and Mr. Gladstone's assumption of that office, had given general satisfaction. The Exeter election, where Sir John Coleridge had been succeeded by Mr. Arthur Mills, was a fact on the other side, but the Liberals considered that in Sir E. Watkin they had a bad candidate. It was believed on all hands that the Ministerial prospect was brightening. Mr. Cardwell, speaking to the Druids at Oxford on New Year's Day, said that the autumnal fog was lifting a little, and would entirely disappear when Parliament met. The oldest organ of official Liberalism, the *Edinburgh Review*, in the number issued in the middle of January, expressed the universal feeling of the Liberal party by saying of the Opposition—"when they have a programme; when they have a leader with whom they can act in perfect



MR. DISRAELI DELIVERING HIS INSTALLATION ADDRESS AS LORD RECTOR OF GLASGOW UNIVERSITY.

sympathy; and when the front bench of the Liberal party have done something to forfeit the confidence of the country, the present Opposition may hope for a term of office: but as long as they confine themselves to carping at Liberal measures, which they dare not propose to repeal, and exulting over Liberal disagreements, which, if they exist, are only partial and temporary matters of procedure rather than of principle, so long they may calculate on riding simply on the brake, and not on the driving-wheel of politics." At Huddersfield, Mr. Leatham ridiculed the idea (in the first week in January) of a Conservative reaction. But while he was speaking, the vote of the Stroud electors was telling a different tale. In 1873 Stroud was represented by two Liberals, and Mr. Winterbotham had been returned by 2,805 votes against Mr. Dorrington's 2,096. Mr. Winterbotham was an evangelical Non-conformist, and his success in Parliament had justified Mr. Gladstone in placing him in office. He died at Rome in December, and again there was a parliamentary contest, in which all England took interest. Mr. Dorrington was again brought forward by the Conservatives, and Sir Henry Havelock by the Liberals. Both parties were, as usual, certain of success, and when the Tories won, great was their joy, and equally great the disappointment of their foes. This election, and the election at Newcastle which speedily followed, when Mr. Joseph Cowen had only beaten

his Conservative opponent by a greatly reduced majority, decided Mr. Gladstone upon appealing to the country.'

It was said by many that Mr. Gladstone should not have revealed his budget scheme in his address, but should have first presented it to Parliament and embodied it in law, and then asked for the public approval of his financial measures. 'He had full power to do this, and it was what his own party and the nation expected of him. He need have no fear of the Conservative majority in the House of Lords; because the financial reform, which was to be the great measure of the year, was just the one Liberal measure which their hostility dare not touch. Had they ventured to throw out the Bill which embodied the scheme, the opportunity for an appeal to the country would have been as favourable as the most enthusiastic Liberal, or the most cunning professor of political strategy, could have desired. The Liberal majority and the Liberal Ministry would have come back armed with that power to effect the proposed financial reforms which, when asked for by Mr. Gladstone, as a matter of personal confidence, and asked beforehand, was asked in vain. The issue placed before the country by Mr. Gladstone's address was never definitely taken up. The abolition of the income-tax probably failed as a cry, because the prosperity of the country was so great that the mass of the people were indifferent to questions of taxation. Everybody, also, was angry with Mr. Gladstone for so

unexpected a surprise as that of the dissolution. It was un-English, Mr. Disraeli told his Buckinghamshire constituents. It was certainly very untimely. Many members of Parliament were abroad, and had to hurry home in a very unpleasant state of mind. The Liberal committees had not looked out for fitting candidates. England expected every man to do his duty, and yet no one was prepared.'

It was further objected that the dissolution was ill-timed, inasmuch as it was resolved upon at a moment when discontent prevailed amongst certain ranks in the Ministerialists. This was notably the case with the Nonconformists, who were disappointed with the education policy of the Government. 'The dissatisfied Dissenters frightened these timid Churchmen, who utterly failed to grasp the distinction between limiting State instruction to secular matters, and making all education purely secular or irreligious. While, therefore, the Nonconformists were reluctant on the one hand, many Churchmen who usually acted with them, were suspicious and reluctant on the other. In many places the Tory candidates announced themselves as the scriptural candidates. In some towns the Liberal candidates were described as secularists, and all over the country the Conservative party were represented as the party of Bible education, as opposed to godless instruction. The public-houses had their own quarrel with the Government, which, by the Act of 1872, had shortened

their hours of opening, and applied other restrictions, equally vexatious, in the interests of public order and morality. They consequently made common cause with the clergy, and the zeal for the Bible which suddenly took hold of the licensed victuallers and the owners of gin-palaces and the beer-house keepers, must have suggested to many good people the dawn of the Millennium. This alliance between the parson and the publican was the main feature in the election contest. Everything else was dwarfed by it. The issue raised in Mr. Gladstone's address was forgotten. Mr. Disraeli's blundering was overlooked. Great questions of national policy were ignored. The Liberal candidates found themselves put on the defensive everywhere by charges of tampering with Bible teaching, and unduly restricting popular indulgence; and the Conservatives recommended themselves as biblical and scriptural candidates, who were opposed to any violent meddling with popular habits, and who, if elected, would frustrate the nefarious schemes of the Liberals to rob poor men of their beer.'

Parliament was dissolved on the 26th of January, and the new House was summoned to meet on the 5th of March. The electioneering campaign at once began in earnest. Mr. Gladstone's general adherence to the principles of the educational policy pursued during the past four years caused the Nonconformist Committee to pass a resolution declaring it to be the immediate duty of all who desired

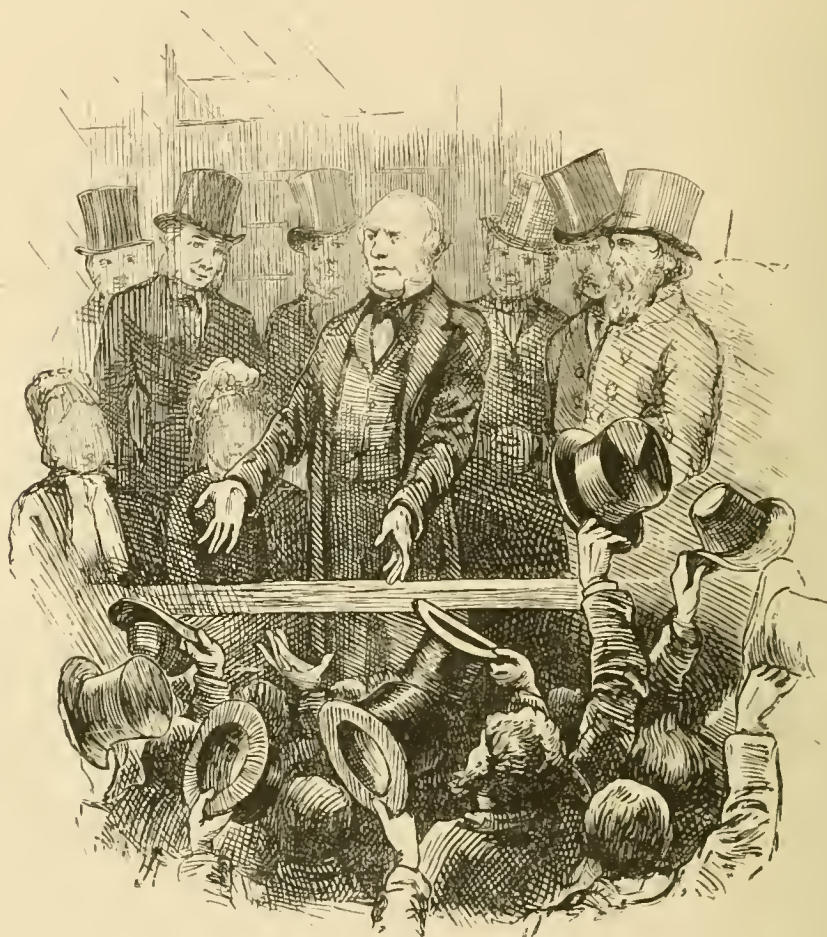
to restore union and vigour to the Liberal party, to insist that all candidates for their support should pledge themselves against the further development of the denominational system. There were many difficulties, in addition to this, in the way of Liberal union. On the 28th Mr. Gladstone met his constituents on Blackheath. After alluding to the circumstances under which the Ministry resigned in the previous March, he replied to the election address of Mr. Disraeli. He warned his hearers that when they were asked to divert their attention from domestic affairs to foreign policy, they were called upon to run away from what they had the power of comprehending, to discuss that which was extremely difficult adequately to study and comprehend. The Premier then defended those points of the foreign policy of the Government which had been attacked, and thus took up the reference by the leader of the Opposition to the Straits of Malacca:—‘Such is his poverty and destitution of points to make against the Government, although he travels all the way to the Straits of Malacca for the purpose, that he manufactures his charge out of an act which is not a bad act, but a good act, and an act which was not done by us, but done by the colleagues of Mr. Disraeli, and by the Government to which he belonged. Understand me, gentlemen, when I say it was done, I mean this: the draft of the treaty concluded by us was forwarded by Lord Derby in the month of September or August, 1868.

He deserved the main credit for it, and credit—not discredit—is what is due. And so, gentlemen, I will leave the leader of the Opposition for the present floundering and foundering in the Straits of Malacca.’ Mr. Gladstone then reiterated that economy and reduction of taxation were the great objects which the success of the Liberal party would secure. At the same time, he did not believe that it was in his power to serve them unless they were a united Liberal party.

At Aylesbury, on the 31st, Mr. Disraeli returned to the charge with regard to the Straits of Malacca, affirming that the conduct of the Government over which he presided was exactly the reverse of that which the Prime Minister had alleged against them. Mr. Gladstone, however, was determined to have the last word upon the subject—save for the avalanche of geographical ignorance which descended upon the press in relation to these Straits of Malacca. Delivering the last of his eloquent election addresses at Deptford, the Premier denied that his Administration ever advised the recall of the late Lord Mayo from the Governor-Generalship of India, and then took up the Malacca question. ‘The real Straits of Malacca,’ he said, ‘are but twenty or thirty miles broad. But no, says Mr. Disraeli, the Straits of Malacca are between Acheen and the Continent, where the sea is 150 miles wide. Mr. Disraeli—I have no doubt quite unintentionally—has fallen into a sad error, which I will endeavour to expose. The narrow part of

the Straits near the island of Sumatra is bordered by the kingdom of Siak. It was with regard to Siak I stated that Lord Malmesbury had accepted with thanks the treaty transmitted by the

reminded the meeting of the remaining principal achievements of the Government, and concluded by expressing his belief that the Liberal party, once more joining hand in hand and setting



MR. GLADSTONE SPEAKING AT BLA KHEATH.

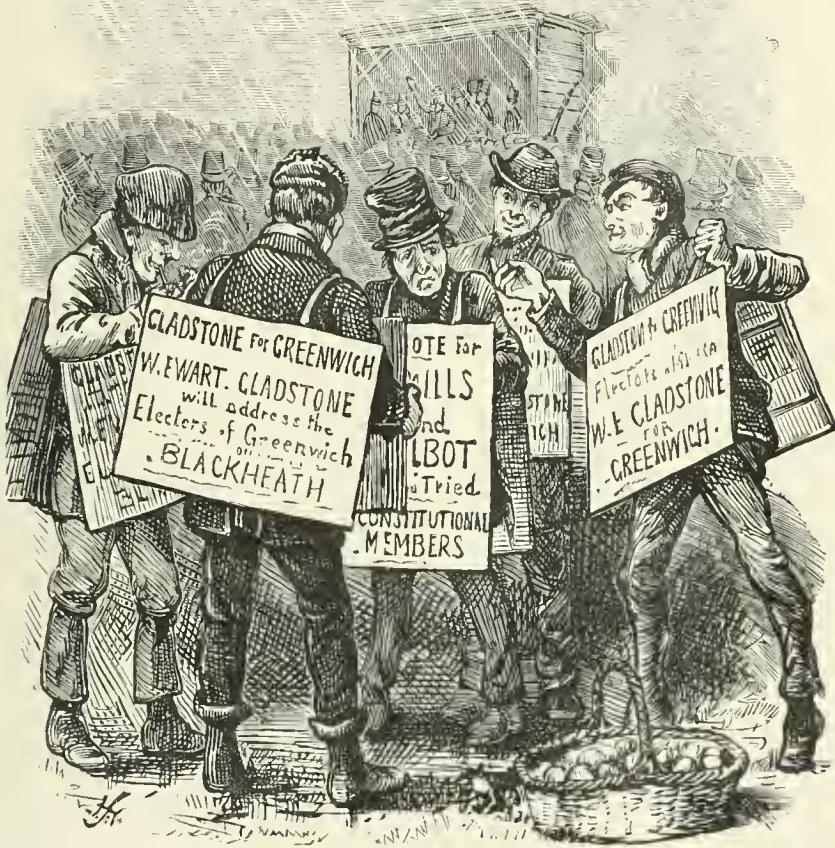
Dutch announcing that they had assumed the control of Siak. I stated also that the kingdom of Siak was the part of Sumatra which was important with respect to the Straits.' Mr. Gladstone next defended his Irish policy, and contended that the Land Act had removed a great scandal. He further

shoulder to shoulder, would carry forward the banner they so long bore in hope, and which for nearly forty years they had borne on to victory, and would achieve results worthy of the past, and full of national benefit for the future.

Mr Disraeli, speaking subsequently

at Newport Pagnell, said that although he was quite as anxious as the Premier to abolish the income-tax, he yet felt there were occasions, such as a sudden war, or a reform of the tariff, when it

with regard to the Straits of Malacca. As Mr. Clayden remarks, these Straits 'run between the middle of the island of Sumatra and the Malayan Peninsula. On the Malayan side is English influ-



INCIDENT DURING MR. GLADSTONE'S SPEECH AT BLACKHEATH: DISPUTE AMONGST THE "SANDWICH-MEN."

would be necessary to have recourse to this impost. He declined to pledge himself to any specific course, either with regard to the income-tax or indirect taxation.

Mr. Disraeli blundered egregiously in his charge against Mr. Gladstone

ence; on the Sumatra side are the Dutch, whose control of the kingdom of Siam was announced by Mr. Disraeli's own Foreign Minister, Lord Malmesbury, and was received by him with thanks. Mr. Disraeli had evidently forgotten all about this treaty,

yet if ever the control of the Straits was given up, it was at this time. The transactions to which Mr. Disraeli referred, were some negotiations carried on with the Dutch in 1871, in respect to Acheen, which stands in the same relation to the Straits of Malacca as that in which the Cornish peninsula stands to the Straits of Dover. Mr. Disraeli had sat in Parliament in 1871, 1872, and 1873, and not a word had been whispered about the relinquishment of this treaty, and the danger of the traffic through the Straits; but an article in *Fraser's Magazine*, as Mr. Gladstone surmised, greatly enlightened his mind. No guarantee of the freedom of the Straits had ever existed, and therefore none had ever been given up. But Mr. Disraeli had to compose an election address in a hurry, and looked round him for some charge of negligence in foreign affairs, with which to spice it. He had been talking vague generalities about the decline of our influence abroad to excited audiences, but an election address seemed to need some specific statement of ministerial deficiency. The article in *Fraser's Magazine* suggested the charge about the Straits of Malacca, and Mr. Disraeli caught it up as a man in urgent want of some weapon of offence grasps the first thing that comes to his hand. It was ridiculously inappropriate, but not more so than many of Mr. Disraeli's statements on topics which other people regard as serious. Mr. Disraeli has never found in the party he leads any great susceptibility to ridicule. No

statesman of modern times has been laughed at so much; but none has been so little damaged by the laughter. No public man of the foremost rank has said so many foolish things, but none other could have got over half the difficulties Mr. Disraeli has thus created for himself.

Of Mr. Gladstone personally, the *British Quarterly*—the representative of intellectual Nonconformity, thus wrote:—‘The man now in power is not so common a gift that we can afford lightly to dispense with his services. The combination of popular sympathies with traditional inspiration, of courageous faith in the future with profound veneration of the past, forms an admirable foundation for the character of an English statesman, but is not very frequently found in anything like an equally balanced perfection. The ambition which spurs a man in the race of public life too often mars the sincerity of devotion to principle. Magnificent powers of debate are not often accompanied with minute mastery of details in administration. The subtlety which traces a question through all possible issues is not usually conjoined with the sweep of thought that commands confusion into order. Susceptibility to the charm of venerable religious forms is rarely associated with the courage that holds to practical justice as the truest faith. Swift facility and patient drudgery are not generally possible to the same mind. The statesman and the leader of the people are for the most part different men. But standing on Black-

heath nearly two years ago, on that October day when Mr. Gladstone addressed not his own constituents only, but the people of England, we received an impression of transcendental personal power, and almost prophetic inspiration for a great mission such as is never made by a merely oratorical display. The strong resonant voice and honest intonation, the unrivalled facility of expression and telling clearness of exposition, all were striking in their way. But all were nothing compared with the unspoken, because unspeakable, depth of sympathy which was the real spell that held them fast. Looking forth upon the dense multitude that stretched away almost without visible limit, a sight always impressive, but when it brings home personal responsibility most solemn, and even dread, the speaker seemed to realise a position such as few orators have ever held in all the history of the world.'

With the declarations of policy by the two great party leaders before them, the constituencies went to the poll; and the first general election held under the ballot was conducted in a peaceable and creditable manner. A few riots occurred, but, on the whole, the elections passed off with orderliness and quietude. The result proved to be most disastrous to the Liberal party. Out of 652 members (the complete number of the House, six members being otherwise accounted for) the Conservatives returned 349 and the Liberals 303, thus giving the former a majority of 46 votes. The Liberals

lost 95 seats and gained 39, so that their net loss was 56 seats, being equivalent to 112 votes on a division. The licensed victuallers had thrown in their interest with the Conservatives, and 'Bung' was everywhere triumphant; even Mr. Gladstone himself so far succumbed to his influence as to occupy an inferior position upon the Greenwich poll. Other interests, acting under the belief that the Ministry were their oppressors, also declared against them. In no instance was this more conspicuous than in the case of the dockyardsmen. Greenwich, Chatham, Portsmouth, and Devonport, exasperated with Mr. Gladstone, and allured by the promises of friendship held out by the Conservatives, swelled the Tory reaction. The leader of the Opposition was so far grateful to the licensed victuallers that legislation was set on foot on their behalf, while the clergy were understood to be temporarily satisfied when Mr. Disraeli affirmed that the country had emphatically declared that education must be preserved upon a strictly religious basis.

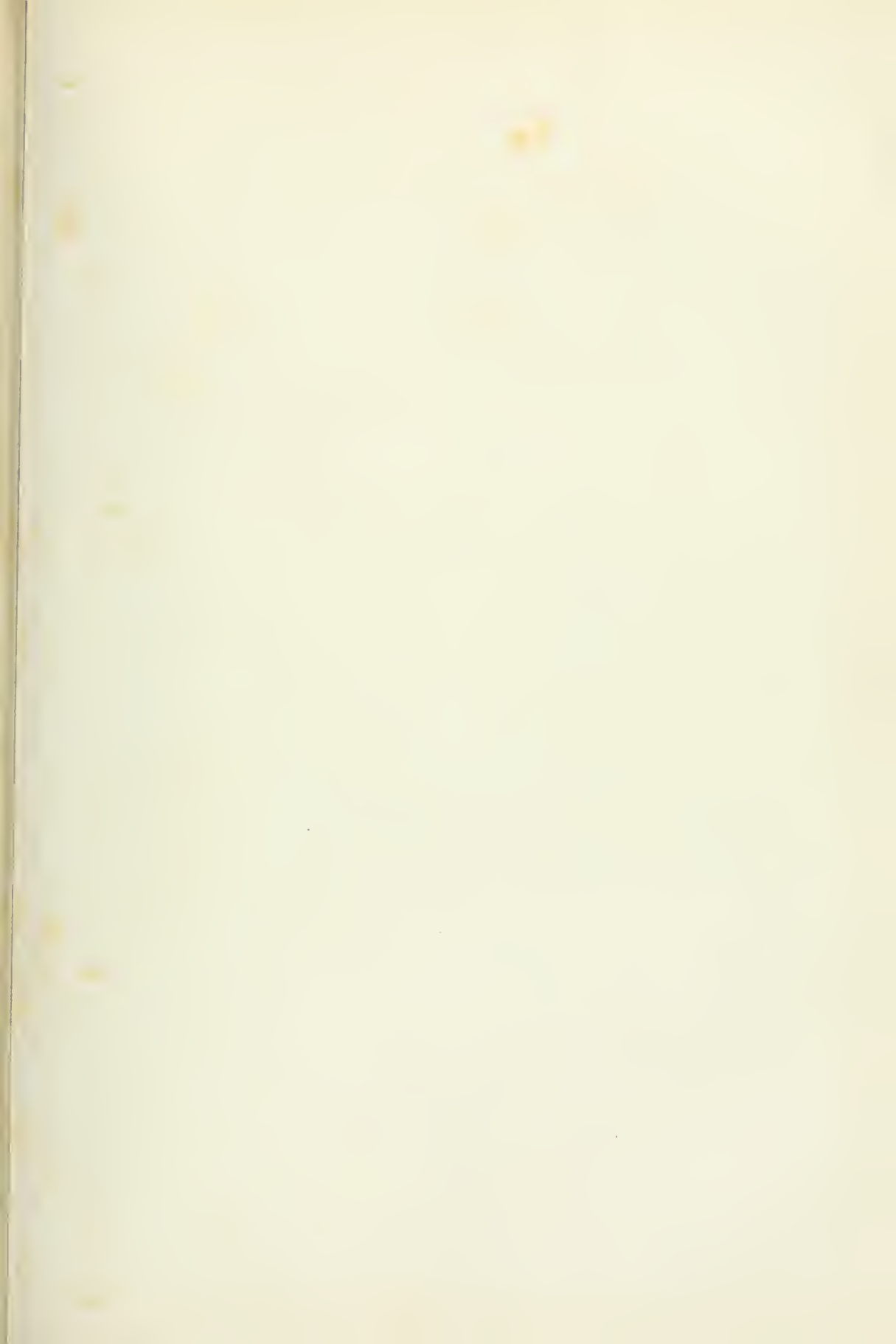
As soon as the national verdict was known Mr. Gladstone went to Windsor and tendered his resignation and that of his colleagues to the Queen. The great Liberal leader surrendered his functions after a term of office which, while not very protracted, was distinguished for wise and memorable acts of legislation. Having faithfully served his Sovereign and his country, he now made room for his successors. In stepping down from his high posi-

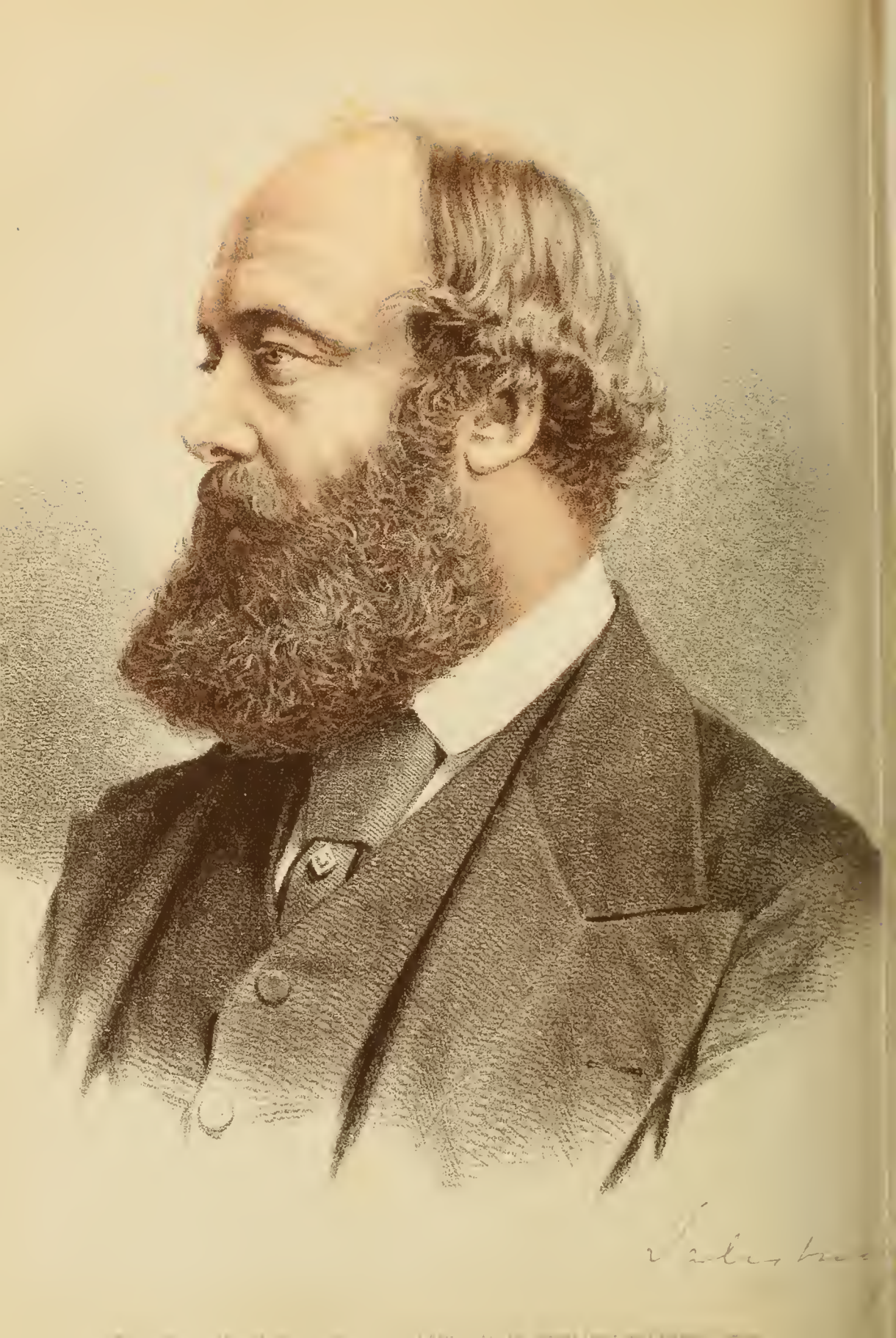
tion—overshadowed but not disgraced—we can find no words more appropriate in which to describe him than those once used by Lord Beaconsfield concerning Sir Robert Peel:—‘Placed in an age of rapid civilisation and rapid transition, he had adapted the practical character of his measures to the condition of the times. He had never employed his influence for factious purposes, and had never been stimulated in his exertions by a disordered desire of obtaining office; above all, he had never carried himself to the opposite benches by making propositions by which he was not ready to abide.’* The only grave charge made against Mr. Gladstone as a political leader was his alleged want of tact in the management of the House of Commons. It may be that, in the superabundance of other gifts, he had not all the qualities best suited to this task, but to these objectors a comparison may well be suggested between Mr. Gladstone’s management of the House of Commons and that of the sessions of 1878 and 1879. Let it at once be admitted, however, that the Gladstone Ministry had its failures, which were mainly owing to the fact that the Premier’s ablest lieutenants were most conspicuous for their lack of practical adaptability. What had much more to do with the failure of the Government was its misfortune in

stirring up an antagonism in many of the most powerful classes of society. How much of the blame attached to them, and how much to the classes against whom they were supposed to wage war, we need not attempt to determine. It was well said by a writer of the time that ‘a great many people entertain towards Mr. Gladstone’s Government the same sort of sentiment as that which worthy Mrs. Bertram, in Scott’s romance, felt for the energetic revenue officer who would persist in doing his duty, instead of following the example of his predecessor, who sang his song, and took his drink, and drew his salary without troubling any one.’

But the record which the Gladstone Administration has left in the Statute Book might well atone for blunders far more stupendous than those with which it was fairly chargeable. Its errors were few and trivial by comparison; its services were conspicuous and enduring. It is worthy of equal remembrance with any Ministry of the century, for in its legislation it touched higher grounds than those of mere material comfort and prosperity (though in a remarkable degree it considered these also): it satisfied the claims of conscience, and met—in so far as the time of its duration permitted—those demands of justice, in relation to Ireland, which had hitherto been ignored—demands which had been the sport of circumstances and of Governments, and for whose redress their advocates had long knocked at the doors of the British Legislature in vain.

* This juster estimate of Sir Robert Peel—both in the eyes of his contemporaries and of posterity—than that which Lord Beaconsfield subsequently formed, was pronounced during the debate on the ‘no confidence’ motion in the Ministry, May 27th, 1841.





Walter B.



COURTYARD AND OUTHOUSES, HAWARDEN CASTLE.

CHAPTER VIII.

SPEECHES ON PUBLIC WORSHIP AND EDUCATION.

The now Premier—Mr. Gladstone partially retires from the Liberal Leadership—Letter to Lord Granville—Debate on the Address—Church Patronage of Scotland Bill—Opposed by Mr. Gladstone—His Speech on the Public Worship Regulation Bill—The ex-Premier's Six Resolutions—Reasons for their Withdrawal—The Endowed Schools Act Amendment Bill—A retrograde Measure—Strongly attacked by Mr. Gladstone—Strange Confession of the Premier—The Bill passes in a mutilated Form—Mr. Gladstone on Education—Reply to Dr. Strauss's Work, *The Old Belief and the New*—Address to the Working Classes—Friendly Societies, Trades Unions, &c.—Facilities for Intellectual Improvement—The ex-Premier at Mill Hill School—Advice to the Students—The Higher Culture.

BORNE into office by a strong current of public opinion, Mr. Disraeli, for the first time in his Parliamentary career, now commanded a majority. It seemed—to change the simile—as though some brilliant but erratic comet, arrested in mid-course, had suddenly been given the elements of stability. The talents of the new Premier

had always commanded the admiration of his supporters (and to a large extent of his opponents), but with this admiration there mingled in many quarters little of the sentiment of sincere esteem. By the admission of members on his own side of the House, the leader of the Conservative party had never evoked amongst his followers that

feeling of implicit trust and affection with which his predecessor, Lord Derby, had been regarded. Amongst the strongest denunciations of his policy were those pronounced by men long the occupants of the same benches with himself; and perhaps the most crushing indictment of his career is to be found, not in the party journals, nor yet in the addresses of Liberal politicians, but in the speeches of one who afterwards became his most trusted friend and colleague.

But Mr. Disraeli was now in power, and the question that arose was, 'What will he do with it?' Whatever chances Mr. Gladstone had once possessed of righting himself with the House had vanished with the general election. It was said that if he had met Parliament, and brought forward his budget announcing the repeal of the income-tax, all would have been well. Such speculations were now useless. He had taken the hazard of the die, and fortune had been against him; and there were not wanting members of both Houses, supposed to have been in sympathy with him, who could even grow jocular upon his fall. With Buckingham, the ex-Premier might have said:—

‘Those you make friends,
And give your hearts to, when they once perceive
The least rub in your fortunes, fall away
Like water from ye, never found again
But where they mean to sink ye.’*

Lord Selborne justly and severely rebuked a certain noble duke for his flippancies at the expense of the fallen

Minister. It was the old story transferred into political life of a reverse of fortune testing friendship, and the flocking of the multitude after its new idol. We pass by these exhibitions of feeling, as both painful and humiliating.

Shortly before the House met for active business, the Liberal party were astonished at finding themselves practically without a leader. In one of the speeches delivered before his constituents, Mr. Gladstone had intimated that if the country resolved upon the dismissal of the Liberal Ministry, he should reserve to himself the right of limiting his future services to his party as he might think fit. He was sincerely desirous of enjoying that period of repose which he had fairly earned, though there were not lacking opponents who attributed his comparative retirement from Parliamentary life to personal pique. His letter to Lord Granville, however, dated 11, Carlton House Terrace, March 12, fully explained the reasons for that step which took the House and the country somewhat by surprise:—

My dear Granville,—I have issued a circular to members of Parliament of the Liberal party on the occasion of the opening of Parliamentary business. But I feel it to be necessary that, while discharging this duty, I should explain what a circular could not convey with regard to my individual position at the present time. I need not apologise for addressing these explanations to you. Independently of other reasons for so troubling you, it is enough to observe that you have very long represented the Liberal party, and have also acted on behalf of the late Government, from its commencement to its close, in the House of Lords.

For a variety of reasons personal to myself, I could not contemplate any unlimited extension of active political service; and I am anxious that it should be clearly understood by those friends with

* *King Henry VIII.*, Act ii., Scene i.

whom I have acted in the direction of affairs, that at my age I must reserve my entire freedom to divest myself of all the responsibilities of leadership at no distant time. The need of rest will prevent me from giving more than occasional attendance in the House of Commons during the present session.

I should be desirous, shortly before the commencement of the session of 1875, to consider whether there would be advantage in my placing my services for a time at the disposal of the Liberal party, or whether I should then claim exemption from the duties I have hitherto discharged. If, however, there should be reasonable ground for believing that, instead of the course which I have sketched, it would be preferable, in the view of the party generally, for me to assume at once the place of an independent member, I should willingly adopt the latter alternative. But I shall retain all that desire I have hitherto felt for the welfare of the party, and if the gentlemen composing it should think fit either to choose a leader or make provision *ad interim*, with a view to the convenience of the present year, the person designated would, of course, command from me any assistance which he might find occasion to seek, and which it might be in my power to render.

The Liberal party accepted the offer of Mr. Gladstone's informal and modified leadership for the session of 1874, and the chief members of the late Government made the best of the circumstances in which they were placed. The Ministerialists indulged themselves in a little pleasantry at the expense of an Opposition virtually without a leader, while the latter felt more than ever in how essential a degree Mr. Gladstone was necessary to the party. The Liberal position was that of the cast of *Hamlet* with the Prince of Denmark withdrawn.

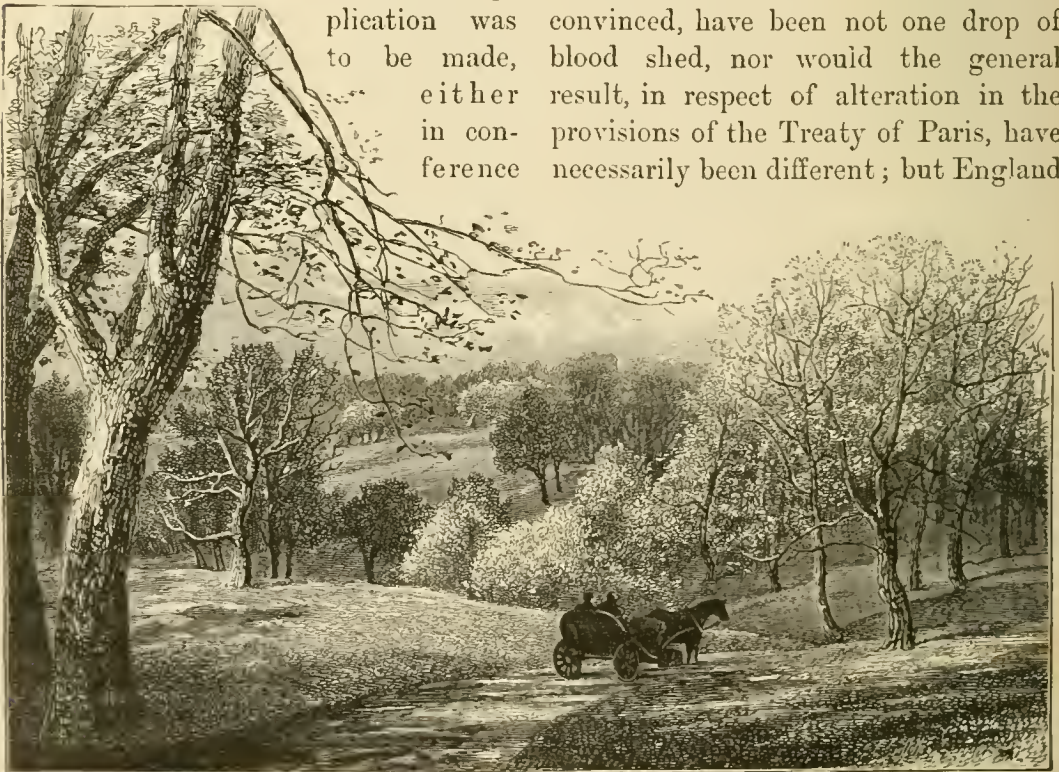
At this point we may fitly pause to quote from an able estimate of Mr. Gladstone's political character, and his qualifications as a leader, which appeared in the *British Quarterly Review*:—'We are not aware,' said the writer,

'of any Prime Minister in the whole illustrious roll, who could point to such measures as the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, and the Reform of the Irish Land Laws, projected, framed, and carried through almost by his individual prowess. But as an administrative Minister, Mr. Gladstone has had many superiors, notably Chatham, Peel, and Palmerston. Each of these had a firmer grasp of the reins; each enforced greater unity and subordination in his Cabinet, and each secured a more powerful and imposing position for Great Britain in relation to the nations of Europe. It must, we fear, be admitted that Mr. Gladstone was no vigorous disciplinarian among his colleagues. Nor can it be denied that, while intent upon his great reforms in the internal administration, he exhibited no keen or vigilant sensibility as to the honour of England as a great Power. He trusted to his Foreign Minister with a facile confidence that was never shown by Chatham or by Palmerston. There is no disguising the fact that, during his administration, Great Britain received and submitted to an insult from Russia which would have aroused the fierce indignation of those Ministers. It may have been—we have no doubt it was—right that the treaty excluding the war ships of Russia from the Black Sea should be modified. Had application been made by Russia for that purpose with the usual diplomatic formalities, it would have been right and proper for the Gladstone Government, acting with

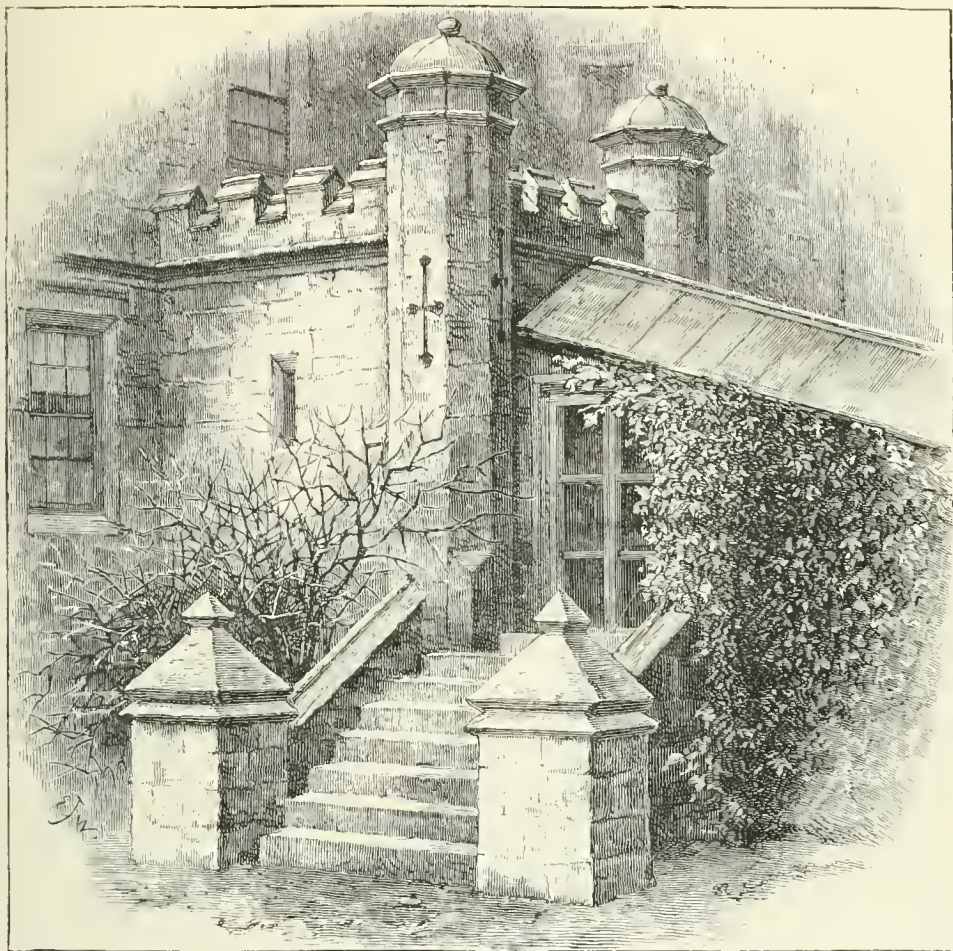
the approbation of Parliament, and after due consultation with our allies, to have granted the request. But the course of proceeding adopted by Russia was mean in relation to our allies, and contemptuous in relation to ourselves. In order that it might secure the sanction or neutrality of Prussia in its contemplated action, the Russian Court flattered the Prussian Emperor in the most fulsome and offensive way on the occasion of each new victory won by him over the French. And no sooner was the overthrow of France supposed to be complete—no sooner was it presumable that England would have to deal with Russia in complete isolation—than it was announced by Russia,

not that application was to be made, either in conference

of the Great Powers, or to the Government of Great Britain, for modifications of the Treaty of Paris, but that she, Russia, would forthwith disregard and break that treaty. Under these circumstances the duty of the British Government was plain. Until the treaty was modified by deliberate agreement, the honour of England was staked on its maintenance. When Russia took the matter into her own hand, and began insolently to tear up the Treaty before England's face, the Mediterranean fleet ought to have been ordered to the Turkish waters, with instructions to take in tow, or send to the bottom any Russian ship that might be found infringing treaty obligations. Had this been done there would, we are convinced, have been not one drop of blood shed, nor would the general result, in respect of alteration in the provisions of the Treaty of Paris, have necessarily been different; but England



THE DRIVE, HAWARDEN CASTLE.



THE SIDE ENTRANCE, HAWARDEN CASTLE.

would not have brooked a gross insult in the presence of the nations of Europe, and Russia would have known that more was to be had from us by honourable negotiation than by ostentatious contempt. We should have been less hated and more feared by Russia if we had not weakly accepted insult and injury at her hand. The spectacle of our humiliation made a deep impression on Europe, and that large portion of the public of Great Britain, which, though it is not

demonstrative in political matters, instinctively expects all governments to uphold the honour of the country, felt that England had descended from the position in Europe which she held in the days of Palmerston.

‘But our readers may think that we have been led into a digression. It, of course, is not our purpose to subject Mr. Gladstone’s conduct of the affairs of the country to detailed criticism, but his retirement from the leadership of the Liberal party suggests the

important question of the duties of Prime Minister, and of Cabinets in our constitutional system, and we have thought it of moment to point out the vital connection which subsists between administrative ability and entirely successful discharge of the functions of government in Great Britain. It was said by Burke that the outcome of the entire British constitution was seen in the jury-box, in which twelve impartial men sat to decide upon facts essential to the administration of justice. With less of paradox and more of simple and obvious truth, it may be said that the issue of the political development of England, from the earliest dawn of her constitutional liberties until now, has been the perfecting of a mechanism for sifting out about a score of men to act as a Governing Committee for the empire, presided over by one who, for the first time enjoys the confidence of a majority of the people, who represents to the Sovereign the will of the country, and who is styled Prime Minister. For about two centuries the government of the empire has been carried on by the two great parties which have divided between them the support of the constituencies, each party providing a Government Committee or Cabinet when it has been its turn to do so. We may say, in passing, that we by no means affirm this arrangement to be unalterable. Party Government, as carried on in England since the memorable division of parties in the second session of the Long Parliament, may be the product of temporary conditions and may come

to an end when these conditions have changed. The true ideal of constitutional government may be that a Parliament containing but one party, the party of the country, should select the members of the Cabinet without reference to any consideration whatever, except their ability to do the nation's work. Of such a state of things, however, it would be mere speculative idleness to speak at present. The empire is governed alternately by Tories and by Liberals. One of these parties is understood to be always calling 'Back!' the other to be always calling 'Forward!' And while we do not believe or suggest that the Liberal party has shown too much zeal in uttering its traditional cry, we think that both among the leaders and the rank and file of the party, there has been a proneness to forget that the country has a right to expect from the Liberals not only reforming energy, but consummate administrative talent. Mr. Gladstone, as Prime Minister, threw the main force of his genius into his great organic reforms. His ambition was the highest that can animate a legislator, namely, to improve the institutions of the country. But a perfectly successful Premier will be influenced by ambition in the strict sense—by a love of power. He will experience a sense of exultation in the consciousness that his colleagues are doing their work well, and that the empire is prospering under his hand. Admitting that this ambition is lower than the other, it is indispensable to the Prime Minister of a great consti-

tutional country. We find it in Walpole, in Chatham, in Palmerston, and even in Peel. To stand in his Cabinet like a captain on the quarter-deck, and feel that the magnificent vessel of the empire which he, from all the millions of the Anglo-Saxon race, has been selected to command and conduct, is speeding prosperously on her voyage,—this is the one supreme reward of the constitutional Prime Minister, and it is of this reward that Mr. Gladstone, as it appears to us, never had any consciousness, and never formed any distinct idea. This was Cromwell's distinct ambition. He felt that it was a more glorious thing to administer the affairs of England than be chief constable of the parish. But we are very far from alleging that the Conservatives evinced a more alert or impassioned regard to the honour of Great Britain than the Liberal Government.'

The routine tasks of opposition had no charms for Mr. Gladstone. At one time he apparently acquiesced in the opinion that the Liberal party had no longer a claim to office. 'Suddenly,' continues the writer from whom we have already quoted, 'it occurred to him that there was an opening for his activity; that a policy might be found on the basis on which the Liberal party might once more be placed in line of battle. Inspired by the thought, he rushed to the front, startling the drowsy House almost as much as his Income-tax dissolution had startled the country.' Mr. Disraeli and the whole host of commonplace

Tories and commonplace Whigs were engaged in the congenial trilling of the Public Worship Bill. Mr. Gladstone called upon them to abandon this dishonest and pretentious farce, and to take into consideration a scheme for the comprehensive regulation of the services of the Church in respect of ritual and ceremonial. "You are engaged," he said, "in an attempt to bridle a particular section of the clergy—that is paltry, narrow, and unfair. Let us deal with the wants and claims of all clerical parties, as well as of the laity, and let us decide what, in view of the conditions of society in the nineteenth century, are the principles upon which in the public worship of God, the letter of ecclesiastical law can be reconciled with the spirit of progress and of order within the pale of the Established Church." Mr. Gladstone's proposal amounted to an undertaking to recast the entire constitution of the Church of England. Opposition on such a basis would have reanimated his energies and fired his ambition. At the head of a Liberal party, engaged in such an enterprise, he would have felt himself to be worthily and honourably employed. He brought forward his resolutions. He astonished the House and the country by the torrent-like force of the eloquence with which he pleaded his cause, and the comprehensive grasp of the subject which he displayed. He was regarded, with wonder, with admiration, it might even be with sympathy—not with assent. The blank looks of all parties told him it

was not thus a way could be opened to the stars. He stood alone. Earnest, impassioned, bent upon honest, real work, he was a stranger in a House which was transacting a piece of elaborate humbug. Every candid observer with any spark of nobleness in his composition felt that Mr. Gladstone towered in moral elevation above the general level of the House, but this was not more plain than the utter hopelessness of his position. The supporters of the Public Worship Bill valued it simply as a stick wherewith to smite into silence the Ritualists, or frighten them out of the Church. Even among the Liberals none could be found to follow Mr. Gladstone. The Radicals acknowledging, with all frankness, that if the thing were to be done, his was the only rational and comprehensive way of doing it, felt that the recasting of the constitution of the Church was not parliamentary work, and that the only feasible mode of solving the difficulty was to disestablish the Church, and leave Episcopalians, like all other religionists, to arrange their own ecclesiastical affairs. The Whigs, nervously apprehensive of danger to the Establishment, felt by some instinct that to undertake the comprehensive remodelling of the Church in Parliament would be to break up the concern. The old kettle might be tempered, it could not be repaired. The cynics of the House and the clubs, who always hated Mr. Gladstone for being nobler and more conscientious than themselves, sneered at the entire exhibition as one more

proof of his incurable ecclesiasticism and speculative eccentricity. The great body of the Tories looked on in silent amazement, strong in the strength of stupidity.'

It was scarcely to be expected that Mr. Disraeli, as a shrewd party leader, and one ever on the alert, would fail to perceive his advantage at this juncture. On the contrary, he at once formally defied Mr. Gladstone, and offered him battle. 'For once Mr. Disraeli perfectly understood his countrymen. They were bent simply upon having the Ritualists turned out of the Church, and fancied that the Public Worship Bill would some way or other vindicate the Protestant character of the Establishment. Sir William Harcourt's Philistine eloquence, in the tone of a head master of a public school, who hears that the boys are becoming mutinous, was exactly in accord with the humour of the House and the country. The parsons were getting unruly; give them a touch of the cane. The religious earnestness of Mr. Gladstone; his reverence for the Church, as a sacred institution; his desire that justice should be done to all parties within the pale, found no echo in the House. Mr. Disraeli and Sir William Harcourt appealing without the remotest allusion to any sacredness in the Church, to the vague idea of the nation, that it was and always must be a Protestant Church, were supported by all parties. Mr. Gladstone found that if he engaged in the conflict he would be compelled, like

Frederick the Great at the battle of Kolin, to storm the batteries alone. He abandoned a hopeless attempt, and his resignation of the Liberal leadership, though its formal announcement was regulated by the usages of the parliamentary session, may be dated

than that he was sixty-five, and had served England for forty-three years, he announced that party politics would no longer be the main business of his life. We repeat respectfully, but with all deliberation, that we think he made a mistake. At sixty-five a man may



THE STUDY, HAWARDEN CASTLE.

from this point. He had a second time failed to strike out a policy for the Liberal party, and he could not confine himself to the routine work of a leader of the Opposition. He could not content himself with the simple programme of a leader contending for office—a leader proving to the public in opposition that he and his Liberals could rule the empire better than the Tories. Alleging no other reason

still be called young to be Prime Minister of England, but is it a warrantable hope for any man, who, at sixty-five, could reasonably look forward to ruling the empire, say for ten years, as Prime Minister, that he will find a more august or important vocation in literature, science, or philosophy? Was it not too late for Mr. Gladstone to look back from the plough? Nevertheless, as admitted

by this writer, Mr. Gladstone rendered considerable service to the country by his controversial writings.

Mr. Gladstone met his successful antagonist fairly in the House of Commons, and in the course of the debate upon the Address, defended the conduct of the late Government in dissolving Parliament. He held that the simple possession of a Parliamentary majority did not betoken absolute confidence in a Government, and would not justify it in retaining office until the natural expiration of Parliament. Admitting that the verdict of the country had been pronounced in no uncertain manner, and without discussing the combinations which had brought it about, he did not regret the dissolution by which it had been evoked, if thereby an opportunity had been given to the people to express their opinion upon the conduct of public affairs, and upon those who ought to direct them in the future. The transfer of power was made under conditions favourable to the late Government; but the majority of the constituencies had rejected their proposals, and as this was the act of the country, the new Government was entitled to a fair trial, and open space for the development of their plans and the application of their principles. Everything like factious opposition should be avoided, and full opportunity should be given to the various departments to develop their plans and apply their principles. It was but right that the country should have the opportunity of judging of those plans

and principles; and whether the result should be the continuance in power of gentlemen opposite or the contrary, the Constitution would provide a remedy for any conceivable state of things.

Now was witnessed for a short time the unusual spectacle of a perfectly friendly and peaceful House of Commons. The Government making no pretensions to an original policy, resolved on following the example of their predecessors. Mr. Smollett proposed a vote of censure upon the late Government in connection with the dissolution, but Mr. Gladstone, in his reply, completely annihilated the arguments of the hon. gentleman, and the motion collapsed. The Premier would hear nothing against the Liberal chief, while Sir Stafford Northcote confessed that the financial calculations of the ex-Prime Minister were quite correct, and that there was a surplus of five millions and a half. All, in fact, went 'merry as a marriage bell' until the introduction of several important religious measures by the Government.

The first of these measures was the Church Patronage of Scotland Bill. Brought forward in the House of Lords by the Duke of Richmond on behalf of the Government, the object of this bill was to abolish the system of lay patronage in the Established Kirk, and to make it over to the congregation. The question of patronage had agitated the people of Scotland for the last three hundred years, and the General Assembly had passed various resolutions expressing dissatisfaction

with the existing condition of things. The bill, which was exceedingly short, proposed to abolish all Church patronage from the Crown downwards, and to create a constituency by whom the minister of a congregation might be selected. The qualification taken would be that which existed in other Presbyterian bodies in Scotland, and the patronage would be vested in the male communicants. The bill would enact, as regarded compensation to patrons, that it should not exceed one year's stipend; and it was believed that in the great majority of cases the patrons would not require compensation at all.

The Duke of Argyll and some other Liberal peers supported the bill, but on the motion for its second reading in the Commons, Mr. Baxter proposed an amendment to the effect that the House considered it inexpedient to legislate on the subject of patronage in the Church of Scotland without further inquiry and information. The chief feature of the debate was a vigorous speech by Mr. Gladstone in opposition to the bill. The right hon. gentleman's re-appearance in the House after a considerable absence was the signal for a unanimous outburst of cheering from the Liberal benches. His presence for some time escaped notice, but when it became known, his greeting was of the warmest and most flattering character. Mr. Gladstone at once grappled with the subject with that facility which in other men we should call eloquence. Regretting to find himself engaged in a new ecclesiastical controversy, yet admitting at

the same time that the motive of the bill was laudable, the ex-Premier said its details were so objectionable, and its production was so inopportune and premature, that he was constrained to support Mr. Baxter's amendment. He based his opposition to the bill on three grounds—the exclusion of 'heritors' from all share, as such, in the election of ministers; the omission of any provision calculated to meet the case of the Highland parishes; and the alleged injustice which the abolition of patronage would do to the Free Church. The bill amounted to a cry of *Peccavi*; and he asked what they were going to do for those people whom they had driven out of the Established Church, and compelled to find ministers for themselves, to build churches, manses, and schools, and in fact to organise and pay for the establishment of a complete system of Church government. If they would receive them back in bodies, he would withdraw his opposition to the bill. If the General Assembly would, on terms of fraternal equality, communicate with the Dissenting bodies, and endeavour to bring about a union of equality, he would assist them to the full extent of his power; but the present bill was neither fair nor generous. He wanted to know what the General Assembly had done towards reuniting itself to bodies which it turned out, bodies which held the view that formed the basis of the present bill. Mr. Gladstone finally discussed the effects which the measure now proposed had already produced:—



THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, FROM THE THAMES EMBANKMENT.

There was scarcely any disestablishment movement in Scotland until the date of the introduction of this, I do not call it bad, but crude, premature, and insufficiently considered bill. But is it true that there is no promise of a disestablishment movement in Scotland now? What has happened since the announcement of this bill? The representatives of 1,200,000 of the Scottish people have, in their General Assembly, declared for disestablishment. . . . There were 295, as I understand the number, against 98, those 98 not voting in favour of establishment, but for the previous question. I do not wish myself to be responsible for raising the question of disestablishment in Scotland. I am not an idolater of establishments.

Here Mr. Gladstone was interrupted by an ironical cheer from the Ministerial benches, but he continued amid the counter cheering of his own supporters:—

Neither am I one of those who would wish to raise a controversy of that kind, excepting under very strong justifying circumstances, and excepting with a perfect preparedness to abide the issue of that contest. If the cheer we have just heard—and it was, perhaps, a very fair, natural, and legitimate cheer—was intended to imply that I am a great enemy of establishments, because I used every effort in my power to put an end to an establishment in Ireland, I must say, in answer to that cheer, that I do not repent the part I took. So far from repenting it, if I am to have a character with posterity at all—supposing posterity is ever to know that such a person as myself existed in this country—I am perfectly willing that my character should be tried simply and solely by the proceedings to which I was a party with regard to the Irish Church Establishment. I would, however, in this case recognise distinctions that are founded in the nature of things. In Scotland there has been no general movement of principle towards disestablishment; and although an established Church in a minority is an anomaly, it is an anomaly which I was well content to tolerate, and which the masses of the people of Scotland were justly and wisely prepared to tolerate, and not to be guided by abstract principles, but by a careful regard to the state of facts. But when in that state of things the Government throws down the challenge before them; proposes to invest this ecclesiastical body, or even the committee or commission of it, with powers never before entrusted to an ecclesiastical body, but which will infallibly be quoted in support of high

clerical pretensions in other quarters; and when in doing that, it does it, as the right hon. and learned lord says, in the sense of strengthening the Established Church, but declining to recognise, for every practical purpose, the existence of those great Presbyterian communities whom you drove out and compelled to become Dissenters, entirely declining to recognise them, except as bodies from whom you make a certain profit by withdrawing one adherent from them here, and another from them there—that is a challenge, I think, to them to take up a question of the public and national endowment of religion such as was never before issued by a Government under any circumstances, and such as, in my opinion, it is totally inconsistent with prudence and wisdom to issue. If we have been rash—which I do not admit—our rashness will certainly fade into utter insignificance by the side of the gratuitous hardness of the Government, which, as it appears to me, determines to initiate a religious war in Scotland under the influence of the best motives, but under circumstances the most slippery and dangerous.

Mr. Disraeli, by whom, in the conduct of business, Mr. Gladstone's absence had been especially felt, congratulated the right hon. gentleman upon his re-appearance, and expressed the general feeling of the House, when he said that all had missed him. He hoped his appearance that night would not be a solitary one. Replying to Mr. Gladstone's arguments, he denied that this was an abolition of patronage; it was merely an alteration in the mode of selecting ministers, and in what they had done the Government had acted upon precedent. With reference to Mr. Gladstone's defence of his Irish Church policy, the Premier expressed a hope that his epitaph would not include the disestablishment of any other church. The second reading of the bill was carried by 307 to 109 votes.

The next important speech by Mr. Gladstone this session was that de-

livered on the Public Worship Regulation Bill. This measure, as introduced by the Archbishop of Canterbury, into the House of Lords, in its amended form, provided that to the bishop should be given that directory power as to worship which, from sundry places in the Canons and in the Prayer Book, would seem to have been intended in the constitution of the Church. He was to be guided by the advice of a board of assessors, clerical and lay. Supposing that any one parishioner, or the rural dean, or the archdeacon, should think that the practices of a given incumbent with regard to public worship amounted to a grievance, he should have a right to go to the bishop and state it as such. If the bishop should think it was a matter that ought to be inquired into, he should call his assessors together; and if that tribunal should condemn the act or acts in question, the bishop would issue his monition. But the incumbent might be allowed an appeal to the archbishop with a board of assessors, whose decision should be final.

Having passed the Lords, the bill came down to the Commons, and its second reading was moved by Mr. Russell Gurney. During the first night of the debate, Mr. Gladstone rose and addressed the House in a speech which, according to the daily journals, fairly electrified the assembly. He began by the declaration that he had never approached any question with more embarrassment than this, and he had been constrained to quit

his retirement to point out the false issue which had been laid before Parliament, and to dispel the delusions and the ignorance which prevailed throughout the country in regard to this bill. The difficulty under which Parliament laboured was increased by the history of the bill, which he traced from the first announcement of it by some 'clever fellow' in the columns of a daily paper, and also by the departure from the usual practice that the heads of the Church and of the State should concur in any legislation for the Church. His great objection, however, to the bill was its interference with liberty and with the variety of customs which had grown up in different parts of the country, though he also took exception to the omission of the bishops from the bill, and to the payment of the Judge's salary from the funds of Ecclesiastical Commissioners. He considered that Ritualism was the smallest part of the question, and with regard to the eighth clause of the bill, which defined the offences to be dealt with, he insisted that by strictly and uniformly enforcing the Rubrics, any indiscreet or fussy bishop would be enabled to root out local usages, traditions, and customs in the celebration of public worship; and the variations from the Rubric, whether of omission or commission, he maintained ought not to be interfered with. Mr. Gladstone enlarged upon the inconveniences of enforcing strict uniformity. For example, the Rubric required the catechising of children at the afternoon service, it required the Athana-

sian Creed to be read thirteen times in the year, and it was very doubtful whether the present Hymnology of the Church was in accordance with the Rubrics. The right hon. gentleman also mentioned the separate or single administration of the consecrated elements as another matter in which strict uniformity could not be enforced. Then followed this passage, perhaps the most striking in the speech:—

I, for one, will make no objection to any expenditure of time which the House is prepared to make in order to discuss the question; I will not be the man to raise the cry of difficulty or inconvenience; but I shall be the man from stage to stage of the bill, as far as it may be necessary, to point out the real nature of the work we are doing, to endeavour to assist the House in sifting these proposals to the bottom, and in dissipating and dispelling the gross illusions which possess the country, and, to a great extent, as it appears to me, the mind of the right hon. and learned gentleman, with regard to the provisions and probable operation of the bill. . . . I think I have shown the House that inconvenience must arise from the very first slip of judgment on the part of a bishop who may allow an improper suit to proceed. Well, then, the House may say fairly—'Do not you think something ought to be done?' and I think the idea that something ought to be done is what weighs upon the minds of most men. I will tell you what I think ought to be done in principle. The House can do nothing without acknowledging how much we owe to the great mass of the clergy of the Church of England for their zeal and devotion. For eighteen years I was a servant of a very large body of them. My place is now most worthily occupied by another; but I have not forgotten, and never can forget, the many sacrifices they were always ready to make, and the real liberality of mind which upon a thousand occasions they have shown. But even that is a thing totally insignificant in comparison with the work which they are doing. You talk of the observance of the law. Why, sir, every day and night the clergyman of the Church of England, by the spirit he diffuses around him, by the lessons he imparts, lays the nation under a load of obligation to him. The eccentricities of a handful of men, therefore, can never make me forget the illustrious merit of the services done by the mass of the clergy in an age which is beyond all

others luxurious, and, I fear, selfish and worldly. These are the men who hold up to us a banner on which is written the motto of Eternal Life, and of the care for things unseen which must remain the chief hope of man through all the vicissitudes of his mortal life.

After this eloquent tribute to the clergy, Mr. Gladstone observed that there was imposed on him the duty of saying something about what ought to be done in this matter—at least in principle. He had accordingly embodied his ideas on the subject into six resolutions, which he proceeded to read to the House as follows:—

1. That in proceeding to consider the provisions of the bill for the Regulation of Public Worship, this House cannot do otherwise than take into view the lapse of more than two centuries since the enactment of the present Rubrics of the Common Prayer Book of the Church of England; the multitude of particulars embraced in the conduct of Divine service under their provisions; the doubts occasionally attaching to their interpretation, and the number of points they are thought to leave undecided; the diversities of local custom which under these circumstances have long prevailed; and the unreasonableness of proscribing all varieties of opinion and usage among the many thousands of congregations of the Church distributed throughout the land.

2. That this House is therefore reluctant to place in the hands of every single bishop, on the motion of one or of three persons howsoever defined, greatly increased facilities towards procuring an absolute ruling of many points hitherto left open and reasonably allowing of diversity, and thereby towards the establishment of an inflexible rule of uniformity throughout the land, to the prejudice, in matters indifferent, of the liberty now practically existing.

3. That the House willingly acknowledges the great and exemplary devotion of the clergy in general to their sacred calling, but is not on that account the less disposed to guard against the indiscretion, or thirst for power, or other faults of individuals.

4. That the House is therefore willing to lend its best assistance to any measure recommended by adequate authority, with a view to provide more effectual securities against any neglect of or departure from strict law which may give evidence of a

design to alter, without the consent of the nation, the spirit or substance of the established religion.

5. That, in the opinion of the House, it is also to be desired that the members of the Church, having a legitimate interest in her services, should receive ample protection against precipitate and arbitrary changes of established customs by the sole will of the clergyman and against the wishes locally pre-

of his incomparable eloquence; but the speech they had just heard could only be described as a powerful plea for universal Nonconformity, or optional conformity. The chief thing to be done was to re-assert the unalterable



LORD JOHN MANNERS, M.P.

valent among them; and that such protection does not appear to be afforded by the provisions of the bill now before the House.

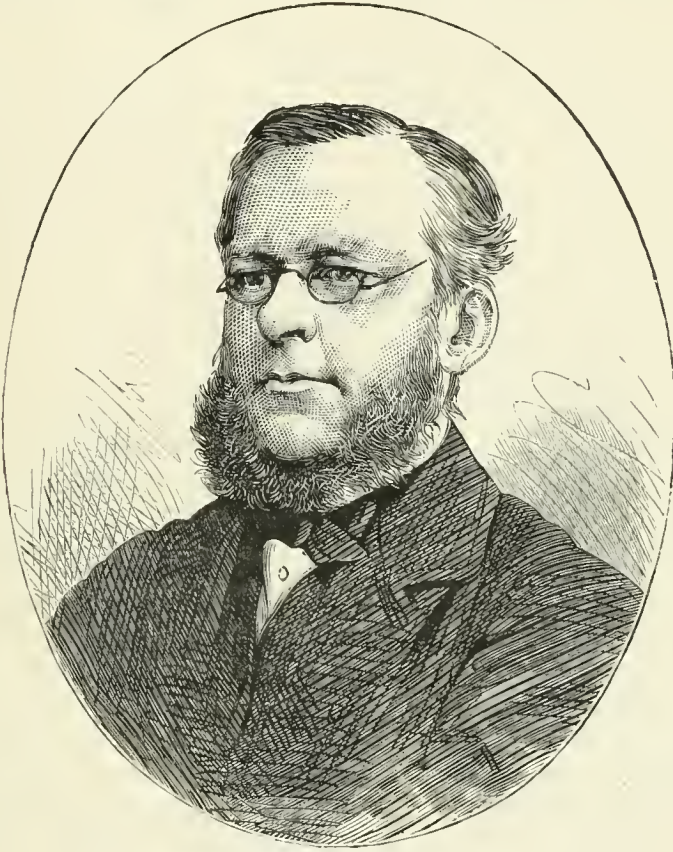
6. That the House attaches a high value to the concurrence of her Majesty's Government with the ecclesiastical authorities in the initiative of legislation affecting the Established Church.

Sir William Harcourt said they had all been under the wand of the Great Enchanter, and had listened with rapt attention as he poured forth the wealth

attachment of the people of England to the principles of the Reformation. The debate was adjourned, and on the 13th Mr. Disraeli said that Mr. Gladstone's resolutions could only point to one conclusion—the abolition of that religious settlement which had prevailed in this country for more than two centuries, and on which depended much of our civil liberty. Such propositions

ought at once to be brought under discussion, and if the second reading of the bill were voted after the conclusion of the pending debate, he would give Mr. Gladstone an opportunity of bringing forward his six

cussion was closed by Mr. Disraeli, who said that the object of the bill was to put down Ritualism; and if Mr. Gladstone did not know what Ritualism was, he was in a very isolated position.



THE RIGHT HON. RICHARD ASSHETON CROSS, M.P.

resolutions on the motion for going into committee. The debate was resumed on the 15th. Mr. Walter thought that the grievances of which Mr. Gladstone complained—even the compulsion to read the Athanasian Creed and the Prayer for the Church Militant—were as nothing compared with the Ritualistic practices against which the bill was directed. The dis-

The Government thus clearly adopted the bill, and the second reading was carried without a division. It soon became evident that Mr. Gladstone's resolutions were distasteful to the bulk of his own supporters, the whole House in fact being practically unanimous in its desire to arrest the progress of Ritualism. On the following day, accordingly, Mr. Gladstone announced

the withdrawal of his resolutions. The House having passed the second reading of the bill without a division, he could not in fairness, he said, do otherwise than accept that decision as an expression of the desire of the House to proceed to the consideration of the bill in committee, without raising any of those broad questions relating to the grounds and proper limits of legislation which undoubtedly were raised in the resolutions of which he had given notice. Notice had also been given of important amendments which tended greatly to the improvement of the bill. He therefore did not intend to move his resolutions. A collision arose with the Lords upon an amendment carried in the Commons. The chief incidents in the debate in the Lower House were Sir Wm. Harcourt's passage of arms with his former chief, and Mr. Disraeli's description of the Marquis of Salisbury as a man who never measured his phrases, but was 'a great master of gibes, and flouts, and sneers.' Eventually the Commons did not insist upon their amendment, and the bill was read a third time on the 3rd of August.

The Public Worship Regulation Bill became law, but how inoperative it has been may be gathered from the fact that Ritualistic practices in the Church are at this moment more flourishing than ever, and in most dioceses are practically suffered to go unchecked.

Mr. Gladstone strongly opposed the Endowed Schools Act Amendment Bill, introduced by Lord Sandon. The

object of this measure was the transference to the Charity Commissioners of the powers held by the Endowed Schools Commissioners, appointed by the Act of 1869—powers which at the close of the session of 1873 it had been agreed to prolong for another twelve months, the original term of three years having expired. It was further proposed to alter the definitions contained in the former Act, so as to restore to the Church of England the administration of numerous schools in cases where the founder had recognised the authority of a bishop, or had directed attendance on the service of the Church, or had required that the masters should be in holy orders. This bill was regarded by the Liberal party as the first distinct attempt to reverse recent legislation, and to the Nonconformists it was especially obnoxious; for it practically gave to one religious body the control of schools that were thrown open to the whole nation by the policy of the last Parliament. The principles of the measure—which thus went far beyond the transfer of the powers of the Endowed Schools Commissioners to the Charity Commissioners—gave rise to considerable agitation.

Accordingly, when the order for the second reading came on, Mr. Forster moved the rejection of the bill. The more he studied it, he said, the more he felt convinced that it was a step backward. He could adduce arguments which even hon. gentlemen opposite could hardly disregard, to show that the change of policy pro-

posed was unwise, reactionary, and unjust, and the change in administration inexpedient and needless, if not dangerous. He was convinced that the noble lord was attempting to claim for the Established Church—which, after all, was only a denomination, although the largest—schools which really belonged to the nation, and that he was striving so to arrange things that members of that Church should have exclusive control over schools which ought to be open to all classes of her Majesty's subjects. Out of 1,082 grammar schools, 584 were founded before the Toleration Act; 35 were pre-Reformation schools; and 44 were founded during the Commonwealth. Mr. Forster paid a strong tribute to the Commissioners for their services in the cause of education, and called attention to the fact that only ten of their schemes had been challenged in Parliament.

This measure drew forth a strong condemnation from Mr. Gladstone. The Church, he held, had no title to the endowments bestowed on her between 1530 and 1660—when no man could live outside her pale; and her title was in no way strengthened by the fact that the founder had directed Church instruction to be given to the children. This retrograde legislation was unusual and unwise; for it was a bill for undoing part of the work of the last Parliament. The party which sat opposite possessed, after having been many years in a minority, a large majority; 'but,' continued Mr. Gladstone, 'what I wish to point out

is this, that the history of our country for the last forty or fifty years presents to us, as a general rule, this remarkable picture: The initiative of policy in almost every instance—I do not know of even one exception—both of administrative and legislative, was supplied by the Liberal party, and subsequently adopted in prudence and in honesty by the party which is called Conservative. Take the financial, take the colonial, take any of the departments; and I will venture to say you will find that this is a true description of the history of which we have all been witnesses. When the Conservative Government came into power in 1834, and again in 1841, after the first Reform Act had been the subject of a long dispute and much contention, there was absolute security in the mind of the country, and full conviction that the party coming into office would not be so unwise and so unpatriotic as to retrace the steps taken by their predecessors. This is the first instance on record, so far as I have been able to ascertain, of any deliberate attempt being made by a Ministry at retrogression.'

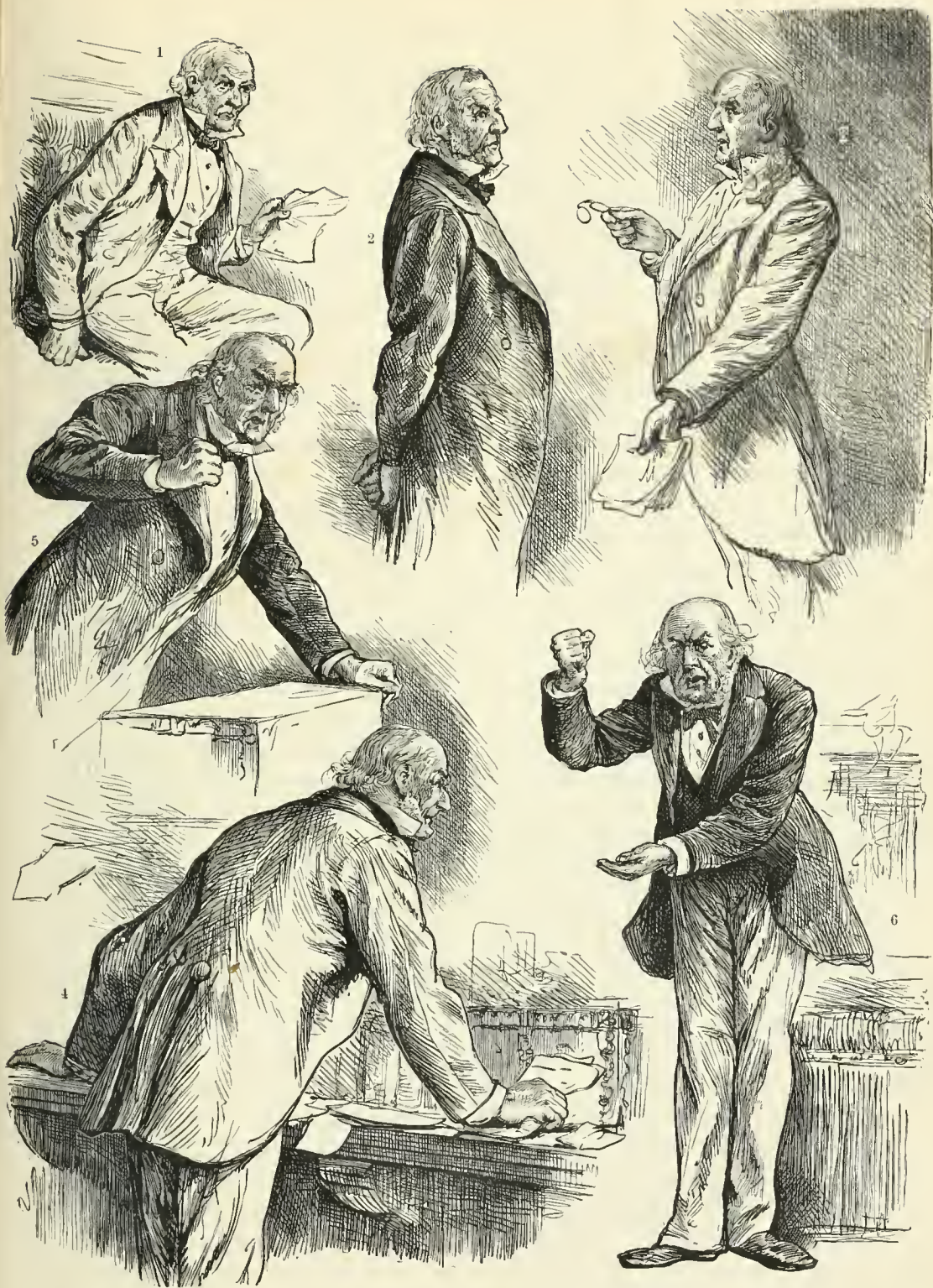
The speaker, nevertheless, went on to make allusion to the case of the Presbyterian Establishment, which had been placed in possession of ecclesiastical patronage in Scotland in the time of William III. A Tory Ministry subsequently came into power, which made an attempt at passing a reactionary bill. This Ministry introduced a measure for the establishment of patronage in the Church of Scotland,

which involved the repeal of the previous Act of William III. This was the one solitary instance to which her Majesty's Government could refer. And what an instance!—an instance that brought about the passage of the Act which the same party now proposed to repeal, because it was an Act of retrogression, and because it interfered with the integrity of the Presbyterian constitution. That was the only instance of any similar course that could be adduced in support of the ill-omened bill they were now invited to vote for. If that were so—if it were a most unusual step—it was also as unwise as it was unusual. Mr. Gladstone asked in conclusion :—

What does this bill amount to? The right hon. gentleman who has just sat down (Mr. R. A. Cross) has said that this is one of the legacies which have been left by the Liberal Government. Yes; there have been a great many legacies left by the Liberal Government. The policy which at present governs every department of the State is part of a legacy left by the Liberal Government. The right hon. gentleman and his party ought to be more grateful for those Liberal legacies on which they will have to live as a Ministry. What are we now asked to do? The majority of this Parliament is invited to undo the work of their predecessors in office, in defiance of precedents, which I should weary the House by enumerating, so great are their numbers and uniformity. It is rather remarkable that what is now the majority is about to undo an Act which they had never opposed in its passage. I believe that the conditions with reference to schools before the Toleration Act and before the Reformation were carried in this House without a division. I believe I am even strictly correct in saying that this provision was not only agreed to without a division, but without an adverse voice when the question was put from the Chair. Yet they now avail themselves of the first opportunity they have to attempt to repeal what they did not object to when it was before Parliament. Is this wise? Is it politic? Is it favourable to the true interests of the Established Church? . . . What has been the judgment generally passed upon us by foreign authors,

men of the highest weight and importance in their respective countries? They have often told truths of which we should not be fully aware from our own observation. What have they told us of their judgment of the course and conduct of the British Legislature? If you consult any one of those great political writers who adorn the literature of their own countries, you will find their language respecting us uniform. When they look at our political constitution they are struck by the multitude of obstructions which for the defence of minorities we allow to be placed in the way of legislation. They are struck by observing that the immediate result is great slowness in the steps we take; but when they refer to the consequences of this slowness they find one great and powerful compensation, and it is that in England all progress is sure. *Vestigia nulla retrorsum*. Whatever has been once decided, whatever has once taken its place in the Statute Book, or has been adopted in our Administration, no feelings of party and no vicissitudes of majorities or minorities are allowed to draw the nation into the dangerous, though they may be the seductive, paths of retrogression. That is the principle to which we appeal, and even were the rights of the case less clear, even were it equitable instead of inequitable, for the Church to make the claims which are made in her behalf by the Government, most unwise would it be on the part of any Administration—and, of all others, most unwise on the part of the Conservative Administration—to give a shock to one of the great guiding principles and laws which have governed the policy of this country throughout a course of many generations, and the solidity and security of which is one of the main guarantees of the interests we possess and the liberty we enjoy.

Notwithstanding this effective attack upon its leading principle, the bill passed its second stage by a large majority. The numbers were—For the second reading, 291; against, 209—majority for the Government, 82. The Opposition, however, were determined not to let the matter rest. They brought forward a hostile motion on the proposal for going into committee, but this was defeated by 262 to 193. Yet though the bill went into committee, the Prime Minister speedily found that it would be hotly contested,



MR. GLADSTONE'S ATTITUDES WHEN ADDRESSING THE HOUSE. (See pp. 271--272).

1, "Catching the Speaker's Eye;" 2, Beginning his Speech; 3, Referring to a Document 4, Adopting a Conversational Tone; 5, 6, Smiting an Opponent.

and deemed it unwise to proceed with it in its first shape. He accordingly announced the abandonment of the foundation clauses, and the restriction of the measure to the mere abolition of the Endowed Schools Commissioners and the transfer of their powers to the Charity Commissioners. Making a confession that might almost seem to prove his incapacity to fill the position he occupied, he admitted that after hours of anxious consideration, the disputed clauses were unintelligible to him. Some days later, in giving the names of the Commissioners who were to take the Endowed Schools business upon them, Mr. Disraeli assumed personally the responsibility for the introduction of the bill.

The weakness of the Premier's position being thus exposed, Mr. Gladstone retorted upon him with great spirit. The nature of a Conservative policy, he observed, was now clearly seen. Mr. Disraeli had said that some of the clauses of the bill were unintelligible to him; this was an important discovery, and it was a pity that it had not been made earlier, as the charge of obstructive conduct might not then have been brought against members on the Opposition side of the House. The pledge of the Premier to call attention to this subject anew in another session of Parliament was a pledge dictated by Ministerial exigencies and by the state of the relations of members of the Cabinet, far more than by any well-weighed consideration of what was to take place in the future. If that was so he thought the Noncon-

formists, and not they only, but those who attached an enormous value to the principles and methods of stable legislation, had good reason to congratulate themselves upon the present situation. In closing his address Mr. Gladstone said, 'When a great host attempted the invasion of an enemy's country, and was beset by storms, and baffled by adverse winds, the practice was to erect an altar, and to put the knife to the throat of the victim. The Commissioners of the Endowed Schools are, on this occasion, those who have been called upon to submit to the sacrificial knife; and these three gentlemen—most guilty in the opinion of some who have spoken and whom they have perhaps offended, but most innocent, most meritorious, and most patriotic in the judgment of others—are to give up their official existence as an atonement and reconciliation for others, and the great mass of Nonconformist interests throughout the country are, I rejoice to say, to enjoy an absolute immunity from danger; the only price that is paid for all this being the official life of Lord Lyttelton and his colleagues. In saying that, I am very sorry for what the right hon. gentleman calls the policy of her Majesty's Government. The policy of her Majesty's Government with regard to the Endowed Schools of the country has received this most striking, this most triumphant attestation—that three gentlemen who, as the noble lord says, are *our* friends, are to be displaced from their office in order that three gentlemen who are *his* friends may be

put into office, in order to prosecute, with bated hopes and weakened forces, the difficult duties imposed on them by the country.'

The Endowed Schools Act Amendment Bill, in its mutilated form, received the Royal Assent in the month of August. It was not a measure to reflect credit upon its authors; and seeing that its original scope had been greatly narrowed, the Government would have done wisely in abandoning it altogether. But this was one of the earliest indications of a determination on the part of the Conservative majority to exercise its power—not always with circumspection.

It will be interesting here to quote from an observant writer a sketch of Mr. Gladstone as he has appeared in more recent years in the House of Commons. The sketch may be compared with that given in the earlier portion of this work of Mr. Gladstone as he appeared a few years after he had first taken his seat in the House. The later Parliamentary critic, writing in 1880, observes:—'It is curious to note that some of these mannerisms of forty years ago are preserved by the great statesman we know to-day. It is particularly notable that to this day, when Mr. Gladstone rises and begins what is intended to be a great oration, he has a tendency to clasp his hands behind his back. This attitude, however, like the subdued mood of which it is an indication, prevails only during the opening sentences. Age has fired rather than dulled his oratorical energy. He has even during the existence of

the present Parliament increased in rapidity of gesture almost to the point of fury. The jet-black hair of forty years ago has faded and fallen, leaving only a few thin wisps of grey carefully disposed over the grandly formed head with which, as he told a Scotch deputation the other day, London hatters have had such trouble. The rounded cheeks are sunken, and their bloom has given place to pallor; the full brow is wrinkled; the dark eyes, bright and flashing still, are underset with innumerable wrinkles; the good figure is somewhat rounded at the shoulders; and the sprightly step is growing deliberate. But the intellectual fire of forty years ago is rather quickened than quenched, and the promise of health has been abundantly fulfilled in a maintenance of physical strength and activity that seems phenomenal.

'Mr. Gladstone will outsit the youngest member of the House if the issue at stake claims his vote in the pending division. He can speak for three hours at a stretch, and he will put into the three hours as much mental and physical energy as, judiciously distributed, would suffice for the whole debate. His magnificent voice is as true in tone and as insensible to fatigue as when it was first heard within the walls of the House. By comparison he is far more emphatic in gesture when addressing the House of Commons than when standing before a public meeting. This, doubtless, is explicable by the fact that, whilst in the one case he is free from contradiction, in the other he is, more particularly during a

period of Tory ascendancy, outrageously subject to it. Trembling through every nerve with intensity of conviction and the wrath of battle, he almost literally smites his opponent hip and thigh. Taking the brass-bound box

may turn as on a pivot to watch the effect of his speech on either side of the House, he will assume that the palm of his left hand is his adversary of the moment, and straightway he beats upon it with his right hand with



LORD MALMESBURY.

upon the table as representative of "the right hon. gentleman" or "the noble lord" opposite, he will beat it violently with his right hand, creating a resounding noise that sometimes makes it difficult to catch the words he desires to emphasize. Or standing with heels closely pressed together, and feet spread out fan-wise, so that he

a ferocity that causes to curdle the blood of the occupants of the Ladies' Gallery. At this stage will be noted the most marked retention of early House of Commons habit, in the way in which the orator continually turns round to address his own followers, to the outraging of a fundamental point of etiquette which requires that all

speeches should be directed to the chair.'

We now come to several addresses which Mr. Gladstone has delivered in recent years on education and kindred subjects. They are typical of other speeches which the right hon. gentleman has at various times made upon the same questions, and show the speaker in the favourable light of a friend to liberal culture,—a character to which he has been steadfast since he addressed the students of Liverpool College, at a very early stage in his career. The first of these addresses, which formed, perhaps, the most interesting extra-Parliamentary utterance of the recess of 1872, was delivered on the occasion of the distribution of the prizes to the pupils of Liverpool College. We have already had occasion, in the earlier part of this work, to make a brief extract from that address, but it now demands some further notice. The Premier entered a strong plea on behalf of higher education, and then passed on to refer to the extraordinary and boastful manifestation in this age of ours of the extremest forms of unbelief. After a searching examination of Dr. Strauss's recently published work, *The Old Belief and the New*, Mr. Gladstone tendered this counsel to the students:—

You will hear much to the effect that the divisions among Christians render it impossible to say what Christianity is, and so destroy the certainty of religion. But if the divisions among Christians are remarkable, not less so is their unity in the great doctrines which they hold. Well nigh fifteen hundred years—years of a more sustained activity than the world has ever before seen—have passed away since the great controversies respecting the

Deity and the Person of the Redeemer were, after a long agony, determined. As before that time in a manner less defined but adequate for their day, so ever since that time, amid all chance and change, more, ay, many more than ninety-nine in every hundred Christians have with one will confessed the Deity and incarnation of our Lord as the cardinal and central truths of our religion. Surely there is some comfort here, some sense of brotherhood, some glory in the past, some hope for the times that are to come. On one and only one more of the favourite fallacies of the day I will yet presume to touch. It is the opinion and boast of some that man is not responsible for his belief. Lord Brougham was at one time stated to have given utterance to this opinion, whether truly I know not. But this I know, it was my privilege to hear from his own lips the needful and due limitation of that proposition. 'Man,' he said, 'is not responsible to man for his belief.' But as before God one and the same law applies to opinions and to acts, or rather to inward and outer acts, for opinions are inward acts; many a wrong opinion may be guiltless because formed in ignorance, and because that ignorance may not be our fault; but who shall presume to say there is no mercy for wrong actions also when they, too, have been due to ignorance, and that ignorance has not been guilty? The question is not whether judgments and actions are in the same degree influenced by the condition of the moral motives. If it is undeniable that self-love and passion have an influence upon both, then, so far as that influence goes, for both we must be prepared to answer. Should we, in common life, ask a body of swindlers for an opinion upon swindling, or of gamblers for an opinion upon gambling, or of misers upon bounty? And if in matters of religion we allow pride and perverseness to raise a cloud between us and the truth, so that we see it not, the false opinion that we form is but the index of that perverseness and that pride, and both for them, and for it as their offspring, we shall be justly held responsible. Who they are upon whom this responsibility will fall it is not ours to judge. These laws are given to us, not to apply presumptuously to others, but to enforce honestly against ourselves. Next to a Christian life, my friends, you will find your best defence against reckless novelty of speculation, in sobriety of temper, and in sound intellectual habits. Be slow to stir inquiries which you do not mean particularly to pursue to their proper end. Be not afraid to suspend your judgment, or feel and admit to yourselves how narrow are the bounds of knowledge. Do not too readily assume that to us have been opened royal roads to truth, which were heretofore hidden from the whole family of man; for the opening of such roads would not be so much favour

as caprice. If it is bad to yield a blind submission to authority, it is not less an error to deny to it its reasonable weight. Eschewing a servile adherence to the past, regard it with reverence and gratitude, and accept its accumulations in inward as well as outward things as the patrimony which it is your part in life both to preserve and to improve.

For the catholicity of its sentiments, however, and the excellence of its counsel, one of the best addresses Mr. Gladstone ever delivered was that spoken in aid of the Buckley Institute and Reading-room, in the recess of 1878. It was specially directed to the working classes. The address covered a wide range of topics, and we can only touch upon those possessing a permanent interest. Referring to the friendly and benefit societies which abound throughout the country, Mr. Gladstone eulogised them for enabling the working population of this country to realise that idea of independence and self-support, which, while very desirable for all men, was most of all honourable, and even noble, in those who depended upon their daily labour for their daily bread. The only thing he exhorted them jealously to watch over was that the societies were based upon principles of sound calculation, so that those who had supported them in their youth and maturity, should not find in old age that their funds had disappeared. Mr. Gladstone's warning derived additional point from the fact that reports had been published of societies unsound in this respect. Touching upon co-operative societies, he hoped that in proportion as the retail dealers of the country came more and more to understand the best

mode of carrying on their business—that is to say, of working it upon ready-money principles, instead of long credit—they would be able to compete advantageously with these societies. There were also societies for manufacturing productions, and some for carrying on farms, which would be beneficial by putting, to a certain extent, the working man in the position of the capitalist.

There was a broad liberality of view in the speaker's utterances upon the subject of trades unions, and also on the question of the employment of women. 'What I would always desire,' he said, 'in trades unions, and what I look upon as essential to their full utility is, that those who enter into such combinations shall fully and absolutely respect the liberty of those who do not wish to enter them, and further, that they shall, although it is a difficult lesson for them, adopt large and liberal principles with regard to all the points that touch them in the exercise of their professions. Questions such as the employment of women, the employment of boys and young men, piecework, &c.,—on the whole of these questions they should get rid of narrow and selfish views, and should adopt sound ones. I am bound to say that I think they are often lectured upon these narrow and selfish views by other people in higher stations who are very apt to act upon narrow and selfish views themselves when they can. But that is not the question. Is it the best for themselves? I am convinced that they should be large and liberal

in all their views with regard to the employment of labour, because, after all, when men choose to put unnatural and unnecessary restrictions on the labour of women and children, what is that but putting it on the members of their own family, for these women and children are persons in intimate association with them?'

Mr. Gladstone recognised the necessity for recreation and relaxation, and after alluding to the provision for games and refreshments, which were natural and proper, he touched upon the question of the debate. He believed it to be a mistake to suppose that members of the community at large were not fit to meet together and debate like men those matters in which they were able to feel an interest. If they had the truth of confidence in their opinions, they should not be ashamed or afraid to compare them with others.

The last topic dealt with related to the greater facilities for intellectual improvement enjoyed by the working classes of the present day as compared with their predecessors. The materials were better and the access to the means of instruction far easier.

It was said of Socrates that he called down philosophy from heaven—now the enterprise of certain enlightened publishers has taught them to work for the million, and that is a very important fact. When I was a boy I used to be fond of looking into booksellers' shops, but there was nothing to be seen there that was accessible to the working man of that day. Take a Shakespeare, for example. I remember very well that I gave £2 16s. for my first copy; but you can get an admirable copy for 3s. Those books are accessible now which formerly were quite inaccessible. We may be told that you want amusement, but that does not exclude improve-

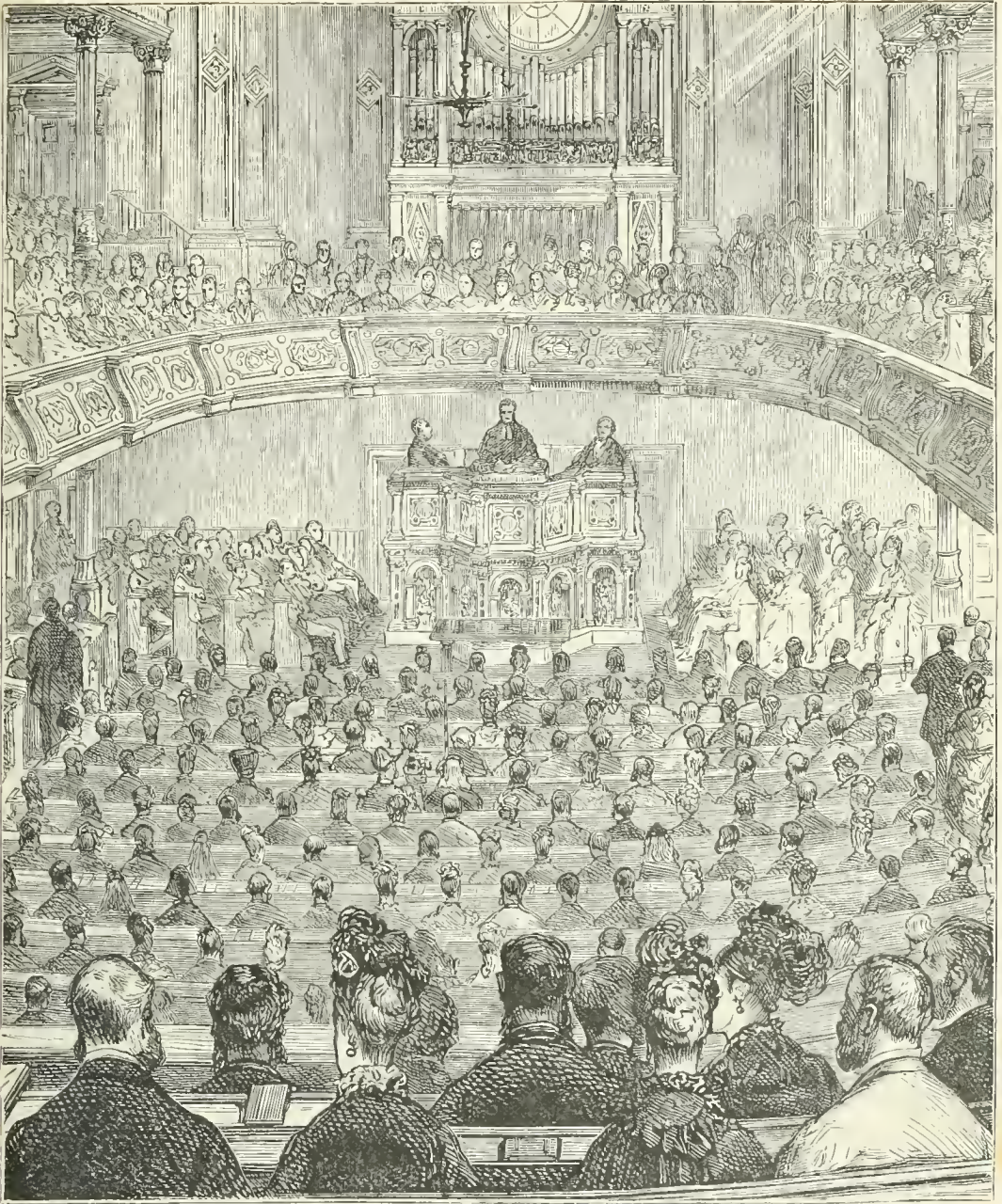
ment. There are a set of worthless books written now and at times which you should avoid, which profess to give amusement; but in reading the works of such authors as Shakespeare and Scott there is the greatest possible amusement in its best form. Do you suppose that when you see men engaged in study that they dislike it? No. There is labour no doubt of a certain kind—mental labour, but it is so associated with interest all along that it is forgotten in the delight which it carries in its performance, and no people know that better than the working classes. I want you to understand that multitudes of books now are constantly being prepared and placed within reach of the population at large, for the most part executed by writers of a high stamp, having subjects of the greatest interest, and which enable you at a moderate price, not to get a cheap literature which is secondary in its quality, but to go straight into the very heart, if I may so say, into the sanctuary of the temple of literature—and become acquainted with the greatest and best works that the men of our country have produced. It is not to be supposed that working men, on coming home from labour, are to study Euclid and works of that character; and it is not to be desired unless in the case of very special gifts; but what is to be desired is that some effort should be made by men of all classes, and perhaps by none more than by the labouring class, to lift ourselves above the level of what is purely frivolous, and to endeavour to find our amusement in making ourselves acquainted with things of real interest and beauty.

On another question of very general interest, that of pulpit oratory, Mr. Gladstone spoke with much effect, on the occasion of his visit to the City Temple, early in the year 1879. Touching on the personal peculiarities of preachers, he gave these interesting personal reminiscences of Dr. Newman and Dr. Chalmers in the course of his remarks:—

'These personal peculiarities, no doubt, ought to be kept within bounds, but depend upon it they ought not to be altogether renounced. When you come to a really remarkable preacher, you will not find one of them who has not distinctive marks, just as you will



THE CITY TEMPLE, HOLBORN VIADUCT, LONDON.



INTERIOR OF THE CITY TEMPLE, HOLBORN VIADUCT.

never find one human face that is worth the wearing that has not got in some shape or other some distinctive marks. If I go back myself upon remarkable preachers whom I have

heard: I have heard Dr. Newman about forty years ago. That is a long time ago, and before the era of the controversies with which his name is connected began; but controversy or no

controversy, battle or no battle, a man like Dr. Newman, with his deep piety and his remarkable gifts of mind, could not but be a great object of interest. Dr. Newman, when I was an undergraduate at Oxford, was looked upon rather with prejudice, and termed a Low Churchman, but very much respected for his character and his known ability. He was then the vicar of St. Mary's, at Oxford, and used to preach there without ostentation or effort, but by simple excellence he was continually drawing undergraduates more and more around him. Now, Dr. Newman's manner in the pulpit was one upon which, if you considered it in its separate parts, you would arrive at very unsatisfactory conclusions. There was not very much change in the inflection of the voice, action there was none, his sermons were read, and his eyes were always on his book, and all that, you will say, is against efficiency in preaching. Yes, but you take the man as a whole, and there was a stamp and a seal upon him, there was a solemn music and sweetness in the tone, there was a completeness in the figure, taken together with the tone and with the manner, which made even his delivery, such as I have described it—and though exclusively with written sermons—singularly attractive.

Well, now, I will make a great jump and go to another very notable and very admirable man—I mean Dr. Chalmers. I have heard Dr. Chalmers preach and lecture, and I think I have heard him speak. Well, now, I being a man of Scotch blood, I am very much

attached to Scotland, and like even the Scotch accent, but not the Scotch accent of Dr. Chalmers. Undoubtedly the accent of Dr. Chalmers in preaching and delivery was a considerable impediment, notwithstanding that it was all overborne by the power of the man in preaching, overborne by his power, melted into harmony with all the adjuncts and incidents of the man as a whole, so much so, that although I would have said the accent of Dr. Chalmers was distasteful, yet in Dr. Chalmers himself I would not have it altered in the smallest degree. This all sums up into the general principle—let the preacher never forget the reality of the man, let him never become a conventional being, let him never adopt—you won't misunderstand me if I use a homely phrase—the mere slang of religion, for there is a slang in religion, that is to say, there is an illegitimate growth of vulgarity and dialect in religion as in everything else. Let him retain his reality as a man; and in proportion to the sense he entertains of the immeasurable dignity and power of the office he has to fill, and the instrument he has to wield, let him extend a proportionate corresponding care in the cultivation, ay, of the very smallest incidental qualities that he thinks may contribute to the fuller accomplishment of his work.'

Mr. Gladstone also delivered an address of great practical value on the occasion of the distribution of prizes at the Nonconformist School at Mill Hill, in June, 1879. In the

outset, he impressed two necessary lessons upon the pupils. One was, he said, that those who had received prizes must take good care not to be inveigled by the first-fruits of their efforts into sluggishness, for that was a danger which beset the young, and premature success had been a snare to many. As for those who had not received prizes, the occasion which should inspire caution in others should inspire hope in them. It was upon perseverance that their future enterprise would depend. He therefore exhorted them to bear their disappointment like men, like Englishmen, like Christians. In comparing the relative advantages of Mill Hill School, and the great and wealthy seats of learning in the country, the speaker observed:—

Do not suppose for a moment that I have come here to renounce my fidelity to those ancient schools whose interests are so deeply seated in my heart. All that they have achieved is before you. Their great experiences are at your service and command. You have power to appropriate to yourselves every good rule they have made, and you have the power where you are not satisfied with the results to correct them. You have this enormous advantage under the peculiar conditions of this age. You, the authorities of these schools, and you, the boys, have not to contend in the same degree as have the authorities and boys of some of the ancient schools, with the tremendous dangers and temptations which the overflow of money associated with inadequate wisdom produces, not the extravagance of the boys only, but in many instances the more serious evil of parents giving to their boys that which they think will contribute to their happiness, but which, in fact, tends to weaken the fibre of character, to relax manly resolution, to anticipate at an early age enjoyments intended only for manhood. . . . These are great advantages; and that which others possess because their fathers handed it down to them, you, I hope, are gradually and progressively accumulating in order to hand it over to those who may come after you. However, it was a great and bold undertaking to establish a school of this kind in a

field which was already occupied by those great institutions so well known to us as the public schools of England. But there was certainly one reason which I cannot shrink from noticing, and which I think constitutes not only the high merit, but the very high merit of those who set themselves about founding Mill Hill School. . . . I need not say I pay them the highest honour for determining to give this advantage of a public school education, not on a basis merely neutral or negative with regard to religion, but, on a basis which would supply all their wants, and enable the pupils, according to the conscientious convictions their parents entertain, and in which they have been reared, to prepare themselves for that Christian life on which they are about to enter. I earnestly hope that upon that basis on which you have begun you will continue to stand. As you have not been ashamed or afraid to face the difficult enterprise of founding this public school, so I trust you will never be ashamed or afraid of recognising not a generalising and neutralising religion, but a religious teaching fully equal to all the honourable purposes of life.

Following this admirable passage came a protest against the notion that education was a merely mechanical process; after which Mr. Gladstone spoke earnestly of the great value and importance attaching to the study of natural history. Having cited many other advantages to be derived from it, among them being that power of accurate deduction which is invaluable in the pursuit of every branch of knowledge, he observed, 'We all know how much has been done in the researches of our time by applying the principle of comparison—comparison, for example, of the structure of living bodies as the basis of modern biology, the comparison of the structures of languages as the basis of philology. Depend upon it, then, that the observation and analogy which natural history is continually suggesting, as it is valuable for the purposes of science, so it has a lighter but a most graceful

and civilising use in supplying those analogies taken from the seen world and applicable to the unseen, assisting in giving to every work of the mind that grace and beauty which is just as appropriate and desirable, though it may not be so indispensable to it, as are the higher qualities of solidity and truth.' The concluding words of the address had reference to the cultivation of the higher virtues. 'I trust you know what are the qualities you ought to esteem and cherish—that your wish is to lead a life that is manful, modest, truthful, active, diligent, generous, and humble. You ought to take for your motto those wonderful words of the Apostle, where he says, "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report"—everything that is good is to be within your view, and nothing that is not good. I am certain that if you cherish those virtues you will never forget the basis of them, you will never forget where lies their root. I do not mean that in your periodical and your play you are continually to be parading your religious feelings and convictions. These are very deep and solemn subjects, and will grow in the shade rather than in the sunlight. Let them ever be in your minds, as they are indigenous to the root of every excellence. Whatever you aspire to, aspire above all to be Christians and to Christian perfection.'

Mr. Gladstone in his time has played many parts; but in none have his

English good sense and manliness, his sagacity, and his deep moral feeling been so conspicuous as in his addresses upon education and kindred subjects. His political friends and opponents alike find here common ground upon which to pay him just tribute. To the working classes especially have his addresses been most valuable. He has recalled them from the pursuit of social and industrial will-o'-the-wisps, while he has at the same time acknowledged their right to combine in every lawful manner for their well-being and prosperity. He has striven to show that labour, the universal lot of man, is honourable, and that social drones are the most prolific source of danger to the commonwealth. And while he has thus enjoined the value and sacredness of labour, by the wise and useful legislation which he has initiated he has enabled the working man to treasure up the fruits of that labour, and to make provision for old age. Moreover, he has insisted upon the high and noble results which follow from culture and self-improvement, counselling the toilers in our factories and workshops that these are to be sought not alone for the material advantages they may bring, but for that deeper and richer good which follows upon the development of the mental and moral faculties. Mr. Gladstone has, in fine, ever urged the people onward in the path of real progress, and has shown them how, by self-denying and strenuous effort, they may enjoy for themselves, and extend to others, the blessings of a robust Christian civilisation.



SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE.

CHAPTER IX.

RESIGNATION OF THE LIBERAL LEADERSHIP.

Mr. Gladstone definitely resigns the Liberal Leadership—Second Letter to Lord Granville—His Lordship's Reply—Public Opinion on the ex-Premier's Retirement—Speech of Mr. Forster at Bradford—The Liberal Party without a Leader—Claimants for the Post—Election of the Marquis of Hartington—Sketch of his Career—Mr. Gladstone's appearances in the House of Commons—He supports the Burials Bill—Attacks the Budget—Lord Granville, Liberal Leader in the Lords.

WE have seen, from Mr. Gladstone's letter to Lord Granville, that the Liberal leader held himself at liberty to determine at any time, according as circumstances might dictate to him, whether he could with satisfaction continue in his onerous position as the active chief of the party. His friends, foreseeing the difficulties which must ensue from his withdrawal from the

leadership, earnestly desired his continuance in the post where none could well follow him. But his retirement came earlier than was anticipated. Having thrown himself deeply into literary and controversial studies, and finding in the existing aspect of public affairs little hope of being able to render such service to the Liberal party and the country as he desired, Mr. Gladstone resolved on completing the act of resignation to which he had some time before referred as a not distant possibility.

Accordingly, early in January, 1875, he addressed a second letter to Lord Granville, announcing his resignation in decisive and unmistakable terms. 'The time has, I think, arrived,' wrote Mr. Gladstone, 'when I ought to revert to the subject of the letter which I addressed to you on March 12. Before determining whether I should offer to assume a charge which might extend over a length of time, I have reviewed, with all the care in my power, a number of considerations, both public and private, of which a portion, and these not by any means insignificant, were not in existence at the date of that letter. The result has been that I see no public advantage in my continuing to act as the leader of the Liberal party; and that, at the age of sixty-five, and after forty-two years of a laborious public life, I think myself entitled to retire on the present opportunity. This retirement is dictated to me by my personal views as to the best method of spending the closing years of my life. I need hardly say

that my conduct in Parliament will continue to be governed by the principles on which I have heretofore acted; and, whatever arrangements may be made for the treatment of general business, and for the advantage or convenience of the Liberal party, they will have my cordial support. I should, perhaps, add that I am at present, and mean for a short time to be, engaged on a special matter, which occupies me closely.'

Such a resignation on the part of a great political chief was without precedent; but while many lamented the step, none challenged the right of this eminent statesman to retire after forty-two years of active service. Even with a less brilliant catalogue of legislative achievements than his, it was surely within his own legitimate province to say when the time had come for putting off the political armour, and yielding the command of the Liberal forces into other hands. At the same time, the announcement came with so great a surprise upon the country that for the moment it could scarcely be realised. That he who for a considerable period had been the life and soul of one of the two great political parties in the State should thus suddenly relinquish its control, carried something like consternation into the ranks of those who were anxiously looking for the consolidation of the Liberal party. Efforts were made to induce Mr. Gladstone to reconsider his decision, but in vain; and in formally acknowledging the receipt of the ex-Premier's letter, Lord Granville wrote

as follows:—‘I have communicated to you in detail the reasons which made me profoundly regret and deprecate the conclusion at which you have arrived. Your late colleagues share these feelings to the fullest extent, and have regretted the failure of their endeavour to persuade you to come to a different decision. We have no doubt that the Liberal party, both in and out of Parliament, will feel as we do on the subject. The observations we have addressed to you are prompted by considerations of public advantage for the future, and not merely by our sense of your great services, and our sentiments of personal admiration and attachment.’

The daily and weekly press, both metropolitan and provincial, was all but unanimous in its expression of sympathy and regret, and in recognising in Mr. Gladstone’s retirement a loss to the nation. Many journals expressed a hope that the resignation was the result of a temporary depression, rather than of a permanent sentiment; and, while assuming that there would be many occasions when his mind would revert to Westminster, they trusted also that a sense of duty to the nation would bring him back at recurrent intervals to the scene of so many triumphs.

Mr. Bright, in addressing his constituents at Birmingham, alluded to the few disparaging comments made upon the Liberal leader’s withdrawal—comments scarcely noticeable amid the general expressions of esteem and regret. ‘I will say nothing,’ observed

the right hon. member for Birmingham, ‘in answer to ungenerous things that have been said and done. Of this I am well aware—that Mr. Gladstone, like an old and a noble Roman, can be content with deserving the praises of his country, even though some of his countrymen should deny them to him.’

Mr. Gladstone’s retirement did not, of course, signify the end of his Parliamentary career. He would still tender such advice and counsel to his party as he was able, and appear from time to time in his place in the House of Commons. But the nature and meaning of the step could not be disguised. The previous session had witnessed a disorganised Opposition, but another was about to open which would find the party in yet more lamentable plight—without a chief and without a programme. Tributes were paid to the retiring leader in all parts of the country, and by persons of all shades and complexions of political opinion. But the feelings of those who most deeply realised his loss, and most truly understood its significance, were best interpreted by Mr. Forster, when he remarked that although every one knew Mr. Gladstone’s power and eloquence, it was only those who had been brought into close personal contact with him who knew what an example he had set in the absolute sincerity, the absolute want of selfishness or self-seeking in the principles and the manner in which he had conducted political life.* ‘It is difficult for any

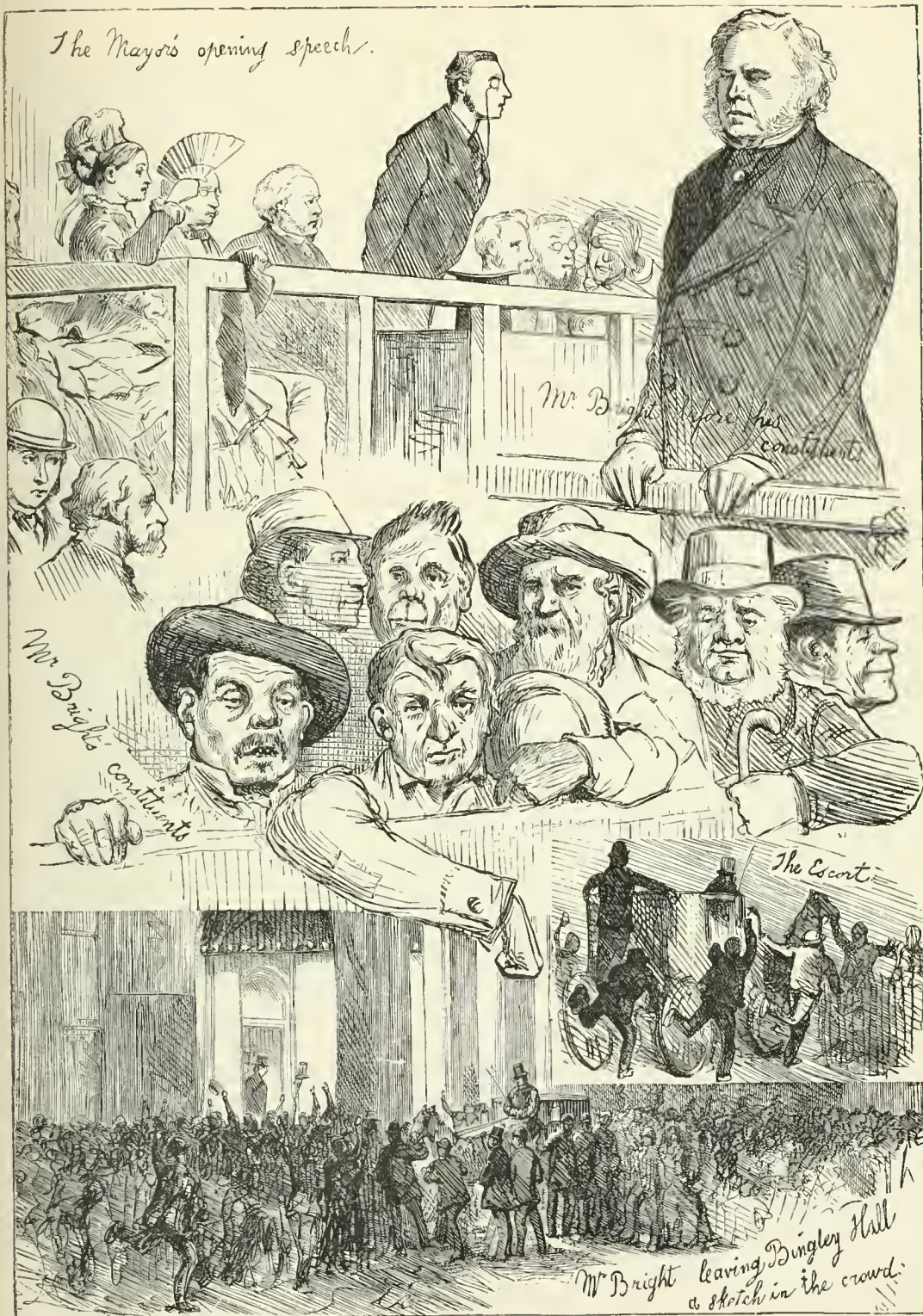
* Speech delivered at a meeting of the Bradford Chamber of Commerce.

one,' said the member for Bradford, 'who has not been brought into close contact with him, and seen him under occasions of difficulty such as those in which a colleague has seen him—occasions, I must say, not only of difficulty, but even of temptation—it is difficult for any one who has not been in that position thoroughly to realise what an example of purity, of self-sacrifice, and of disinterestedness, he has set to politicians throughout the country, and to what an extent he, as far as he has acted, has raised the tone of political life. . . . I have only one word to add, and I think it is not unfitting to mention even in this business assembly, that, although he has thought proper from motives personal to himself, which are sufficient for himself and affecting his own personal life, to withdraw from the active leadership of one of the great parties in the State, yet I do not for one agree that that implies that he will withdraw from party or political life. I am sure that, as men of business—as members of a Chamber of Commerce—we should be the last persons to desire that. He has many claims upon the gratitude of his fellow-countrymen for the services he has done them, and although perhaps not one of the greatest of those claims, yet a very great claim, is what he has done for commerce and men of business, by his advocacy of the true principles of trade, and by his introduction of principles of finance which have had the effect of making the taxes less onerous upon tradesmen and upon

individuals than they have ever been before. It certainly is not for me to view with anything but with fear and alarm the thought that he could withdraw his talents and his power entirely from political or Parliamentary life. I am sure you will join me in the hope and trust that this will not be the case.' These sentiments were very largely echoed by the Conservatives, and of course entirely so by the Liberals. The former, for many reasons, as sincerely regretted his withdrawal as the latter.

The Liberal party now found themselves with a vacancy, and laboured under some bewilderment how to fill it. They had amongst them two men of genius, Mr. Lowe and Mr. Bright, and several others with at least a considerable title to statesman-like qualities. It was known, however, that Mr. Bright would decline the post of leader, if elected; and whenever the name of Mr. Lowe was mentioned, it was invariably received with admissions of his striking intellectual power and ability, but as invariably also followed by a negative shaking of the head. Genius, when erratic, is much more troublesome than mediocrity. By-and-by only four names came to be discussed, viz., those of Mr. Forster, Sir W. Harcourt, Mr. Goschen, and Lord Hartington. The three first-named were subsequently withdrawn, Mr. Forster (whose claims were considered the strongest) writing to Mr. Adam as follows:—'It appears to me that I should not receive that general support without which I ought not to

The Mayor's opening speech.



MR. BRIGHT AT BINGLEY HALL, BIRMINGHAM

attempt to fulfil the duties of this most difficult though honourable post; and, therefore, though I must not be supposed to anticipate that the choice of the majority of the meeting would fall on me, I feel it my duty to state that, even should it chance to do so, I could not undertake the task.' It was understood that Mr. Gladstone thought the selection of Lord Hartington as his successor the most fitting that could be made under the circumstances. On the 3rd of February, about 140 members of the Liberal party met at the Reform Club to proceed to an election. Mr. Bright was voted to the chair, and Mr. Whitbread moved the following resolution:—'That this meeting desires to express its deep sense of the great loss which the country has sustained in the retirement of Mr. Gladstone from the leadership of the Liberal party.' Mr. Fawcett seconded the motion, and in paying Mr. Gladstone a high tribute on behalf of his independent supporters, observed:—'When we opposed him, in the very height of his power—and I say this most advisedly—we never admired him more than in the hour of his defeat. I think that he bore that defeat with magnanimity, good feeling, and true nobility of character.' Mr. Villiers then proposed that the Marquis of Hartington should be requested to undertake the leadership of the Liberal party in the House of Commons. Mr. S. Morley speaking for his own section of the House, seconded the motion, which was as warmly received as the previous resolution expressive of regret

at Mr. Gladstone's retirement. Lord F. Cavendish, in responding for the noble Marquis, his brother, said that he would conscientiously, watchfully, and prudently devote his utmost strength and abilities to the service of the party, just as he was prepared to do had their choice fallen upon Mr. Forster or any other person. Mr. Bright referred to the many excellent qualities possessed by Lord Hartington.

Although his lordship lacked the great gifts of his predecessor—and his leadership cannot by any means be placed in comparison with that of his former chief—he lived to defeat the predictions of those who prophesied his failure, and to justify very largely the eulogium of Mr. Bright. Thus ended the brief interregnum in the Liberal leadership in the House of Commons.

A sketch of the Marquis of Hartington, who for a few years succeeded Mr. Gladstone in the position of Liberal leader in the House of Commons, will not be out of place at this juncture. We take the following extracts from an interesting biography of his lordship published in the *National Portrait Gallery*:—

'Spencer Compton, Marquis of Hartington, was born in 1833; was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated early, and was created LL.D. in the year 1862. He was brought up amidst Whig traditions, which he very readily imbibed, and speedily became an adept in politics. When only twenty-four he was returned

in the Liberal interest for the northern division of Lancashire, where the Cavendish interest is very strong. For some time the young member did not give evidence that his political views were more advanced than those which are generally associated with the Whigs. But if his politics were not developed at the immediate outset of his career, Lord Hartington speedily demonstrated that he had a considerable aptitude for political life. He did not, as the manner of some is, unnecessarily obtrude himself upon the attention of the House—the surest way for a Parliamentary neophyte to destroy his chances of success—but when he spoke it was briefly to the purpose, in terse but not ornate language, and with no attempts at circumlocution. These characteristics of his early oratory have distinguished him all through his subsequent career. He is emphatically a sound, honest, and straightforward speaker—one whose meaning is always obviously clear and impossible of misapprehension. At length his time came for showing his capabilities more fully, and this was in the year 1859. Urged thereto by a feeling that the Derby-Disraeli Government was totally out of harmony with the feeling of the country, the Liberal party resolved to move a vote of want of confidence. The honour of proposing the resolution was offered to Lord Hartington. The young politician accepted it, and acquitted himself well of the somewhat unenviable task. A chronicler of the time has described the scene during the whole of this memorable

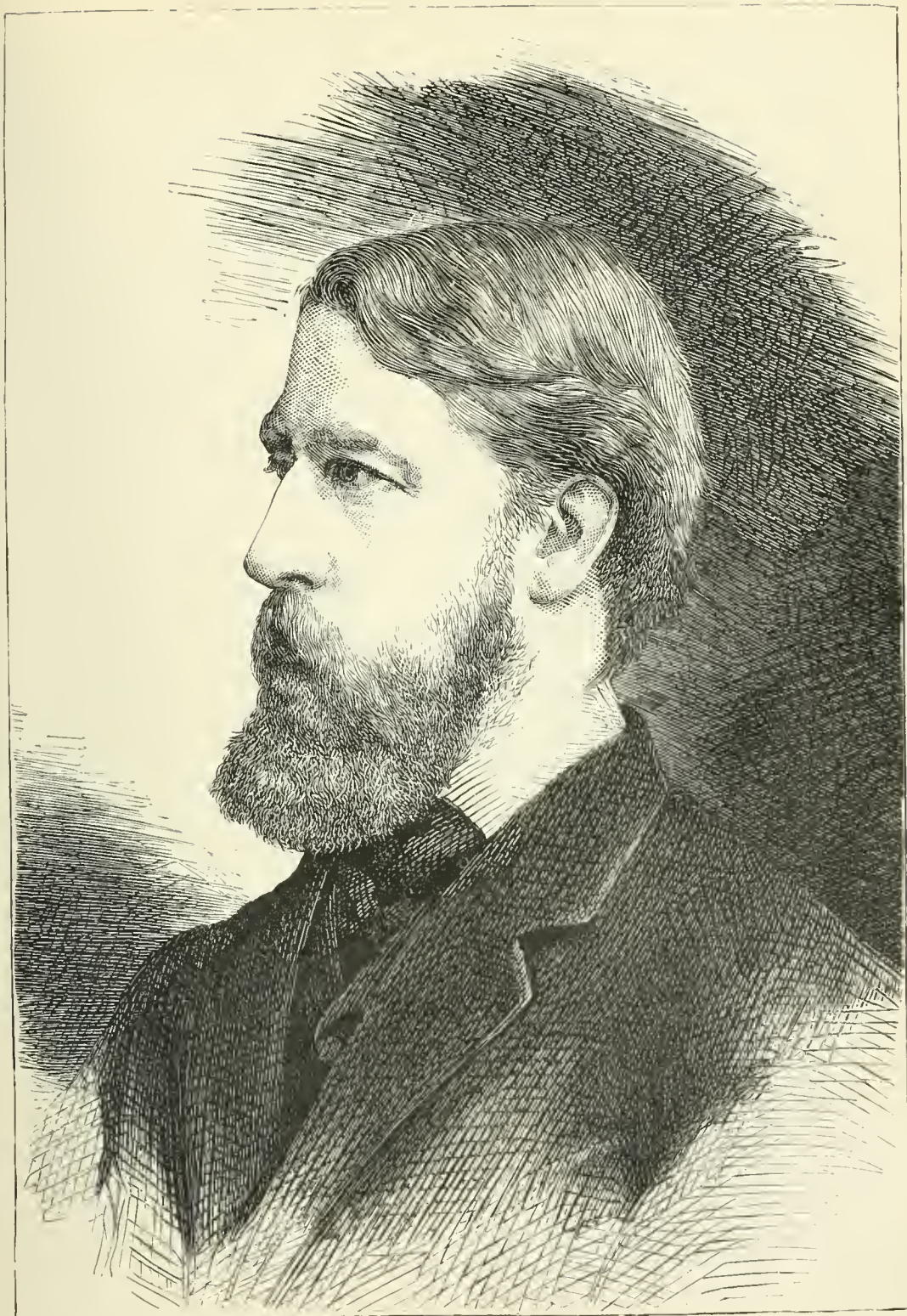
debate, when Mr. Disraeli made one of his most characteristic speeches. As the moment arrived for the motion of no confidence—a step which had not been taken for twenty years—it is stated that “all eyes were naturally turned on the Marquis of Hartington, who presented himself in the shape of a very young-looking and, on the whole, good-looking and gentlemanly man, not unlike his father, who was better known as the Earl of Burlington than since he has subsided into the Dukedom of Devonshire, except that the Marquis is dark-haired. It was palpable in a moment that, though not a practised speaker, the noble lord had got up his speech well, and once, when he replied to an ironical interruption by an impromptu retort, his somewhat cold manner forsook him, and he showed that there was fire to be struck out of him by the right touch.” The speech, which was regarded as successful by the leaders on the Liberal side of the House, had the effect of rallying the scattered elements of the Opposition, and giving to them a formidable cohesion.

‘Such was Lord Hartington’s first essay of any magnitude in the Parliamentary arena, and one with which he had every reason to be satisfied. For four years afterwards—that is, until March, 1863—little more was heard of his lordship, who preserved all the reticence of a private member. In the last-named year, however, the Palmerston Ministry was subjected to some obloquy, owing to what may be described as the Stausfeld-Mazzini

incident. Mr. Stansfeld's relations with the Italian patriot were the subject of much animadversion on the part of the Conservative Opposition. Lord Palmerston, with that generosity of feeling and English courage which always distinguished him, at once offered to stand by his subordinate, Mr. Stansfeld, who at that time occupied the post of Civil Lord of the Admiralty. Mr. Stansfeld, however, not wishing to be a source of embarrassment to the Administration, insisted upon tendering his resignation, which was accepted by the Prime Minister. The place was then offered to Lord Hartington, who accepted it, and he was thus for the first time introduced to official life. He only, however, retained the appointment for a little over a twelvemonth, as in May, 1864, he was transferred to the Under-Secretaryship for War. In the history of British administrations it will frequently be found—whether owing to some occult reason or another we cannot say—that the aptitude which a junior member of the Government has shown in a special department is by no means a certainty, when he is promoted, of ensuring his continuance in the work at which he has become a proficient. On the contrary, numerous instances could be cited where Ministers and junior Ministers have been unceremoniously transferred from spheres where their usefulness has been abundantly proved, to others where they have everything to learn, from the very initial steps, of officialism. This is one of the mysteries of political life. As

regards the Marquis of Hartington and his relations with the War Office, however, history records an exception to this rule. From the post of Under-Secretary he was transferred to the high and responsible one of Minister for War. It may have been that he discovered a special fitness for coping with the questions which were continually arising in connection with the army; one thing is certain—that he was always regarded as a most efficient and able Secretary for War. It may also be mentioned that in this, as well as all other official positions which it has been the lot of his lordship to occupy, he has always been credited with a great capacity for work, and a determination to make himself master of the minutest details connected with the office whose direction he assumed. He had a long stay at the War Office, and no charge of perfunctoriness in duty was ever preferred against him. One of his great characteristics as a Minister was his constant and assiduous attention to the duties of his office; and this is all the more remarkable when we reflect that if his lordship had chosen to adopt the easy and seductive *rôle* of a leader of society, he would have had few equals. It is a hopeful sign when the heirs to the highest honours of the aristocracy will thus devote themselves with unflagging energy and perseverance to the public service.

‘During the Reform struggles which preceded the fall of Lord John Russell’s Ministry, Lord Hartington continued to hold the post of Minister for War—



THE MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON.

that is, under the two Premiers, Lords Palmerston and Russell. These were exciting times in the House of Commons; and Lord Hartington had many opportunities of showing that the confidence which had been reposed in him had not been misplaced. For two years, however, the Liberals lost the reins of power; but in 1868 Mr. Gladstone came into office, supported by the public voice in a manner so emphatic as a statesman has rarely been supported before. He felt that he had a special work to perform; and in constructing his Cabinet he did not lose sight of the services which Lord Hartington had hitherto rendered to the Liberal party. The portfolio of Postmaster-General was offered to his lordship, with the seat in the Cabinet he had formerly held by virtue of his position as Minister for War. This office he continued to hold until 1870, when certain internal changes took place in the Gladstone Government. It was deemed advisable by the Premier to make a re-adjustment of offices, and in the course of the changes effected, Mr. Chichester Fortescue resigned the Secretaryship for Ireland, and accepted the Presidency of the Board of Trade. Opportunity was thus again afforded to Lord Hartington of extending his knowledge of official life; and in the re-adjustment of the Cabinet he consented to accept the vacant Secretaryship. During his lordship's tenure of this office, the condition of Ireland was such as to cause grave concern to the executive Government; and the task before the new Secretary was a most

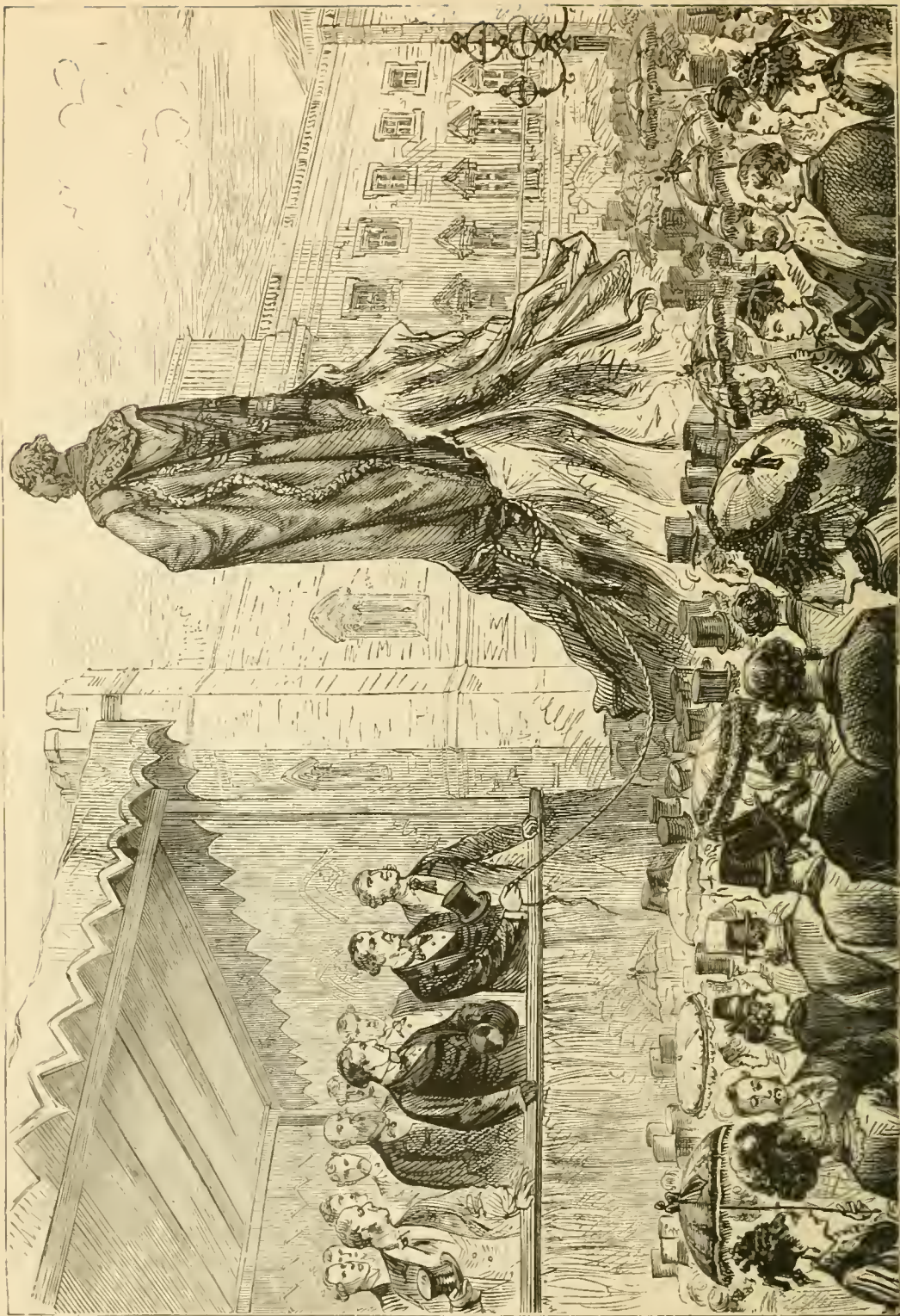
difficult one. Nevertheless, it was admitted on all hands, and by both parties, that during an exciting period Lord Hartington exhibited great discretion in what was virtually the government of Ireland.'

On the retirement of Mr. Gladstone from power after the election of 1874, and the consequent accession of Mr. Disraeli to office, Lord Hartington found himself once more in the ranks of the Opposition. At length, in 1875, as we have seen, came his great opportunity, when he was elected to the post of Liberal leader. How did he fulfil Mr. Bright's vaticinations? 'Called to resume the responsibility of so onerous a post while comparatively a young man, the new leader was naturally the cynosure of men of both parties. Commencing with some advantages in his favour, he unquestionably laboured under very considerable drawbacks, the most important of which were, first, his having to succeed so distinguished a man as Mr. Gladstone; secondly, his being called to the post of leader at a time when the Liberal party had just become disorganised, holding out very little hope of consolidation on any one great question for many years to come. To set against this there was a hearty and unanimous, though still only general, support now tendered him by the various sections of the party, and the great fact that he was on the most cordial terms with Lord Granville, whose wisdom and whose Liberalism have always been accepted as beyond doubt. There were those who desired

a leader from other ranks than those of the aristocracy; but their fears as to whether the nobleman chosen to the office would devote himself heartily to the task before him were speedily dissipated. Lord Hartington kept himself well in hand, and preferred to let his power be gradually perceived. Caution and perspicacity are two strongly-developed points in his character, and in the long run these will always be more successful than simple brilliancy, dash, and impetuosity.'

With regard to the political character and oratory of Lord Hartington, the writer from whom we have already quoted says:—'Though it must be conceded that Lord Hartington is neither an impassioned nor a highly imaginative orator, he can be very effective by the exercise of a shrewd common sense, a keen perception, and that "hard-headedness" to which Mr. Bright referred. Unquestionably one of his most successful appearances as a speaker was at the close of the session of 1875, when the leader of the Opposition took the opportunity (which belongs to him of right on the reading of the Appropriation Bill) of reviewing the expiring session. His indictment of the policy of the Government on this occasion was very able, and put with a clearness and a force which must have surprised even Mr. Disraeli himself. The Ministry had promised a large number of measures of peaceful legislation, and Lord Hartington pointed out mercilessly where he considered they had failed to redeem their promises. The whole

speech was a pleasant surprise for the noble lord's own party. The following was his peroration in summing up his charges against Mr. Disraeli:—"I ask the House whether, in its opinion, the character of its debates has been raised under the leadership of the right honourable gentleman. I ask whether much time has not been spent upon personal questions—questions of privilege, and other interruptions of the ordinary course of public business. I am quite aware that it would not be fair to charge all or even a large part of those interruptions upon Her Majesty's Government; but I do ask whether the right honourable gentleman led the House wisely when he supported the honourable member for Londonderry in his motion to summon the printers of two newspapers to the bar of this House upon a matter which, after all, was merely personal. I ask again whether it has ever happened before that a measure should only be introduced when the necessity for it had been forced upon the attention of the House by what the right honourable gentleman chose to call a dramatic scene. I say, sir, that when we remember that dramatic scene and the circumstances which led to it, the House has reason to blush for the history of the present session. I would willingly have allowed the session to expire with the silence which best befitted it; but when it was held up in favourable comparison with some of its glorious predecessors, I am bound to express the opinion which I firmly maintain—an opinion which I believe,



MR. DISRAELI UNVEILING THE STATUE OF THE LATE LORD DERBY IN PARLIAMENT SQUARE, WESTMINSTER.

will be re-echoed by the country : that, compared with some—indeed, many—of its predecessors, this session has been marked by feebleness, has been aimless and purposeless, barren of benefit to the country and of credit to Parliament.” The incisiveness and ability of this speech alone, of which we have given the few closing words—regarded altogether apart from the question of party politics—afford ample justification for the orator’s choice of a Parliamentary career.’

Mr. Disraeli’s leadership of the Conservative party, brilliant though it was in some respects, did not in others contrast favourably with that of his predecessor, the Earl of Derby, whose statue in Parliament Square it subsequently fell to the lot of the author of “Vivian Grey” to uncover.

Lord Hartington delivered several noticeable speeches during the progress of the Royal Titles Bill through the House of Commons, in March, 1876, and in later sessions also distinguished himself for his able and statesmanlike utterances on other questions.

A writer in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, discussing, at a subsequent period, the character of Lord Hartington, observes:—‘What has contributed materially to the influence of Lord Hartington’s mind over the House of Commons has been the strong evidence he has given of political disinterestedness and magnanimity. Not only did the Cavendishes adhere faithfully to the Liberal party when even the Grosvenors, with the present Duke of Westminster at

their head, were seceders in the “Cave of Adullam;” but even when there were plenty of excuses for the vindication of Lord Hartington’s personal claims to continue to lead the Liberal party in the House of Commons, and plenty of party friends who would have stood by him if he had declined to give way, Lord Hartington was the first to desire that Mr. Gladstone should resume the leadership which he had abandoned, and to press upon his former chief his own personal sympathy with the popular wish. Nor does this imply that Lord Hartington is always in sympathy with the precise shade of Mr. Gladstone’s views. Every one knows that in relation to both the Eastern and the Afghan questions Lord Hartington’s view was—at first at all events—much less strongly antagonistic to the policy of the Government than Mr. Gladstone’s; that he declined to give his support three years ago to all Mr. Gladstone’s “Resolutions;” and that he subsequently held with the Duke of Argyll that, if Russia had really begun to intrigue in Afghanistan before we drove the Ameer into the arms of Russia, an invasion of Afghanistan by us would have been justified. So it is not because he is a thorough-going follower of Mr. Gladstone that Lord Hartington supports him so frankly and firmly. Unquestionably Lord Hartington represents a foreign policy and an Indian policy of somewhat less “cosmopolitan” sympathy and somewhat more decidedly national bias.

‘He agrees with Mr. Gladstone in

the main, but he likes to be quite clear as to what English interests require before he decides what abstract justice requires. This makes all the more remarkable the magnanimity with which he viewed his own position, and joined Lord Granville and the chief men of the Liberal party in urging Mr. Gladstone to come back once more as their leader. He might have found abundant intellectual excuses for a different course. Only if he had, he would not have been Lord Hartington: for the distinguishing feature of his career has been the force and sagacity of the loyalty which he has shown to a leader who often goes greatly beyond him in zeal. Moderate men are frequently content to serve under men of even greater sobriety and reserve than their own, but rarely indeed under men of more enthusiasm. They can give up their private zeal to a less zealous chief, but hardly their private prudence to one in their opinion less prudent. It has not been so with Lord Hartington. He has had the largeness of mind to see that Mr. Gladstone, though often less circumspect than himself, disposes of a much greater store of political vitality, and that what may be lost in safety by trusting to the older leader is much more than gained in force. And recognising with characteristic clearness that the main object of all leadership is the substantial triumph of the Liberal cause, he has accepted and sustained Mr. Gladstone without the least trace of mortification, jealousy, or even languor. Now, to give a cordial and

unflinching support to a statesman who often goes somewhat beyond you, solely because more is gained for the right cause by supporting him than could be gained by his supporting you, is the course not only of a magnanimous nature but of a man of strong and steady purpose.'

Though Lord Hartington has once more given way to his old chief in the leadership of the Liberal party, he has doubtless a long career of public usefulness before him; and he must assuredly take first rank as a statesman on the Liberal side of the House when the veterans of Liberalism have passed away.

Mr. Gladstone's appearances during the session after his resignation, viz., that of 1875, were very infrequent. On more than one occasion, however, he addressed the House with something of his old fire. On the order for the second reading of Mr. Osborne Morgan's Burials Bill, on the 21st of April, he spoke in support of the measure. The bill proposed that, as regards interment in a parish churchyard, the friends of the deceased should have the power to elect what service they would have read over them. Mr. Gladstone, in supporting the second reading of the bill, said he could not give an entirely silent vote. While it was undoubtedly a real grievance that the clergy should be under an obligation to perform the service of the Church of England in cases where they and the parties concerned concurred in the desire that it should not be read, the bill did not profess to deal with that question.

His hon. and learned friend had said it was a grievance that those who did not belong to the Church of England should be debarred from the power of having read over their friends the rites distinguishing their own forms of religion, and in that view he (Mr. Gladstone) concurred; but if it were deemed expedient that this grievance should be remedied, provision ought to be made by the bill in case of the attendance of large crowds of persons at the churchyard to hear a service over the deceased, or the address of a popular preacher. The clergy were responsible for keeping the churchyards in order, and it was a serious question, if a churchyard were to receive damage, as to how the cost for repairing that damage should be met. It would be necessary to provide for that case (should the bill pass its second reading) in committee, and, while he reserved that point, he should give a very cheerful and hearty support to the measure.

Mr. Cross spoke powerfully against the bill, and Mr. Bright still more eloquently in its favour, but it was rejected by a majority of 14, the numbers being—For the second reading, 234; against, 248. This being a Wednesday sitting of the House, the numbers were unusually large. Only one Liberal, Mr. W. H. Foster, voted in the majority; while eight Conservatives—viz., Mr. S. Cave (a member of the Government), Mr. J. P. Corry, Mr. Russell Gurney, the Marquis of Hamilton, Mr. C. E. Lewis, Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell, Mr. C. W.

Nevill, and the Hon. A. Walsh—voted in favour of the bill.

Sir Stafford Northcote's budget was viewed with mitigated interest upon its introduction, but on a consideration of Ways and Means in committee, Mr. Gladstone unexpectedly poured in his eloquence upon his successor like a flood. The principal feature in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's proposals related to the National Debt, for the gradual reduction of which he suggested a new kind of sinking fund, involving an annual charge in every budget for £28,000,000. The Chancellor of the Exchequer calculated that by 1885 £6,800,000 of debt would be paid off, and in thirty years' time £213,000,000.

Mr. Gladstone's chief objections were framed against the propositions with regard to post-office savings-banks and friendly societies' accounts, and to the proposed National Debt Sinking Fund. He maintained that the surplus for the ensuing year was over-estimated, and with the deductions which ought to be expected for the charge for the deficiency in friendly societies and savings-banks funds and Irish education, it would be entirely eaten up. Further, the Government ought to have submitted the supplementary estimates before proceeding to strike a balance between the revenue and expenditure of the year, but instead of that it was proposed to vote £185,000 for the reduction of debt, of which sum Government did not possess a single shilling. Mr. Gladstone pointed out three modes of reducing

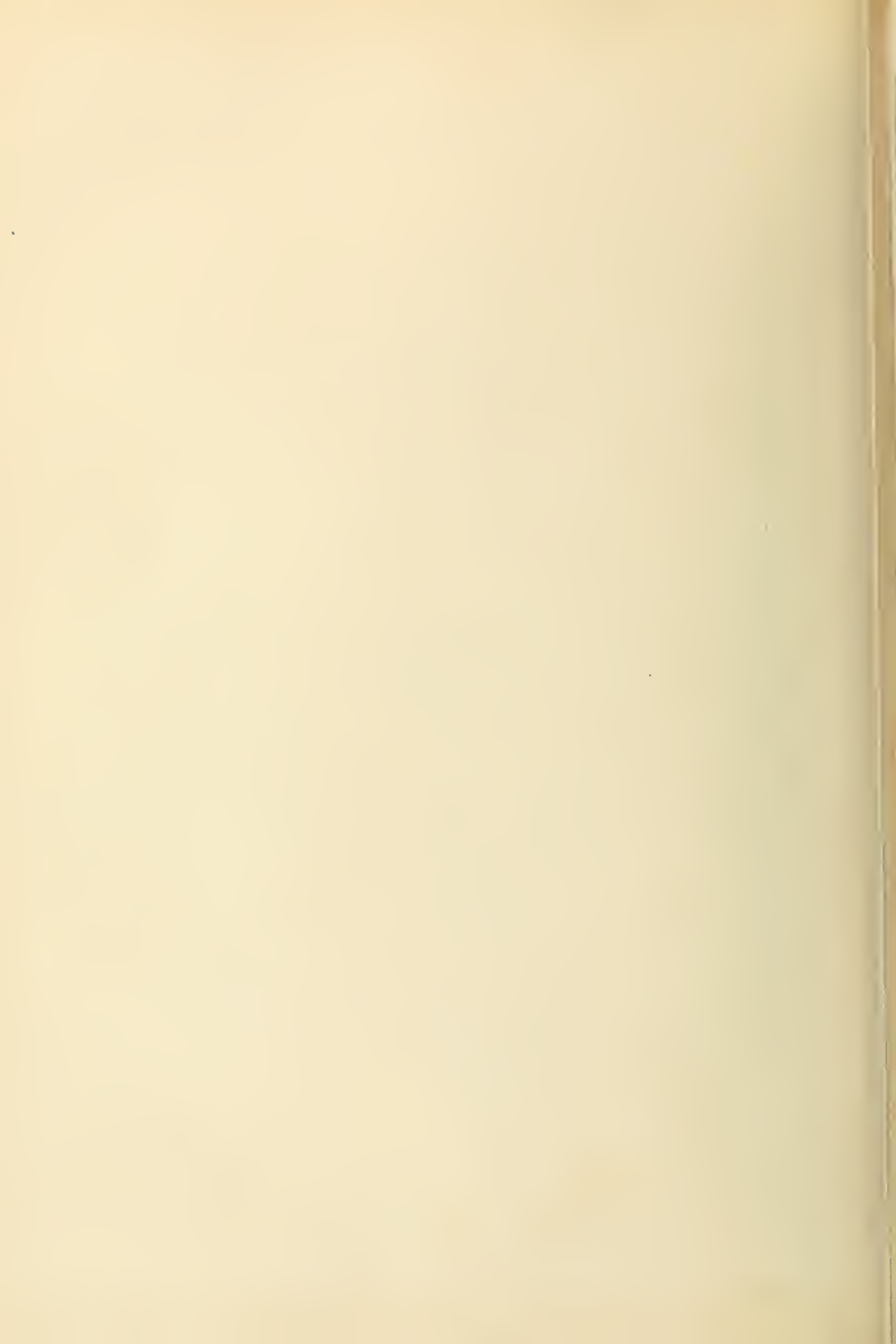


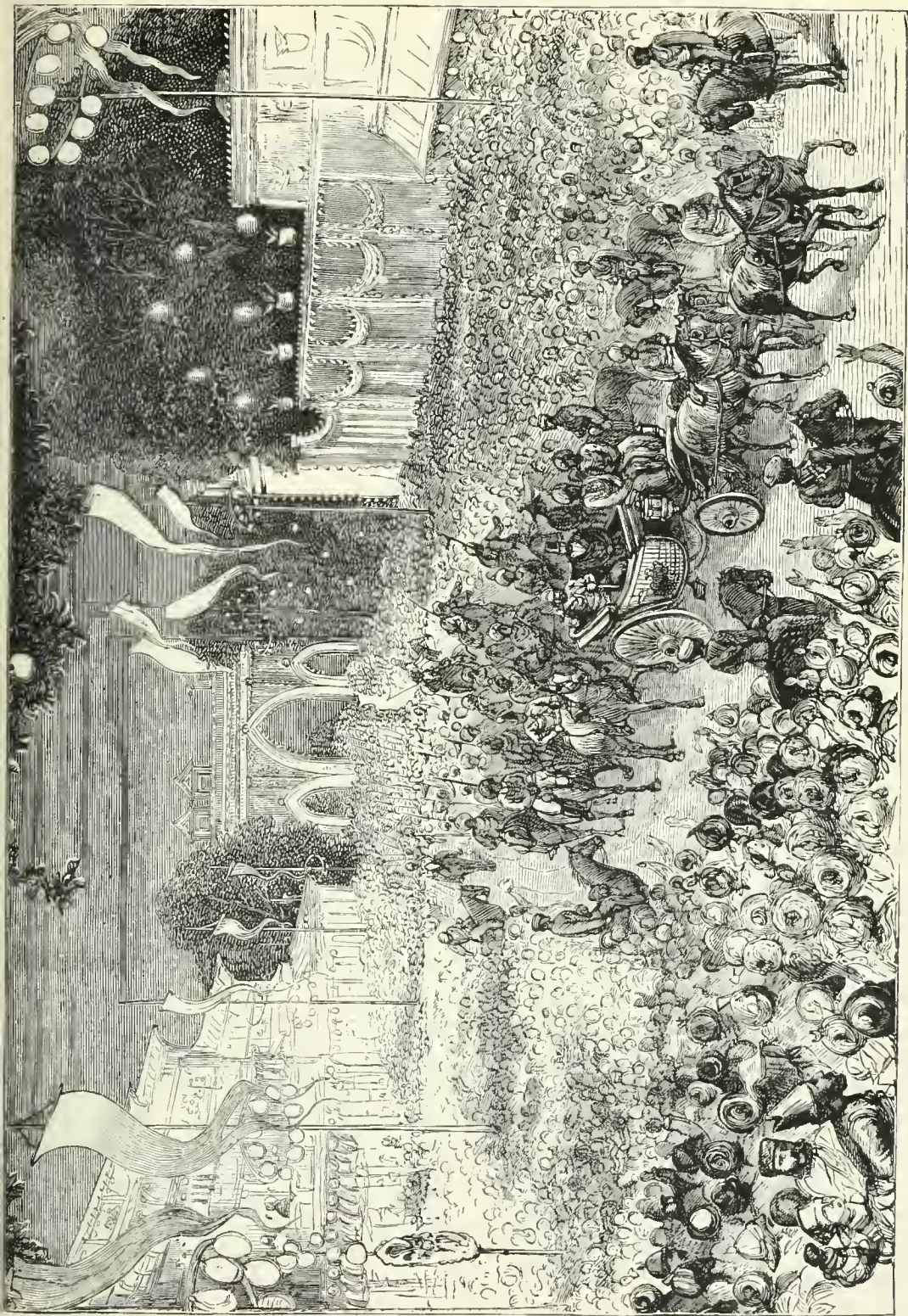
MR. W. H. SMITH, M.P. FOR WESTMINSTER, FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY.

the National Debt, the first by surplus of revenue over expenditure, secondly by terminable annuities, and thirdly by fixed appropriations beforehand. Much had been done towards reducing the debt, and they had not yet, he considered, done enough; but he objected to the present plan to reduce it, because it was unreal, and based upon the supposition that large surpluses would be received during the next thirty years. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had not one farthing of surplus himself, but presented an imaginary surplus of



Granville





VISIT OF THE PRINCE OF WALES TO INDIA: PROCESSION PASSING KOLBADAVIE ROAD, BOMBAY.

£500,000 for thirty years to come, for every one of which the surplus was founded on the assumption that future Chancellors of the Exchequer would do the reverse of what he had done. The world had produced wonders, but it never had, and never would, produce a Chancellor of the Exchequer who would have the courage to propose a new tax for the purpose of maintaining a sinking fund. 'History certainly has not produced any such creation; no such *lusus naturæ* has as yet appeared; and I do not think that the Government of a party which justly prides itself on adherence to the traditions of the past, on learning lessons from antiquity, on avoiding vain theories and keeping to the lessons of experience, ought to be the people to delude us, by projects such as this, into the marshes in which we shall be plunged, instead of remaining upon the safe high road by which we have hitherto travelled.' Mr. Gladstone concluded by describing the proposal as an attempt to revert to a scheme of proceeding which, however well intended, had been exploded under the combined action of authority and experience; and his criticism was well justified.

Sir Stafford Northcote, while failing to answer many of Mr. Gladstone's arguments, replied by quoting Mr. Gladstone, the author of the scheme of terminable annuities, in opposition to Mr. Gladstone, the denouncer of the establishment of an artificial sinking fund for the extinction of the debt. Another attack was subsequently made upon the sinking fund proposition, but

the bill in which it was embodied was carried by 189 votes to 122.

Mr. Gladstone supported the Government in their financial proposals with regard to the expenses of the Prince of Wales's visit to India, and also addressed the House on one or two other questions of less general interest which arose during this session. In the autumn he met the Hawarden cottage tenantry, and spoke in his usual felicitous vein, observing that there was nothing more characteristic of life in England than meetings of that description. But, for the time being, it is not in the right hon. gentleman's political or social, but in his controversial, character that we must view him. The particular questions which were occupying him in his semi-retirement were of a religious nature, and these were shortly to receive a full and vigorous exposition.

In closing this chapter, some account may fitly be given of one of Mr. Gladstone's most trusted colleagues, and the leader of the Upper House, Lord Granville. His lordship, who has ever been one of the most consistent of Liberals, when commanded by his Queen to form a Ministry, gave way to the great statesman with whom he had for many years acted in unbroken harmony. 'The Right Hon. Granville George Leveson Gower, Earl Granville, K.G., P.C., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is,' says Debrett, 'the second Earl, having succeeded his father in 1846. He was born on the 11th of May, 1815, and was educated at Eton

and at Christ Church, Oxford (Hon. D.C.L. 1863), attached to the Embassy at Paris, 1835-36; was Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1840-41; Master of the Buckhounds, 1846-48; Vice-President of Board of Trade, 1848-51; Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1851-52 and 1870-71; Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster, 1854-55; Lord President of Council, 1852-54, 1855-58, and 1859-66; and Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1868-70; went as Ambassador Extraordinary on a special mission to Russia (at the coronation of Alexander II.), 1856. Is Chancellor of the University of London, Constable of Dover Castle, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, an Elder Brother of the Trinity House, a Deputy-Lieutenant of Shropshire, and Hon. Colonel 1st Cinque Ports Rifle Volunteers; sat as M.P. for Morpeth in the Liberal interest, 1837-40; and for Lichfield, 1841-46. Married first, 1840, Marie Louise Peline, who died 1860, only child of Emeric Joseph, Duc de Dalberg, and widow of Sir F. R. E. Acton, seventh baronet; and secondly, in 1865, Castalia Rosalind, youngest daughter of the late Walter Campbell, Esq., of Islay.'

His lordship took his seat in the Upper House on succeeding to his father's title in 1846. 'His style as a debater,' observes one writer, 'is equally well adapted to both Houses, combining the versatility, alertness, and vivacity of the more popular assembly, with the courtly grace and suavity that should be expected among their lordships; he is shrewd, acute, and

often politely satirical, with perfect self-command, and much amiability of manner. He has bestowed great attention upon subjects of commercial policy, and Manchester puts confidence in his understanding of the needs of manufacturing industry. This has always seemed to be a link of common capability and sympathy between Lord Granville and Mr. Gladstone. It is much to be regretted that Lord Granville was not Foreign Secretary in 1860, at the time of the negotiation of the French Commercial Treaty, in which Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Cobden were engaged. He was, at that time, Lord President of the Council, an office which he had also held under Lord Palmerston's former Government; but he had been Foreign Secretary, during a very few months, in Lord John Russell's Ministry, when Lord Palmerston was forced to leave it for applauding Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état*. Lord Granville was invited by the Queen, in June, 1859, to form a Government, but Lord John Russell declined to serve under him, though Lord Palmerston was willing to do so. In this and other transactions Lord Granville showed the same disposition to sacrifice his own claims and pretensions to the general benefit, and exerted all his talents of mediation and conciliation to settle the differences between rival chiefs of the Liberal party. Besides leading the Parliamentary discussions and legislative business of the House of Lords, Lord Granville had in charge, during many years, the superintendence of those departments of

administration which belong to the Committees of the Privy Council. The Science and Art Department at South Kensington was especially made the object of his constant care; and both at the Great Exhibition of 1851, when his lordship was acting Vice-President of the Exhibition Commissioners, and in a similar capacity at the Great Exhibition of 1862, Lord Granville did as much as any person to promote the complete success of those marvellous collections and displays of ingenious industry from all parts of the world.'

Lord Granville held the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies in Mr. Gladstone's first Ministry from 1868 to 1870, but in the latter year succeeded the Earl of Clarendon as Foreign Secretary. 'In the former instance, he had the courageous sagacity, despite much vituperation and

misrepresentation, to lay down the sound principle that British imperial military forces should not be kept in the colonies at the expense of England for mere local services in the small native wars; but that the colony needing and asking for the aid of our troops should pay for the use of them. Lord Granville and the Liberal Government were then loudly accused of wishing to abandon the colonies, to dismember the Empire, and all the rest of that nonsense which Lord Beaconsfield has reproduced at the late General Election (1874). In the second place, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lord Granville steered this country bravely, adroitly, and safely through the enormous and imminent danger of the war between France and Germany. He firmly upheld our rights of neutrality, and the freedom of our trade.'



ST. PETER'S AND THE VATICAN.

CHAPTER X.

RITUALISM AND VATICANISM.

Ecclesiastical Controversy—Mr. Gladstone's Essay on Ritualism—Modern Roman Catholicism—'Is the Church of England' worth Preserving?'—Mr. Gladstone's Answer—Pamphlet on the Vatican Decrees—Papal Infallibility—Effects of the Dogma variously viewed by Roman Catholics—Papal Claim to Civil Allegiance—The Liberal Party and the Roman Catholics—Progress of Roman Catholicism—Replies to Mr. Gladstone's Pamphlet—*Vaticanism; An Answer to Reproofs and Replies*—Reiteration of previous Charges—Mr. Gladstone and Cardinal Newman—General Conclusion on the Vatican Claims.

IN the recess of 1874, Mr. Gladstone continued the ecclesiastical controversy which had been initiated some months before in the House of Commons; but he now gave to it broader and deeper issues. There appeared in

the October number of the *Contemporary Review* an essay by the ex-Premier, entitled 'What is Ritualism?' This article, which attained an immense circulation, excited the keenest interest. Mr. Gladstone gave

this general definition of Ritualism:—‘It is unwise, undisciplined reaction from poverty, from coldness, from barrenness, from nakedness; it is overlaying purpose with adventitious and obstructive incumbrance; it is departure from measure and from harmony in the annexation of appearance to substance, of the outward to the inward; it is the caricature of the beautiful; it is the conversion of help into hindrances; it is the attempted substitution of the secondary for the primary aim, and the real failure and paralysis of both.’ The writer himself had no personal sympathy with excessive ornamentation in Divine service as a religious principle, but he regarded the question of high ritual as one of æsthetic taste. Herein he was at variance with large numbers of the Protestant section of the community, who saw in Ritualism something more than a mere predilection for ornament and ritual—the inner significance beneath the outer forms. ‘The truth is,’ Mr. Gladstone observed in one place, ‘that in the word Ritualism there is involved much more than the popular mind seems to suppose. The present movement in favour of ritual is not confined to Ritualists, neither is it confined even to Churchmen. It has been, when all things are considered, quite as remarkable among Nonconformists and Presbyterians; not because they have as much of it, but because they formerly had none, and because their system appeared to have been devised and adjusted in order to prevent its introduction, and to fix

upon it even *in limine* the aspect of a flagrant departure from first principles.’ Mr. Gladstone enlarged upon the fact that Dissenting chapels now had their crosses, their organs, richly-painted architecture, steeples, stained windows, elaborate chanting, etc.—all which, while perfectly true, had little or no bearing upon the dangers which Ritualism in the Church of England was believed to involve. The writer seemed almost disinclined to grapple with the real tendencies and symbolisms of Ritualism. He admitted, however, that an important connection between high doctrine and high ritual is to be traced to a considerable extent in the Church of England. If we were not the better for more ritual, he observed, we were the worse for it. A general augmentation of ritual, such as that going on around men on every side, if it were without corresponding enhancement of devotion, meant more light, but not more love.

The following passage in Mr. Gladstone’s essay roused the indignation of the Roman Catholics to the highest pitch:—‘There is a question which it is the special purpose of this paper to suggest for consideration by my fellow-Christians generally, which is more practical, and of greater importance, as it seems to me, and has far stronger claims on the attention of the nation and of the rulers of the Church, than the question whether a handful of the clergy are or are not engaged in an utterly hopeless and visionary effort to Romanise the Church and people of England. At no time since the san-

guinary reign of Mary has such a scheme been possible. But, if it had been possible in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, it would still have become impossible in the nineteenth; when Rome has substituted for the proud boast of *semper eadem* a policy of violence and change in faith; when she has refurbished and paraded anew every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused; when no one can become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another; and when she has equally repudiated modern thought and ancient history. I cannot persuade myself to feel alarm as to the final issue of her crusades in England, and this, although I do not undervalue her great powers of mischief.' This passage demonstrated Mr. Gladstone's courage and strict loyalty to conscience; for the very members of the community of whom he thus indirectly spoke were those from whom he had but recently struck their long-endured political and religious fetters. Yet in quarters where the writer had once been regarded as the champion of religious and political freedom, he was now fiercely, bitterly, and unjustifiably assailed.

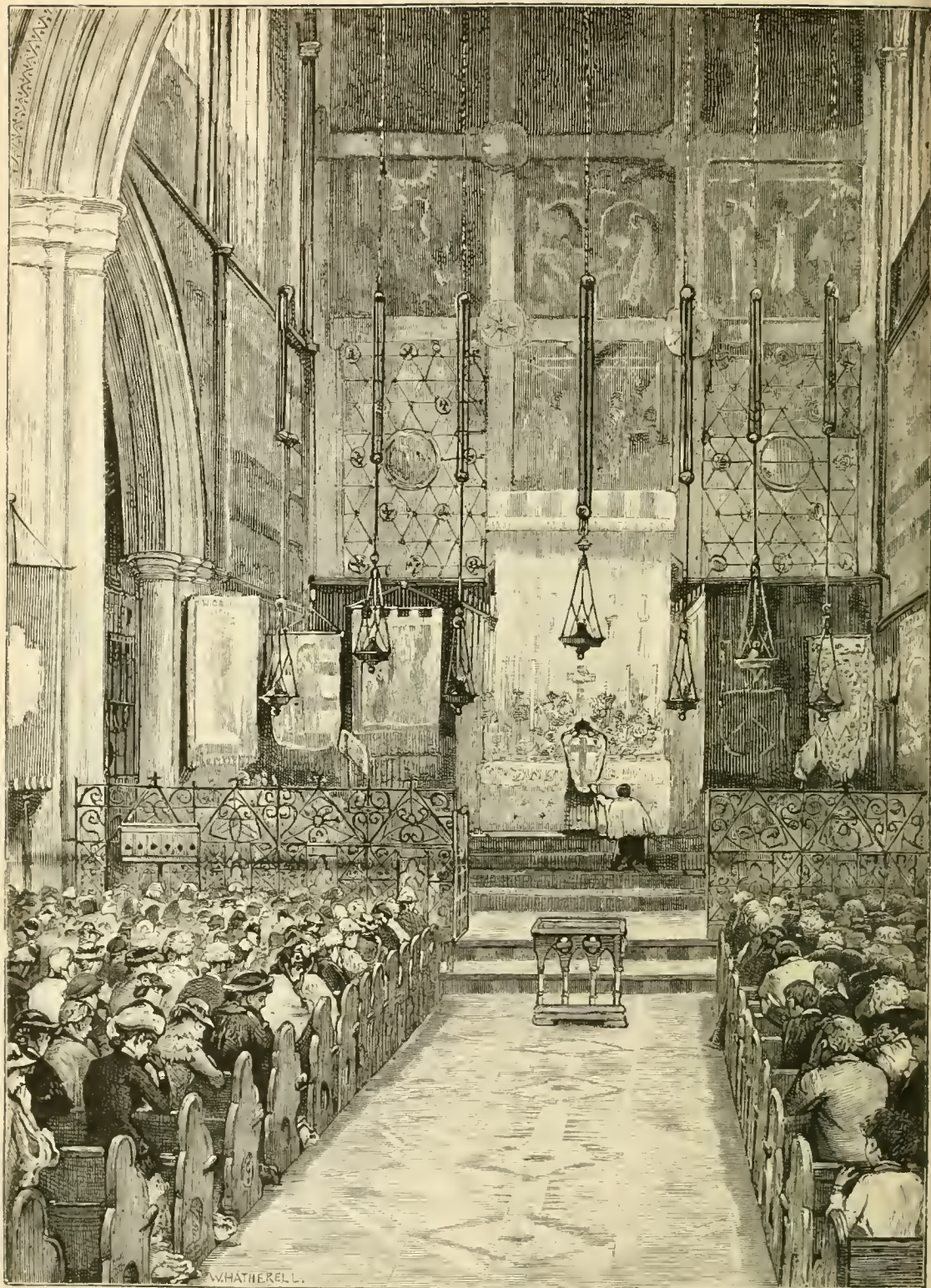
On the question of Ritualism, Mr. Gladstone expressed the view that 'the best touchstone for deciding what is wrong and defining what is right in the exterior apparel of Divine service, will be found in the holy desire and authoritative demand of the Apostle, "that the Church may receive edify-

ing" rather than in abstract imagery of perfection on the one hand, or any form or narrow traditional prejudice on the other.' Beyond this, he formulated no general conclusions, but contented himself by reprinting the six resolutions in which, when the Public Worship Regulation Bill was before the House of Commons, he endeavoured to set forth what appeared to him to offer a safer and a wiser basis of legislation.*

To the numerous criticisms upon this essay, Mr. Gladstone published in the following year a general reply entitled, 'Is the Church of England worth Preserving?'† The writer observed that there had been an expectation that his previous essay might untie or cut the knot of the questions which had been so warmly if not fiercely agitated during the preceding session of Parliament; but he had no such ambitious aim. The season being now tranquil, the question might at length be approached in the temper of the chamber, and not of the battlefield. He deprecated a secession from the National Church, for such an event would operate, with reference to its nationality, like a rent in a wall, 'which is mainly important, not by the weight of material it detaches, but by the discontinuity it leaves.' But it was not only the severance of the Church into two bodies which might precipitate disestablishment; obstinacy and exasperation of internal

* These Resolutions will be found in Chapter VIII.

† See the *Contemporary Review* for July, 1875.



INTERIOR OF ST. ALBAN'S CHURCH, HOLBORN.

strife might operate yet more effectively towards the same end. He earnestly urged it upon all the members of the National Church that the more they studied her place and function in Christendom, the more they would find that her unity, qualified but real, was worth preserving. Coming to one of the capital and cardinal points of his case, he expressed his conviction that 'heavy will be the blame to those, be they who they may, who may at this juncture endeavour—whether by legislation or by judicial action, and whether by alteration of phrases or by needlessly attaching doctrinal significance to the injunction or prohibition of ceremonial acts—to shift the balance of doctrinal expression in the Church of England.' To lessen the chances of a misapprehension of his arguments, Mr. Gladstone summed up, in the following propositions, the bearings and purport of his second essay:—

I. The Church of this great nation is worth preserving, and for that end much may well be borne. II. In the existing state of minds and of circumstances, preserved it cannot be, if we now shift its balance of doctrinal expression, be it by any alteration of the Prayer Book (either way) in contested points, or be it by treating rubrical interpretations of the matters heretofore most sharply contested on the basis of 'doctrinal significance.' III. The more we trust to moral forces, and the less to penal proceedings (which are to a considerable extent exclusive one of the other), the better for the establishment, and even for the Church. IV. If litigation is to be continued, and to remain, within the bounds of safety, it is highly requisite that it should be confined to the repression of such proceedings as really imply unfaithfulness to the national religion. V. In order that judicial decisions on ceremonial may habitually enjoy the large measure of authority, finality, and respect, which attaches in general to the sentences of our

courts, it is requisite that they should have uniform regard to the rules and results of full historical investigation, and should, if possible, allow to stand over for the future matters insufficiently cleared, rather than decide them upon partial and fragmentary evidence.

Mr. Gladstone gave himself no rest in the ecclesiastical warfare. Within one month from the publication of his essay on Ritualism appeared from his pen a pamphlet on *The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance; a Political Expostulation*. His object now was to justify the assertions in the previous article which had been so much controverted by Roman Catholics. The propositions which occasioned the pamphlet on the Vatican Decrees, and which he now defended, were as follows:—I. That Rome has substituted for the proud boast of *semper eadem*, a policy of violence and change in faith. II. That she has refurbished and paraded anew every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused. III. That no one can now become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another. IV. That Rome has equally repudiated modern thought and ancient history.' Mr. Gladstone passed over briefly the first and fourth of these propositions, as they belonged to the theological domain; but, in justifying them, he remarked that no one who had followed the course of the literature of the Romish Church during the past forty years could fail to be sensible of the change in its present tenor. More and more had the assertions of con-

tinuous uniformity of doctrine receded into scarcely penetrable shadow. More and more had another series of assertions of a living authority, ever ready to open, adopt, and shape Christian doctrine according to the times, taken their place. With regard to the second branch of his subject, the writer cited a number of propositions respecting the liberty of the press, liberty of conscience, the Papal judgments and decrees, etc., the holders of which had been condemned by the See of Rome during his own generation, and especially within the last twelve or fifteen years. The third proposition by Mr. Gladstone was the most important, as it concerned the operation of the Romish dogmas on personal and private duty. To this point he accordingly addressed himself at length. 'Is it, or is it not, true,' he demanded, 'that Rome requires a convert who now joins her to forfeit his moral and mental freedom, and to place his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another?' Without imputing to any one the moral murder of stifling conscience and conviction, he could not, for one, be surprised that the fermentation which was working through the mind of the Latin Church had as yet (elsewhere than in Germany*) but in few instances come to the surface. Mr. Gladstone proceeded to show that the declarations made by Irish bishops

before committees of the Houses of Lords and Commons, previous to the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act, as well as decrees of councils and declarations of great ecclesiastical authorities in earlier and later times, were at variance with the new claims set up in 1870, and that the Roman Catholic authorities deprecated fifty years ago the very doctrines of allegiance which were now strongly asserted. All the propositions which had been formerly left to the individual conscience had now undergone a change, and been completely reversed. 'The Pope's Infallibility, when he speaks *ex cathedrâ* on faith and morals, has been declared, with the assent of the bishops of the Roman Church, to be an article of faith, binding on the conscience of every Christian; his claim to the obedience of his spiritual subjects has been declared in like manner without any practical limit or reserve; and his supremacy, without any reserve of civil rights, has been similarly affirmed to include everything which relates to the discipline and government of the Church throughout the world. And these doctrines, we now know on the highest authority, it is of necessity for salvation to believe.' After a close examination of the character and bearings of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, Mr. Gladstone thus generally enforced the effects of the dogma:—

* On more than one occasion it has been reported that Dr. Döllinger (to whom Mr. Gladstone paid a high tribute) had made his submission on the doctrine of Papal Infallibility; but the learned Doctor himself has emphatically denied this to be the case.

Absolute obedience, it is boldly declared, is due to the Pope, at the peril of salvation, not alone in faith, in morals, but in all things which concern the discipline and government of the Church. Thus are swept into the Papal net whole multitudes of

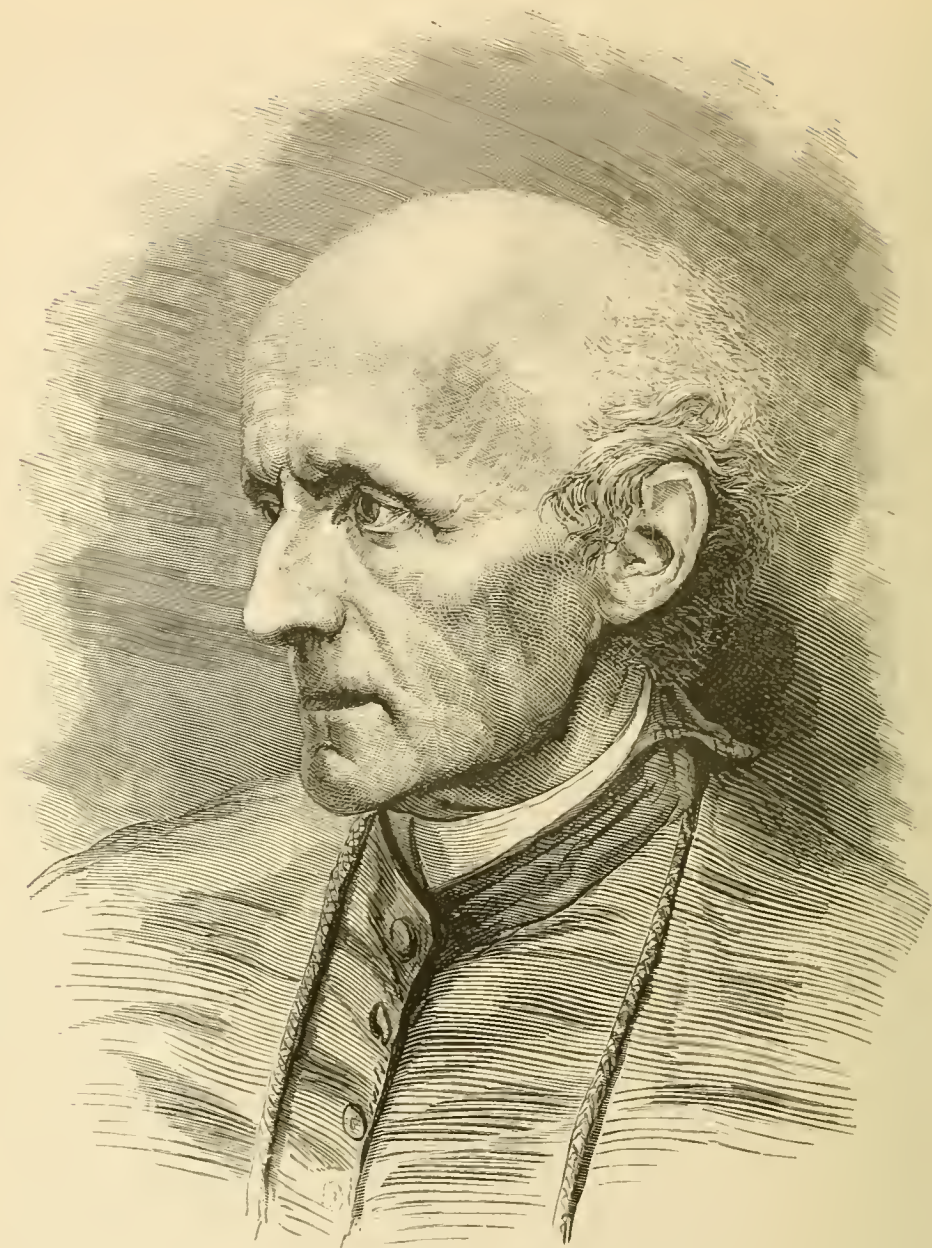
facts, whole systems of government, prevailing, though in different degrees, in every country in the world. Even in the United States, where the severance between Church and State is supposed to be complete, a long catalogue might be drawn of subjects belonging to the domain and competency of the State, but also undeniably affecting the government of the Church; such as, by way of example, marriage, burial, education, prison discipline, blasphemy, poor-relief, incorporation, mortmain, religious endowments, vows of celibacy and obedience. In Europe the circle is far wider, the points of contact and of interlacing almost innumerable. But on all matters respecting which any Pope may think proper to declare that they concern either faith, or morals, or the government or discipline of the Church, he claims, with the approval of a Council undoubtedly œcumenical in the Roman sense, the absolute obedience, at the peril of salvation, of every member of his communion. It seems not as yet to have been thought wise to pledge the Council in terms to the Syllabus and the Encyclical. That achievement is probably reserved for some one of its sittings yet to come. In the meantime it is well to remember that this claim in respect of all things affecting the discipline and Government of the Church, as well as faith and conduct, is lodged in open day by and in the reign of a Pontiff who has condemned free speech, free writing, a free press, toleration of nonconformity, liberty of conscience, the study of civil and philosophical matters in independence of the ecclesiastical authority, marriage, unless sacramentally contracted, and the definition by the State of the civil rights (*jura*) of the Church; who has demanded for the Church, therefore, the title to define its own civil rights, together with a divine right to civil immunities and a right to use physical force; and who has also proudly asserted that the Popes of the middle ages with their Councils did not invade the rights of princes: as, for example, Gregory VII., of the Emperor Henry IV.; Innocent III., of Raymond of Toulouse; Paul III., in deposing Henry VIII.; or Pius V., in performing the like paternal office for Elizabeth.

Before such incontrovertible facts as these, and others of equal significance within the public knowledge, it may well have seemed extraordinary to the writer—as indeed it must have done to thousands of other persons—that men of the high intellectual eminence of Father Newman and Cardinal Manning

should have subscribed to the dogmas promulgated from the Vatican. We are driven to the conclusion that such a subscription would have been impossible save under the influence of the strong soporific of casuistry.

Mr. Gladstone demanded in the most specific form, and in the clearest terms, one of two things—either, ‘I. A demonstration that neither in the name of faith, nor in the name of morals, nor in the name of the government or discipline of the Church, is the Pope of Rome able, by virtue of the powers asserted for him by the Vatican decree, to make any claim upon those who adhere to his communion, of such a nature as can impair the integrity of their civil allegiance; or else, II. That, if and when such claim is made, it will, even although resting on the definitions of the Vatican, be repelled and rejected; just as Bishop Doyle, when he was asked what the Roman Catholic clergy would do if the Pope intermeddled with their religion, replied frankly, “The consequence would be that we should oppose him by every means in our power, even by the exercise of our spiritual authority.”’ In the absence of explicit assurances to this effect, Mr. Gladstone was compelled to adopt these conclusions:—

- ‘1. That the Pope, authorised by his Council, claims for himself the domain (a) of faith, (b) of morals, (c) of all that concerns the government and discipline of the Church.
2. That he in like manner claims the power of determining the limits of those domains.
3. That he does not sever them, by



CARDINAL MANNING.

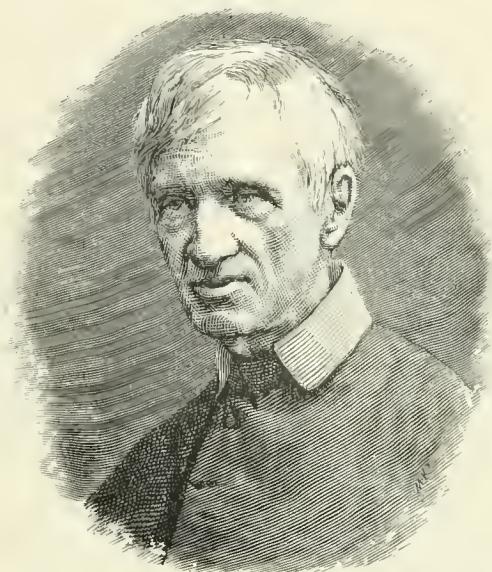
any acknowledged or intelligible line from the domains of civil duty and allegiance. 4. That he therefore claims, and claims from the month of July, 1870, onwards, with plenary authority from every convert and member of his

Church, that he shall "place his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another," that other being himself.'

The important question now arose that, being true, were the above propositions material? On this point, the

author showed that there was not the smallest doubt the temporal power of the Popedom came within the meaning of the words used at the Vatican to describe the subjects on which the Pope was authorised to claim, under awful sanctions, the obedience of the 'faithful.' And it was possible we had here the key to the enlargement of the province of Obedience beyond the

had sometimes suffered heavily for its ardour in the pursuit of that policy. It was, therefore, only just that he should make the present declaration. Up to 1870, opinion in the Roman Church on all matters affecting civil liberty was free. Mr. Gladstone felt at that time that it was the first and paramount duty of the British Legislature to give to Ireland all that jus-



DR. JOHN HENRY (AFTERWARDS CARDINAL) NEWMAN.

limits of Infallibility, and to the introduction of the remarkable phrase *ad disciplinam et regimen Ecclesie*. With regard to the inquiry whether his propositions were proper to be set forth by the present writer, Mr. Gladstone answered, that for thirty years, under a great variety of circumstances, in office and as an independent member of Parliament, he had laboured with others to maintain and extend the civil rights of his Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen. The Liberal party

could demand. The last debt of the kind was paid by the Irish University Bill of 1873, and the rejection of that measure was due to the influence of the Roman Catholic prelate of Ireland. 'From that time forward I have felt that the situation was changed, and that important matters would have to be cleared by suitable explanations.'

The writer anticipated the inquiry which his observations would suggest, viz., 'Are they, then, a recantation

and regret; and what are they meant to recommend as the policy of the future?' His reply was succinct and plain—of what the Liberal party had accomplished, by word or deed, in establishing the full civil equality of Roman Catholics, he regretted nothing and recanted nothing. He admitted that during the last thirty years the Romish Church had made some progress, but its conquests had been chiefly—as might have been expected—among women.* Roman Catholicism had also made some progress amongst the upper classes. 'The original Gospel was supposed to be meant especially for the poor; but the Gospel of the nineteenth century from Rome courts another and less modest destination. If the Pope does not control more souls among us, he certainly controls more acres. The severance, however, of a certain number of lords of the soil from those who till it can be borne.' As to his own views and intentions in the future, which he described as of the smallest significance, the author declared that he should be guided, as heretofore, by the rule of maintaining equal civil rights, irrespectively of religious differences; and he should resist all attempts to exclude the members of the Roman Catholic Church from the benefit of that rule.

Mr. Gladstone thus concluded this remarkable pamphlet:—

* Recent statistics prove that the progress of the Romish Church in the United Kingdom is by no means commensurate with the growth of the population, or with the progress of some other religious bodies.

The State will, I trust, be ever careful to leave the domain of religious conscience free, and yet to keep it to its own domain; and to allow neither private caprice, nor, above all, foreign arrogance to dictate to it on the discharge of its proper office. 'England expects every man to do his duty;' and none can be so well prepared under all circumstances to exact its performance as that Liberal party which has done the work of justice alike for Nonconformists and for Papal Dissidents, and whose members have so often, for the sake of that work, hazarded their credit with the markedly Protestant constitencies of the country. Strong the State of the United Kingdom has always been in material strength, and its moral panoply is now, we may hope, pretty complete. It is not, then, for the dignity of the Crown and people of the United Kingdom to be diverted from a path which they have deliberately chosen, and which it does not rest with all the myrmidons of the Apostolic chamber either openly to obstruct or secretly to undermine. It is rightfully to be expected, it is greatly to be desired, that the Roman Catholics of this country should do in the nineteenth century what their forefathers of England, except a handful of emissaries, did in the sixteenth, when they were marshalled in resistance to the Armada, and in the seventeenth, when, in spite of the Papal Chair, they sat in the House of Lords under the Oath of Allegiance. That which they are entitled to desire, we are entitled also to expect; indeed, to say we did not expect it would, in my judgment, be the true way of conveying an 'insult' to those concerned. In this expectation we may be partially disappointed. Should those to whom I appeal, thus unhappily come to bear witness in their own persons to the decay of sound, manly, true life in their Church, it will be their loss more than ours. The inhabitants of these islands, as a whole, are stable, though sometimes credulous and excitable; resolute, though sometimes boastful; and a strong-headed and stout-hearted race will not be hindered, either by latent or by avowed dissents, due to the foreign influence of a caste, from the accomplishment of its mission in the world.

Few pamphlets, or indeed works of any kind, have created so much public excitement, or attained such an enormous circulation, as this dissertation on the Vatican Decrees. In the course of a few weeks no fewer than one hundred and twenty thousand copies of the pamphlet had been dis-

posed of, and replies innumerable appeared within the same period.* Mr. Gladstone's essay performed one service at least—it demonstrated that there was a want of harmony between the members of the Romish Church themselves on the subject of the Vatican Decrees. For example, Lord Camoys, a well-known Catholic nobleman, declared that he concurred in Mr. Gladstone's views upon the new dogmas of the Church. History, common-sense, and his early instruction—said his lordship—forbade him to accept the astounding and novel doctrine of the personal Infallibility of the Pope, even though limited to the domain of faith and morals. He took exception to nothing in Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet but the term 'bloody,' as applied to Queen Mary. If the Vatican Decrees were enforced, serious difficulties would arise for the members of the Roman Catholic Church throughout the world. Lord Acton, one of the most intellectual and enlightened of Catholics, claimed that he could be an orthodox Romanist, and yet resist the Vatican Decrees. Mr. Henry Petre likewise repudiated the high Ultramontane

views. Other members of the Romish communion, however, such as Lord Herries, Lord Petre, Mr. Stourton, and Mr. Langdale, accepted the Decrees. Upon the appearance of the pamphlet, two prominent Italian journals, the *Osservatore* and the *Voce della Verità*, could scarcely believe it possible that it was Mr. Gladstone who thus attacked the Holy See. They imagined that he had done this deed to clear himself of the suspicion of hidden Catholicism, and the former journal hinted that the essay might have been the result of certain interviews which Mr. Gladstone was known to have had with Dr. Dollinger.* Both journals further expressed a hope that the offender might be brought ultimately within the pale of the 'true Church,' a consummation scarcely likely to be realised.

Three months after the appearance of his first pamphlet, Mr. Gladstone issued a second, entitled *Vaticanism: an Answer to Reproofs and Replies*. Those who adopted the Ultramontane hypothesis had charged him with insulting the Roman Catholics of Great Britain. Mr. Gladstone repudiated all such intention, but in doing so reiterated his original charges as follows:—'The Vatican Decrees do, in the strictest sense, establish for the

* The following is a list of the chief writers of replies to Mr. Gladstone's essay:—Cardinal Manning, Dr. (Cardinal) Newman, Bishop Ullathorne, Bishop Vaughan, Monsignor Capel, Lord Petre, Lord Herries, Sir G. Bowyer, Lord Robert Montagu, a Monk of St. Augustine's, Ramsgate, Bishop Clifford, Rev. J. Coleridge, Rev. T. B. Parkinson, Monsignor Francesco Nardi, Mr. A. P. de Lisle, Canon Oakley, Mr. Marum, LL.B., Rev. John Curry, Mr. J. Stores Smith, and a Scottish Catholic Layman. A great number of anonymous replies were also published, as well as strictures upon Mr. Gladstone's conclusions, in the Ultramontane press.

* Cardinal Manning and Bishop Ullathorne also supposed Dr. Dollinger to be in some degree responsible for, or at least cognisant of, the tract on the Vatican Decrees; but Mr. Gladstone afterwards stated that the learned Doctor had no concern, direct or indirect, in the production or publication of the pamphlet, and that until it had gone to the press he was even ignorant of its existence.



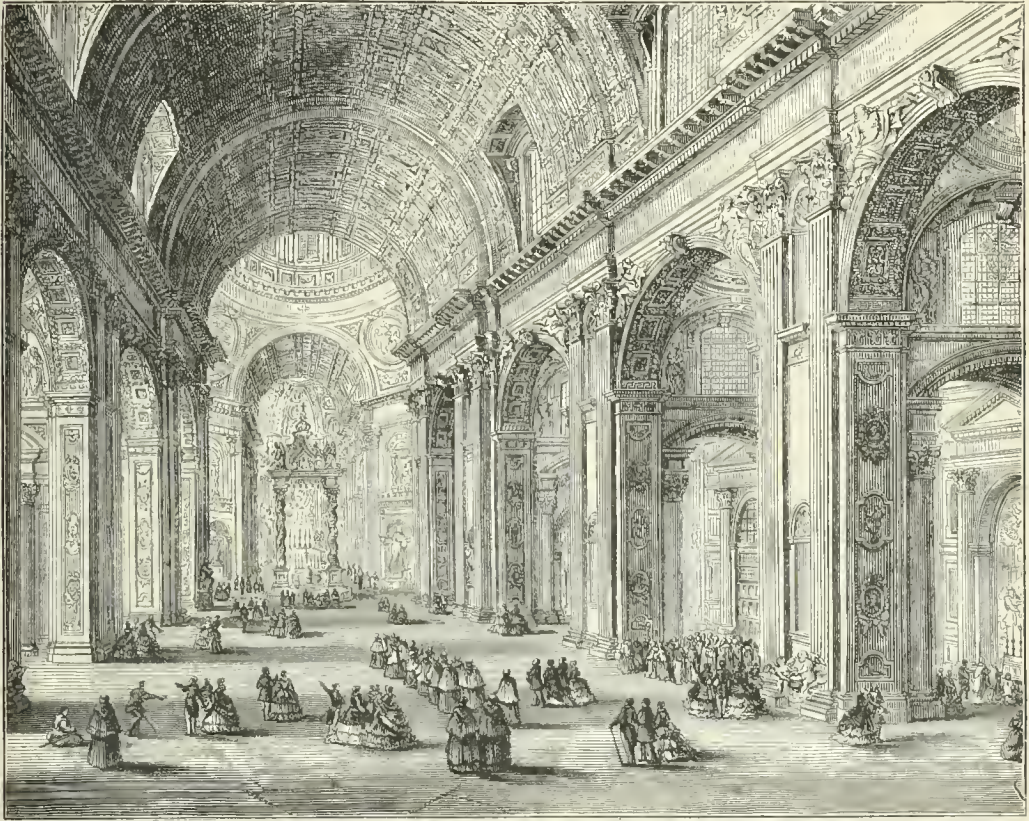
PIUS IX. AT THE FOOT OF ST. PETER.

Pope a supreme command over loyalty and civil duty. To the vast majority of Roman Catholics they are, and in all likelihood will long in their carefully enveloped meaning remain, practically unknown. Of that small minority who have spoken or fitted

themselves to speak a portion reject them. Another portion receive them with an express reserve, to me perfectly satisfactory, against all their civil consequences. Another portion seem to suspend their judgment until it is determined what is a free Coun-

cil, what is moral unanimity, what are declarations *ex cathedra*, whether there has been a decisive and binding promulgation so as to create a law, and whether the claim for an undue obedience need be considered until some

to his most distinguished antagonist, Dr. Newman. 'In my opinion, he remarked, 'his secession from the Church of England has never yet been estimated among us at anything like the full amount of its calamitous



INTERIOR OF ST. PETER'S, ROME.

act of undue obedience is asked. A very large class, as it seems to me, think they receive these Decrees, and do not. 'They are involved in inconsistency, and that inconsistency is dangerous.' He did not censure the supporters of the Decrees: the Alpha and Omega of his desire was to assail the system.

The writer paid a high compliment

importance. It has been said that the world does not know its greatest men; * neither, I will add, is it aware of the power and weight carried by the words and by the acts of those among its greatest men whom it does

* This thought, so often attributed to a wrong source, appears in Sir Henry Taylor's *Philip van Artevelde*, Act I., sc. 5, 'The world knows nothing of its greatest men.'

know. The ecclesiastical historian will perhaps hereafter judge that this secession was a much greater event even than the partial secession of John Wesley, the only case of personal loss suffered by the Church of England since the Reformation which can be at all compared with it in magnitude. I do not refer to its effect upon the mere balance of schools or parties in the Church; that is an inferior question. I refer to its effect upon the state of positive belief, and the attitude and capacities of the religious mind of England.' After having given an extraordinary impulse to the religious thought of England at a critical period, Dr. Newman lived to be the main, if involuntary, cause of disorganising it in a manner quite as remarkable.

With regard to the character of Dr. Newman's answer, and the replies of other acceptors of the Decrees who wrote in the same sense, Mr. Gladstone could not refrain from saying that the immediate purpose of his appeal had been attained, in so far as that the loyalty of his Roman Catholic fellow-subjects in the mass remained evidently untainted and secure. Dr. Newman's letter to the Duke of Norfolk Mr. Gladstone pronounced to be of the highest interest as a psychological study. 'Whatever he writes, whether we agree with him or not, presents to us this great attraction as well as advantage, that we have everywhere the man in the work, that his words are the transparent covering of his nature. If there be obliquity in them,

it is purely intellectual obliquity; the work of an intellect sharp enough to cut the diamond, and bright as the diamond which it cuts. How rarely it is found, in the wayward and inscrutable records of our race, that with these instruments of an almost super-human force and subtlety, robustness of character and energy of will are or can be developed in the same extraordinary proportions, so as to integrate that structure of combined thought and action which makes life a moral whole!' But his exclusive duty now was concerned with the learned Doctor's tract, and on the general question he must avow that he did not feel the same security for the future as for the present. He could not overlook indications, even in this country, that the proceedings of Vaticanism threatened to become a source of practical inconvenience. With respect to Archbishop Manning, that prelate's satisfactory views on the present rule of civil allegiance had not prevented him from giving his countenance as a responsible editor to the lucubrations of a gentleman who denied liberty of conscience, and asserted the right to persecute when there was the power—a right which, indeed, the Archbishop himself had not disclaimed. But apart from personal questions, do what men might in checking external developments, it was not in their power to neutralise the mischiefs of the wanton aggression of 1870 upon the liberties which up to that epoch had been allowed to private Christians in the Roman communion. 'Even in those

parts of Christendom where the Decrees and the present attitude of the Papal See do not produce or aggravate open broils with the civil power, by undermining moral liberty, they impair moral responsibility, and silently, in the succession of generations, if not in the lifetime of individuals, tend to emasculate the vigour of the mind.'

In the body of this second essay, Mr. Gladstone proceeded further to sustain and prove his two main propositions—that Rome had reproduced for active service those doctrines of former times which she was fondly thought to have disused; and that the Pope now claims, with plenary authority, from every convert and member of his Church, that he shall place his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another, viz., himself. The writer adduced proofs to show that his account of the contents of the Syllabus was accurate, and that he had understated, not overstated, its authority. In the code of Vaticanism, it was unquestionably entitled to obedience. The other topics treated were the Vatican Council and the Infallibility of the Pope, the revived claims of the Pope, the Vatican Council and obedience to the Pope, warrant of allegiance according to the Vatican, and the intrinsic nature and conditions of the Papal Infallibility decreed in the Vatican Council. Mr. Gladstone brought forward a variety of arguments and proofs in justification of the following general conclusions or assertions:—'1. That the position of Roman Catholics has been altered

by the decrees of the Vatican on Papal Infallibility, and in obedience to the Pope. 2. That the extreme claims of the Middle Ages have been sanctioned, and have been revived without the warrant or excuse which might in those ages have been shown for them. 3. That the claims asserted by the Pope are such as to place civil allegiance at his mercy. 4. That the State and people of the United Kingdom had a right to rely on the assurances they had received, that Papal Infallibility was not, and could not become, an article of faith in the Roman Church, and that the obedience due to the Pope was limited by laws independent of his will.' Here are the closing words of the author's eloquent peroration:—'As freedom can never be effectually established by the adversaries of that Gospel which has first made it a reality for all orders and degrees of men, so the Gospel never can be effectually defended by a policy which declines to acknowledge the high place assigned to liberty in the counsels of Providence, and which, upon the pretext of the abuse that like every other good she suffers, expels her from its system. Among the many noble thoughts of Homer, there is not one more noble or more penetrating than his judgment upon slavery. "On the day," he says, "that makes a bondman of the free.

Wide-seeing Zeus takes half the man away."

He thus judges, not because the slavery of his time was cruel—for evidently it was not—but because it *was* slavery.



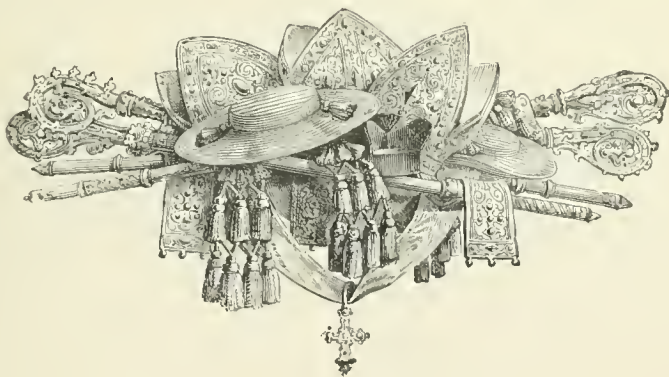
POPE PIUS THE NINTH

What he said against servitude in the social order, we may plead against Vaticanism in the spiritual sphere; and no cloud of incense which zeal or flattery, or even love, can raise should hide the disastrous truth from the vision of mankind.'

In addition to the publication of these essays on the subject of Vaticanism, Mr. Gladstone contributed a vigorous and searching criticism upon the speeches of Pope Pius IX. to the *Quarterly Review* for January, 1875. The writer's indignation at the Papal assumptions finds full vent in this article, which reviews the chief events in the career of Pio Nono, and, in certain aspects, leaves him exposed to the derision of humanity.

It may, perhaps, be taken for

granted, that of all forms of controversy the religious is the least effectual in winning converts from one form of belief to another, and to those principles which the respective combatants believe to be in accordance with reason, truth, and justice. Many men practically decline to submit their individual religion to the tests demanded of it; and, therefore, amongst Roman Catholics, Mr. Gladstone's controversial writings may have had little effect, notwithstanding the cogency of their arguments. But to the rest of the world, at any rate, these eloquent and powerful essays have afforded substantial aid in demonstrating the holowness of the Papal pretensions, as well as their insidious and dangerous character.





LORD CAIRNS.

CHAPTER XI.

MR. GLADSTONE'S FINANCIAL POLICY.

Beneficial Results of Mr. Gladstone's Financial Legislation—Testimony of Sir Stafford Northcote—Review of Twenty Years of Financial Policy—The Budget of 1853—Compared with Sir Robert Peel's Budget of 1842—The Chancellor of the Exchequer on the Necessity for Retrenchment—Exposition of Mr. Gladstone's Work in Finance—His Characteristics as a Financier—Mr. Gladstone on the Financial Policy of the Beaconsfield Administration—Liberal and Conservative Expenditure compared—The General Expenditure of the Country—A growing Deficiency—Taxes remitted by the Gladstone Administration—Results of a 'Spirited Foreign Policy.'

THE various budgets for which Mr. Gladstone was directly responsible have been dealt with at length in the order of their introduction into the House of Commons; but it remains now to offer some observations upon the general character and effect of the ex-Premier's financial policy, as well as

to contrast it briefly with the policy pursued by his successors. In fulfilling this task, we are fortunately able to fall back upon the compilations and statistics of persons whose authority in matters of finance will scarcely be disputed.

First, we shall call as a witness to

the beneficial results of Mr. Gladstone's financial legislation no less a person than his whilom pupil, the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the Tory Administration of 1874-80. In an able, and—so far as finance can be made so—interesting review of twenty years of financial policy, namely, from 1842 to 1861, Sir Stafford Northcote shows the great changes which have been effected in national finance.* Although the right hon. baronet does not, for personal reasons stated, enter largely into a consideration of the very important budget of 1860, his general conclusions upon the financial measures of that and previous years will sufficiently answer our purpose. The period reviewed commences with Sir Robert Peel's imposition of the income-tax in 1842, and extends to the repeal of the paper duties in 1861. As the writer justly remarks, the fortunes of the income-tax, and the work done by its aid, 'give a kind of dramatic unity to this period, which would alone be sufficient to make the study of it interesting; but in addition to this, we have, in the course of these twenty years, seen our financial system exhibited in all its bearings; and examples have been given of almost every kind of financial problem.' Passing over the great financial measures of 1842 and 1845—with which Sir Robert Peel's Ministry was associated, and which formed the starting-point of a new

financial *régime*—we will come to the year 1853, one of the most important of the whole period dealt with by Sir Stafford Northcote. Mr. Gladstone's analysis of the income-tax in his budget of this year has already been referred to in detail. As his successor says, 'It is almost impossible to condense this portion of Mr. Gladstone's speech; so consummate is the skill with which the topics are arranged and presented to his audience. Wholly apart from the merits of the scheme he proposes, the speech itself, and especially this part of it, will repay the most careful study as a specimen of persuasive reasoning.' On the general character of this budget, the same writer observes, 'We miss in it the caution, which is perhaps the most striking feature of the financial plans of Sir Robert Peel; while in its place we meet with a boldness of conception, a love of effect, and a power of producing it, such as we do not find even in the remarkable budget of 1842. Yet it would be unjust to Mr. Gladstone to find fault with him on this account. When we look at the circumstances of the case, we cannot but feel that it was of the utmost importance to the financial prosperity of the country that a stand should be made against that of which Mr. Disraeli had so justly complained—the tendency of the leaders of public opinion to decry and render impossible every mode of raising the necessary revenues; and . . . we may well believe that nothing less than a striking scheme like that which Mr. Gladstone

* *Twenty Years of Financial Policy.* By Sir Stafford Northcote, Bart., M.P. for Stamford. London, 1862.

brought forward would at that time have sufficed to save the finances from the most serious confusion.' Moreover, 'had not events occurred which led to a large increase of our expenditure before the arrival of 1860, his calculations would have been nearly or quite verified; that is, provided the House had abstained for the whole seven years from demanding any new remissions of taxation.' With regard to the Crimean War, Sir S. Northcote observes that it revealed to us many imperfections in our military system; but the strain on our finances brought to light nothing but their soundness and their vigour. 'Could we have borne that strain as we did,' he asks, 'if it had not been for the life which Sir Robert Peel first infused, and which Mr. Gladstone afterwards renewed, in our fiscal system, and but for which 1854 might have found us struggling with an overwhelming deficiency, or inextricably entangled in the toils which must attend a reconstruction of the income-tax? It was well for England, in this respect at least, that we had set our house in order before the day of trial came upon us.' Mr. Gladstone could desire no better tribute than this to his capacity as a Finance Minister. In assessing the general result of the financial policy pursued from 1842 to 1861—in which Mr. Gladstone had so large a share—Sir Stafford Northcote arrives at the conclusion that the condition of every portion of the community has been greatly improved by the new policy.

The Beaconsfield Administration will

be distinguished in the records of posterity for (*inter alia*) its lavish expenditure of public money. In this respect the following admirable passage on the necessity for retrenchment, written by Sir Stafford Northcote in 1862, will be found worthy of the most serious consideration on the part of politicians of the Tory school:—

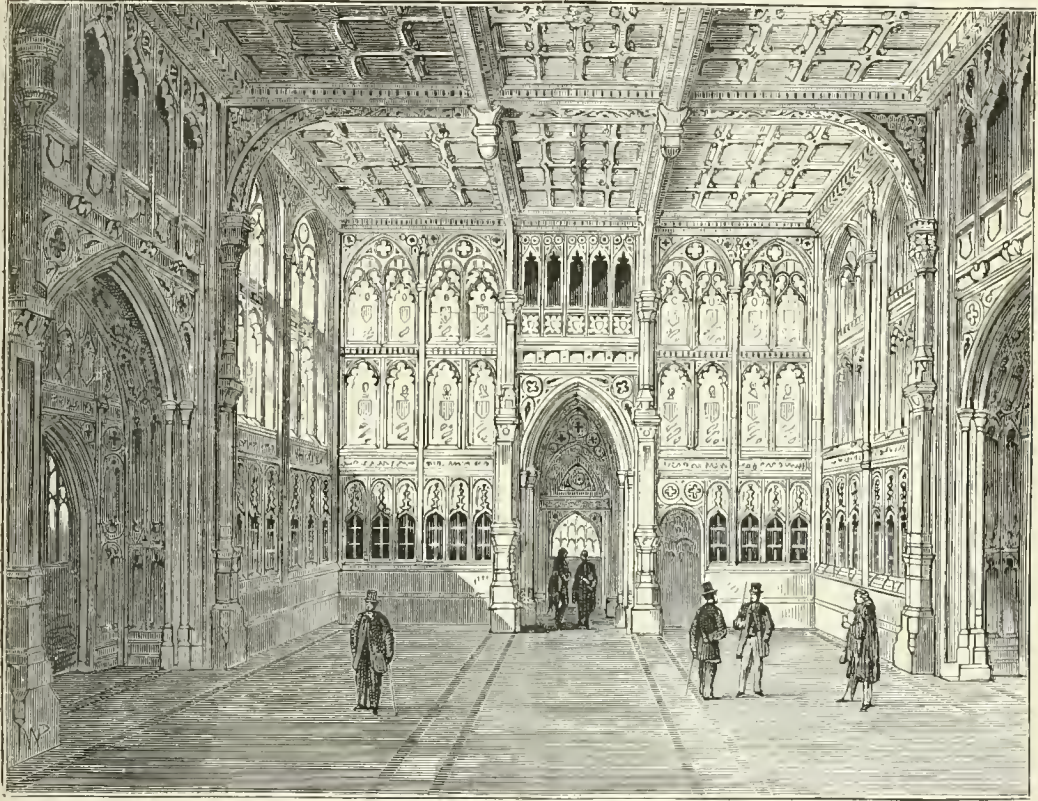
Mr. Gladstone, in his budget speech of 1860, pointed out that between 1842 and 1859 the wealth of the country had increased about 28½ per cent. and the expenditure in the same time about 27 per cent. Now this is a serious consideration; and it is made the more serious when we remember that Mr. Gladstone at the same time showed that the increase in the expenditure had been advancing at a greatly accelerated rate of speed in the last six years of the term of which he was speaking, and that the portion of the public expenditure which is, so to speak, optional and subject to the control of the public, had in those years risen by no less than 58 per cent. Nothing can be more natural than that a nation should, like an individual, increase its expenditure as its wealth increases; but it is to be borne in mind that while nothing is easier or pleasanter than to expend one's outlay upon the necessities and conveniences of life, nothing is more painful or more difficult than to contract it; and that should our prosperity encounter any check, the habit of large expenditure which we have allowed to gain upon us may prove a very inconvenient one.

The maintenance of the honour of England must ever be one of the paramount aims of our statesmen, but if it be even now denied that a large portion of the national expenditure during the years the Beaconsfield Government was in office was unnecessary and unjustifiable, what will history have to say upon the subject? Sir Stafford Northcote departed in many respects—notably in regard to the methods of meeting our liabilities—from principles which have received the sanction of all the ablest English financiers.

One of the clearest expositions of

Mr. Gladstone's work in finance appeared some years ago in the *Fortnightly Review*.* The writer, Mr. Giffen, points out that before 1842 'the condition of the country was alarming, in a way we cannot easily

a change was the Free Trade experiment—the abolition of the burdens which those concerned at the time felt to be hindering their business.' Statesmen were called upon to consider the assistance to be given by finance



THE LOBBY, HOUSE OF COMMONS

imagine. Successive deficits in the revenue were but a feeble index to the complaints of suffering which arose from every quarter. The country was standing still with a vast gulf between the rich and the poor, and political discontent assuming the most threatening forms. The visible beginning of

in ameliorating the condition of the masses of the community. Premising that if a financier can increase the wealth of the mass of the community by reducing taxation, or by other means in his power, he should bend all his energies to the task, Mr. Giffen thus proceeded to consider the part Mr. Gladstone had taken in the reduction of the national burdens:—

* 'Mr. Gladstone's Work in Finance.' By Robert Giffen. *Fortnightly Review*, Jan. 1869.

The respective merits of the financiers of the time can almost be measured by the bulk of their contributions to the work. Tried in this manner, Mr. Gladstone's contributions are confessedly the largest of the whole twenty-six years since 1842. All that is characteristic in the last sixteen is exclusively his. There have been other Chancellors of the Exchequer—Sir George Lewis, Mr. Disraeli, and Mr. Ward Hunt—but, as fortune or management would have it, they have contributed almost nothing among them to the work of the period. Mr. Disraeli's insignificant contribution in the budget of 1867 is literally almost the only thing which Mr. Gladstone cannot claim. It is obvious, too, that a very large share of the work has been got into these sixteen years. Of the four great stages into which the whole period may be divided, two at least are included in the later time. To Sir Robert Peel belongs the first step in 1842, and the second step in 1845; but the stages of 1853 and 1860 were marked with equal distinctness, and were hardly of less importance. To take the test of the amount of taxation reduced, it appears that in the years 1842-52 the balance of remission was £7,000,000, while in 1853-66 the balance is £13,000,000. This, too, was in spite of the fact that the expenditure in the former years was only between fifty and fifty-two millions; whereas in the latter period it has been between sixty-five and seventy millions. The proportionate merit of Mr. Gladstone is not so great as the figures show, because all our figures are now bigger, and the taxes reduced would not have been so productive when they came to be reduced but for Sir Robert Peel. They are proof, nevertheless, that a great deal was done; and when the details are looked at the conclusion is not less favourable. To the first period necessarily belongs the redress of the worst evils in the old system—the abolition of export duties, of import duties on the raw material of manufacture, and of certain oppressive excise duties, such as that on glass; above all, the destruction of the Corn Laws, with the reduction of duties on other articles of food. Still, how incomplete the work would have been without Mr. Gladstone's contribution. There were no export duties left for him to touch, but every other feature of Sir Robert Peel's work is found in his. The abolition of the excise on soap and on paper released two home industries of the first magnitude, and were quite as important measures in that kind as the repeal of the duty on glass. Mr. Gladstone, again, first reduced yet further the customs on articles of food, and finally abolished every duty of that kind, with the single exception of the shilling duty on corn. Sir Robert Peel, besides, only began the total abolition of duties, his main steps being merely to make reduc-

tions. Mr. Gladstone has swept the tariff clear, leaving only certain charges on great articles of consumption, with supporting duties on a few articles besides.

The writer gives the palm, on the whole, to Mr. Gladstone's work, as being one of greater complexity; and observes that 'where the indications were less sure, the personal merit of success was proportionately greater.' Sir Robert Peel wrought with the one lever of the income-tax, while Mr. Gladstone devised more than one subsidiary aid, like the extension of the succession duty to real and settled property, and the increase of the spirit duties. Mr. Giffen shows the fallacy of the popular impression that the progressive increase in the revenue is the whole secret of success; when financiers have surpluses to give away, it is thought they cannot go far wrong. Mr. Gladstone's great merit has been the discovery of new sources of income of a comparatively unobjectionable kind, which solved the problem of meeting the high expenditure of the years that were to come, without stopping the work of reform. The extension of the succession duty to real and settled property was an idea belonging exclusively to Mr. Gladstone, and a like proposal had not been made since the days of Mr. Pitt.

With respect to Mr. Gladstone's peculiar qualities as a financier, the same writer observes that 'it is a remarkable alliance with love of subtlety and detail, and with abounding activity and energy, which has introduced into Gladstonian budgets those brilliant

devices from which common people are apt to revolt. But Mr. Gladstone, with all his foundation of commonplaceness and steady popular judgment, would yet have been very little in finance without his love of detail and wonderful knowledge of expedients. To a very large extent this only means that he has the enthusiasm of his occupation. People succeed in nothing unless they give their days and nights to it, and Mr. Gladstone has given to finance the sweat and toil of many years of his life. People rather like in him an exposition of minute detail which hardly another financier could make tolerable.* The prosperity of the country was largely aided by Mr. Gladstone's financial legislation, and the legitimate developments of that prosperity and that legislation, were those extensive remissions of taxation which distinguished his occupancy of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer.

With regard to the financial policy which prevailed after Mr. Gladstone's retirement from office in 1874, the right hon. gentleman himself has described it in an article entitled 'The Country and the Government.'* Complaining of the pretensions and theatrical policy of the Beaconsfield Administration, he remarked that it could not be had without paying heavily for the decorations and stage accompaniments. 'The stock of courage which our Ministers possessed was lavishly expended, partly in act and partly in word, for

the management of their transactions beyond sea. The consequence has been that for domestic duties, and for the first of all domestic duties, after allegiance to the Throne—namely, the duty of maintaining a just balance between income and charge, and of relieving the future at least by moderate present sacrifices—they have not so much as an ounce of courage left. The result has been a financial policy such as all the Ministries of the last forty years would have disdained; and, what is even worse, the invention of a group of false financial doctrines, unknown to our annals, to cover the shortcomings, the miscarriages, and the malpractices of recent finance.' Mr. Gladstone also pointed out that in some cases the advocates of the Ministry had resorted to the simple but effectual plan of pure falsification. One journal, for example, stated that the expenditure of 1873-4 was £77,044,852, and the income £76,788,167—thus showing a deficiency of £256,685; whereas the expenditure was £76,466,000, and the revenue £77,335,000, showing a surplus of £869,000. Another journal affirmed that since the Conservatives had been in office they had paid in Alabama claims £3,196,875; whereas these claims were paid in 1873-4, the last financial year of the then Liberal Government. A table had also been constructed—and it had even been used by a Minister of State—showing, not the comparative expenditure, but the comparative taxation of the Liberal and Conservative Governments since 1869. This table gave as the amount

* See the *Nineteenth Century* for August, 1879.

of taxation per head for the five years during which the Liberal Government were in office £10 7s. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ d., and the amount per head for the five years during which the present Government (1879) has been in office as £10 3s. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ d., leaving a balance of 4s. per head in favour of Lord Beaconsfield. 'Upon this principle,' wrote Mr. Gladstone, 'any scapegrace in St. James's Street, with a small annual allowance, and an immeasurable length of unpaid bills, could prove himself, by showing the small amount he had *paid* from year to year, to be the most thrifty of men. The economy of a State is to be measured not by the liabilities it discharges, but by the liabilities it incurs.' The writer further pointed out that the Liberal Government began with a high taxation because of the high scale of charge it inherited from the Tories, and of the four millions or thereabouts due for the Abyssinian war, which was also handed over to them. 'This rate of taxation they reduced by more than two shillings per head, while applying large sums to the reduction of debt; while encountering the highest price for supplies that had ever been known; and while meeting a large increase of military expenditure in 1870, which was forced upon them solely by the policy of two great foreign powers.' The Tories, on the contrary, began with a low taxation, and reversed the policy; and since they came into office in 1874 the rate of taxation per head has steadily gone up year by year. Had the table, moreover, been drawn upon the true basis—viz., that

of expenditure—the real increase of charge under the Tory rule would have been about 4s. per head.

Let us now look at the general expenditure of the country. In 1873–4—less the Alabama claims, which had no connection with the transactions of the year—the gross annual expenditure stood at £73,270,000; in 1878–9 it stood at £85,407,000. Excluding charges of collection, the amount for 1873–4 was £66,800,000, and for 1878–9, £77,457,000; showing an increase of £10,657,000. Looking only to that portion of the charge which is both annual and subject generally to the option of Parliament, Mr. Gladstone stated the case thus:—Last year of Liberal expenditure, less Alabama claims, 1873–4, £41,853,000; last year of Tory expenditure, 1878–9, £51,817,000—showing an increase of £9,964,000, or, in round numbers, ten millions of money, 'mainly due to the policy and profusion of the Ministry.' This sum represents a proportional augmentation of nearly twenty per cent., or one-fifth, in five years. 'Aided by the heavy fall in the prices of all materials requiring to be purchased for the public service to the extent of £1,600,000, the Government at the commencement of the year presented military and naval estimates which showed reductions of £2,008,000, and £1,524,000 respectively; desirous obviously that the grey hairs of this Parliament might go down to the grave in better odour than that which environed it in the days of its vigour. But it is now evident that the demands

of the Zulu war must dissipate the fond expectations thus raised. The charge (still unknown) for 1879-80 is more likely to exceed than to fall short of that for 1878-9, and the choice before us seems to lie between heavy

Such is, in brief, Mr. Gladstone's financial indictment against the Beaconsfield Administration, drawn up from the Statistical Abstracts and Parliamentary Papers. But the *Economist*, a recognised authority on questions



THE REFRESHMENT ROOM, HOUSE OF LORDS.

and discreditable deficit, and fresh taxation. The annual surpluses available for the reduction of debt, which averaged more than three and a quarter millions during the five years of the late Government, sank during the first three years of the present Ministry to half a million, and during the two last have been replaced by deficits of £2,640,000 and £2,292,000 respectively.

of finance, is equally damaging in its criticisms, though it writes from a somewhat different point of view. 'A certain deficiency at the end of the year 1879 of six and a half millions,' says this journal, 'and the possibility of a still larger shortcoming, is what we have to look forward to. Sir Stafford Northcote's schemes for gradually reducing the floating debt have thus all

come to nought. Instead of a diminution, each year sees an augmentation of the uncovered balances. In April, 1878, the amount unprovided for was about £2,000,000; in April, 1879, it had grown to £5,350,000; and now it is reaching up to nearly £7,000,000. This is the result of the new system of postponing liabilities, and in the face of this experience the resolution of Sir Stafford Northcote to raise the nominal deficit for the year by the issue of another £1,200,000 Exchequer bonds is much to be regretted. Already the practice of meeting the cost of the little wars to which we are always exposed, by additions to debt, instead of out of revenue, has burdened us with a mass of floating liabilities, which in certain conditions of the money market may prove a source of danger. It has betrayed us, moreover, into acts of national meanness of which we may well feel ashamed. No one can doubt but that for the unsatisfactory condition of our finances, India would never have been saddled with the expense of a war which those by whom it was originated have declared to be waged for Imperial purposes, and should therefore have been met out of Imperial funds. The sooner we get back to the old practice of meeting the expenditure of each year out of that year's revenue, the better will it be in every way. This has always been Mr. Gladstone's cardinal financial principle, but the late Government were in favour of a procrastinating policy, forgetting that if the Liberals ultimately had to make good their defects, and to bring back

the country to sound principles of finance, the obloquy must still attach to themselves. The ostrich does not save himself from impending danger by hiding his head in the sand.

The money saved during Mr. Gladstone's first Administration enabled a reduction of twelve and a half millions to be made in the annual taxation, such remissions being a notorious cause of national prosperity and an elastic revenue. The increase of public expenditure after the Conservatives came into power in 1874 was at the average rate of nearly three millions annually. But not only did the five Liberal budgets of the first Gladstone Administration remit taxes to the amount of nearly £13,000,000, but there was left for the Conservatives a surplus of several millions. The Conservatives, on the other hand, in the five years they held office, imposed charges to the amount of upwards of £5,000,000 beyond the amount of the Liberal remissions. The deficit which was created was enormous. According to the *Statistical Abstract of the United Kingdom*, published by the Board of Trade, the following figures show the actual amount of national expenditure for which the Liberals were responsible during five years of power under Mr. Gladstone:—1870, £68,864,752; 1871, £69,548,539; 1872, £71,490,020; 1873, £70,714,418; and 1874, £76,456,510. The expenditure for 1874 embraced a sum of upwards of £3,000,000 paid in settlement of the Alabama claims. The expenditure during five years of Tory rule was as follows:—1875,

£74,328,040; 1876, £76,620,773; 1877, £78,125,227; 1878, £82,403,495; and 1879, £85,407,789. In lieu of Mr. Gladstone's magnificent surpluses, moreover, we had (as already remarked) a large deficit, amounting to several millions. The army and navy estimates during the Liberal *régime*—that is, from 1869 to 1873—yield a total of £149,273,630; the same estimates during the Conservative *régime*—viz., from 1874 to 1878—gave a total of £166,013,989. Nor does this excess of nearly seventeen millions include the enormous sums recently voted for war purposes. In thirteen years during which the Liberals held office, between 1857 and 1878, they repealed or reduced taxes to the amount of £42,816,329, and laid on taxes to the amount of only £3,050,086, showing a balance in their favour of £39,766,243. The Conservatives, in their nine years of power during the same period, reduced taxation by £6,270,123 only; while they imposed new taxes to the amount of £12,374,050, thus leaving a balance against them of £6,103,927. Now we do not mean to imply that all their enormous additions to the public expenditure could have been averted; the Tories were in some respects unfortunate after their accession to office; but a Liberal Administration would in all probability have saved us from much of this expenditure. There was a reckless profusion in consequence of the war spirit that

obtained such dominance over us, and it was not alone in the burdens of taxation we felt and are feeling it; industry must be crippled for a long period as a consequence of this policy. Apart from the moral aspects of the question, hunting Zulus is an expensive pursuit; and as regards our Afghan difficulties, one can only hope that a policy of 'masterly inactivity' may in time restore peace and contentment to that unhappy country.

It would be well if the above facts and figures could reach the entire body of the people of the three kingdoms. If they like the picture, and do not object to the enormous loss of blood and treasure involved in wars which might probably have been avoided, and which are certainly amongst the most discreditable wars in which England has ever engaged, the responsibility lies with them. But the financial history of the past twenty years should surely have taught the nation the vast superiority of a policy of peace, retrenchment, and reform, over that of a 'spirited foreign policy.' War is sometimes necessary for the maintenance of national rights and the vindication of national honour, and no true Englishman would be wanting in patriotism at such a crisis; but—we again urge—who would venture to affirm that History will acquit England of all responsibility for the wars she waged at the instance, of Lord Beaconsfield?

CHAPTER XII.

MR. GLADSTONE'S LATER CORRESPONDENCE.

Letters to Harriet Martineau—Lord Campbell on Shakspeare—The Post Office and Sir Rowland Hill—Mr. Gladstone and Bishop Feild—The Rev. W. Sibthorp—Sir G. Bowyer and the Land Bill—Austria—Mr. Gladstone's Letter to Count Karolyi—Proposed Reception of the Premier in London—Presentation from the Potteries—Unfounded Charges against Mr. Gladstone—Correspondence with Mr. Bourke—The Chalmers Centenary—Letters to the *Scotsman*—The Jews and the Elections of 1880—Letter to the Duke of Richmond on the Irish Land Act—The Worcestershire Election in 1880—Austria, Servia, &c.—Mr. Gladstone's Accession to Office—Testimonial from Bristol—The Liberals of Midlothian—The Prime Minister and the Transvaal—The Attack on President Garfield—Mr. Gladstone's Letter to Mrs. Garfield.

WE have in the course of this work given many characteristic and interesting examples of Mr. Gladstone's correspondence; but of recent years he has written so many valuable letters upon a variety of subjects, that we have thought it necessary to set apart a special chapter for their reproduction. In his letters, as in his speeches, Mr. Gladstone shows that he fulfils Lord Bacon's requirements for a 'full man.'

The first of these recent communications was to that able and distinguished woman, Harriet Martineau. Mr. Gladstone knew that she had declined a civil list pension, but being made aware of her restricted means and failing health, he decided upon making her another offer of that aid to which she was well entitled, if she would consent to accept it. To this offer, however, Miss Martineau made the following reply:—

‘June 8th, 1873.

‘THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

‘SIR,—I have just received through my brother and sister your letter expressive of concern and sympathy, which are deeply moving to me. The

kindness from you goes far towards compensating me for the shock with which I saw that Mrs. Grote had published expressions on personal matters which I am shocked to have written, however privately. But this evidence of your goodness is sufficient in itself. The work of my busy years has supplied the needs and desires of a quiet old age. On the former occasion of my declining a pension I was poor, and it was a case of scruple (possibly cowardice). Now I have a competence, and there would be no excuse for my touching the public money. You will need no assurance that I am as grateful for your considerate offer as if it had relieved me of a wearing anxiety.—Believe me, with much respect and gratitude, yours,

‘HARRIET MARTINEAU.’

Mr. Gladstone acknowledged the receipt of this letter in the following terms:—

WHITEHALL, 10, DOWNING STREET,

June 9th, 1873.

‘DEAR MADAM,—I have received your note of yesterday. It deprives



HARRIET MARTINEAU,

me of a pleasure I had hoped to enjoy, but it enhances the respect and regard felt for your character by all who have had any acquaintance with it. I am glad that you have construed so kindly and favourably the spirit of my inquiry. —With every good wish, I remain, dear madam, your very faithful and obedient,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.

‘MISS MARTINEAU.’

Some years ago Mr. Gladstone wrote the following excellent letter to the late Lord Campbell, upon a work which the latter had published in connection with a special aspect of our great and many-sided Shakspeare:—

‘HAWARDEN CASTLE,
‘August 31st, 1859.

‘MY DEAR LORD CHANCELLOR,—I am glad I did not find an opportunity, which could only have been a very summary one, of thanking you at the Cabinet on Monday for your charming book on the legal attainments of Shakspeare, a book, if I may presume to say so much, at once useful and graceful, light and solid.

‘Your facts, as a whole, leave me in a comfortable persuasion upon the case as it stands that our greatest poet was once an attorney’s clerk.

‘I am seduced into the impertinence of offering two remarks. First, I quite understand your doctrine that the direct forms of law have their own interest and attraction, almost their own proper beauty. But then it seems to me fair to suggest that none of these

lie on the outside: and that they can only be perceived after circumstances have in some manner made us acquainted with the said forms; that they would not be likely, as natural objects, and even as certain pursuits might be, to draw the spontaneous observation of a man of high poetic temperament; that he would eschew that very warren of Alsatia, because it was haunted by attorneys; that, in fact, the existence of such accurate and technical knowledge in such a man requires the hypothesis of a special cause to account for it.

‘My second remark is yet more daring, for it is in the nature of a comment on one of yours. You state with truth, that such a man would pick up rapidly what would cost others much labour, and might therefore gather, as an observer, what they could only get as practitioners. But is not this also good to show that a very slight and short tenure of the stool inside the attorney’s office will, *à fortiori*, well account for all the knowledge that he shows, consequently that he may have done very little in that capacity, and that the negative argument from our not finding any of his signatures as a witness is weakened in proportion?

‘My note of interrogation is only meant to give a false air of modesty, not to draw a further reply, which I should open with some fear of having been found to have committed myself in the manner you so justly describe as so common and deplorable. Under no circumstances whatever will I join issue with you, unless, and until you

deny me leave to subscribe myself, very sincerely yours,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

Sir C. W. Sikes, a Yorkshire gentleman who has recently been knighted for his services in connection with the Postal Savings Banks, &c., in this country, forwarded a copy of his pamphlet on Post Office Savings Banks, and received from Mr. Gladstone the following letter in reply:—

‘DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL,
Nov. 30th, 1859.

‘DEAR SIR,—I have read with much interest your tract on Post Office Savings Banks, and have discussed the subject with Sir A. Spearman, who has also had some communication with the Post Office authorities.

‘The difficulties are very serious, chiefly in connection with the question of interest and the mode of account for it.

‘At the same time, there is so much of promise in the plan on the face of it, that we are unwilling to let it drop without a most careful examination.

‘If you are likely to be in London, or were disposed to come hither, personal communication on details might be of advantage. Sir A. Spearman would be most ready to see you for the purpose of entering into them fully, and I should be very desirous myself to give any aid in my power at the proper time.—I remain, dear Sir, yours very faithfully,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.

‘C. W. SIKES, ESQ.’

An interesting correspondence also passed between Mr. Gladstone and the father of the Penny Postage. When Sir Rowland Hill was severely criticised in 1860, for the stand he made in relation to certain reforms, Mr. Gladstone wrote as follows:—

‘DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL,
Jan. 24th, 1861.

‘DEAR SIR R. HILL,—I have read your completed minute, and though I am to see you to-morrow, I must without waiting say I have read it with a deep sense of pain, and some of shame, in reviewing what has happened. If you are at present under odium for the gallant stand you make on behalf of the public interests, at a period too, when chivalry of that kind by no means “pays,” I believe that I have, and hope still to have, the honour of sharing it with you. I hope you have sent your minute to the Duke of Argyll. I am very thankful that you are once more at your post, and remain most truly yours,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

The ensuing letters were written in the year 1864, when due Parliamentary recognition was made of Sir Rowland Hill’s useful public services:—

‘HAMPSTEAD, 15th June, 1864.

‘DEAR MR. GLADSTONE,—While I have written to Lord Palmerston and Lord Granville to thank them for the favour they have publicly shown me, I cannot but feel that my chief acknowledgments for the very handsome and gratifying manner in which my services

have been recognised must be due to yourself, who, from the first to last, have lent me your powerful aid in my efforts to perform the duties committed to me, and have given to all my sug-

the very best that I could give; but had it been much better and more effective, it would not have been equal to your deserts and claims. I sincerely hope you are deriving much benefit



LORD CAMPBELL.

gestions and representations, a kind, candid, and careful consideration.— Believe me, &c ,

‘ ROWLAND HILL.’

Mr. Gladstone replied as follows:—

‘ 11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
June 15, 1864.

‘ MY DEAR SIR R. HILL,—The support you have had from me has been

from a lightened mind,—And remain, always sincerely yours,

‘ W. E. GLADSTONE.’

Dr. Birkbeck Hill, in dedicating his *Life of Sir Rowland Hill* to the Premier, writes as follows:—‘ The following pages tell how much Sir Rowland Hill felt your kindness in an hour of great

trouble. I find in his private journal even stronger expressions of gratitude. "I spoke," he says, in recording one of his interviews with you, "in strong

members of the Civil Service as a benefactor to the nation." "

The question of the discharge of labourers at the Woolwich Dockyards



SIR ROWLAND HILL.

terms and with emotion, which I in vain tried to suppress, of the feeling I entertained towards him for the uniform kindness, sympathy, and support I have received at his hands." "He stands," wrote Mr. Gladstone, a few months before he left the Post Office, "prominent and alone among all the

by the Liberal Government some years ago created much excitement at the time, and in reply to a correspondent who communicated with him upon this matter, Mr. Gladstone wrote:—

'SIR,—Allow me to suggest that your proper course is to ask those who

make the charge to supply some proof of it. I am placed in constant difficulties by calls to deny unproved charges which have been denied over and over again. Even a small acquaintance with public affairs would teach the accusers that in the offices I have held I never could have had to decide a departmental question of this nature. The only step undertaken by me in regard to dockyard workmen was to provide money, I think £2,000 or £3,000, to assist dockyard workmen desirous to emigrate in effecting their purpose. Your obedient and faithful,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

After the biography of Bishop Feild was published, Mr. Gladstone addressed the following letter to its compiler in the year 1876—a letter which shows the writer’s deep interest in the well-being of the Colonial Church:—

‘DEAR SIR,—I was not personally acquainted with Bishop Feild, and I am in regard to him simply one of the public. Any sketch, therefore, drawn by me would be wholly wanting in the vital condition of individuality; nor would this defect be compensated by my cordial admiration for his character. It is, indeed, I fear, true, that not the whole but a part of our colonial episcopate has sunk below the level established for it thirty and thirty-five years ago by the bishops of those days; but how high a level it was! and how it lifted the entire heart of the Church of England; so that he who with content and a noble thankfulness buried himself for life in the frosts and fog of

Newfoundland was in truth one of the most effective labourers in, as well as for, the Church at home. Many and many a bishop at home has set and sets us a high example; but so high as Bishop Feild in labour and sacrifice for Christ it is hardly from their position given them to rise. May his memory long be as bright as his rest is blessed! Believe me faithfully yours,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

Our readers may remember the publication of the *Life of the Rev. W. Sibthorp*, at one time a somewhat popular preacher in the English Church, but who died in communion with the Church of Rome. Mr. Gladstone, in his article in the *British Quarterly Review* on the evangelical party in the Church of England, said, that at that time they were poorly represented in Oxford. ‘There was, indeed,’ he continued, ‘an ecclesiastical centre in the parish of St. Ebbe’s, under the Rev. Mr. Bulteel, a man of some note in his day, where the flame was at white heat, and a score or two of young men who felt its attraction nestled together in the small establishment of St. Edmund’s Hall. But these youths belonged to a school of Ultra-Calvinism, which lay far in advance of the ordinary evangelical tenets. Of these tenets there was, in 1830, an admirable specimen in the person of Mr. Waldo Sibthorp, Fellow of Magdalen.’

Mr. Sibthorp criticised Mr. Gladstone’s Vatican pamphlets; and the statesman subsequently wrote thus of Mr. Sibthorp to his biographer:—

'LONDON, 25th July, 1879.

'Though my feeling towards him was strong, my personal intercourse with him was extremely slight, and my knowledge, therefore, not intimate. In the years 1829 and 1830 I used to be invited by a Mr. Hanbury, then a gentleman commoner of Saint Mary's Hall, to prayer meetings in his rooms, at which I have, if memory does not deceive me, frequently met Mr. Sibthorp. I used frequently to walk out in summer from Oxford to a small chapel under Bogley Wood to hear him preach in the evenings to a purely peasant congregation, and thus I had some opportunity of appreciating the spirit of the man. I have had occasion to visit Nottingham, as Newcastle trustee, since he took up his abode there, and I was very desirous to call upon him, but real and extreme pressure compelled me to put it off to a more convenient time, which never came, so that although I thought him a most loveable and attractive man, full of the spirit of Christian refinement, I have had but narrow opportunities of verifying my impression. I may mention an anecdote not without interest. For some purpose, Mr. Sibthorp preached on a Sunday morning to the crowded congregation who attended the parish church of St. Ebbe's, under Mr. Bulteel. I heard the sermon—an evangelical sermon of a genial type. Mr. Bulteel himself preached in the afternoon, and I well remember hearing at the time that he rebuked the error of saying that Christ died for all men, as in the morning his

brother Sibthorp had mistakenly taught them.'

Mr. Gladstone further wrote from Hawarden in connection with this matter:—

'On coming down here I have referred to my journals, not wholly without fruit. The small church under Bogley Wood, between it and the river, and now I think well seen from the railroad, was called Kensington Church. I find notes of having been there on May 10 and May 17, 1829, with very commendatory notices of Mr. Sibthorp's sermons; also on May 30, 1830. The church was always full to the doors. Mr. Sibthorp had no vestry; he put off his surplice and put on the black gown, which lay over the reading-desk, for the sermon, before the people.

'I have nothing more of the Oxford Sibthorp beyond what I have already stated, than a soothing general recollection—a venerable, visual image in the mind's eye, and a moral certainty that the preaching was at the least of singular grace and charm, which drew me again and again to walk some miles out of Oxford, when preaching was abundant, and when *good* preaching was to be had. I may illustrate this by saying that I never went out of Oxford to hear a preacher except in this case, and on one other occasion.'

That singular and erratic politician, Sir George Bowyer, has frequently come across Mr. Gladstone in his political career, not always to Sir George's advantage. In the matter of the Land Bill, he wrote as follows to the Premier on the 12th of October, 1880:—

'MY DEAR MR. GLADSTONE,—With much regret I feel bound to tell you that your Irish land policy is doing mischief in England. I write as a sufferer, and I am so advised by my eminent and experienced solicitors. Farmers do not take vacant farms, partly because they think that the Government are "going to do something for them," enabling them to farm at reduced rents and under new and more profitable conditions. They believe that what are, by ignorant people, called the land laws, are going to be materially altered in favour of the tenant farmer. They have been told that the law of distress for rent is to be repealed, and rent treated only as a debt. Other ideas float in their minds suggested by Irish Tenant Right and the Irish Disturbance Bill, which violated immutable doctrines and rules of jurisprudence. I am sure you did not intend that those results should arise. But so it is. The most important industry in the kingdom has suffered from causes over which no man possesses any control. Agriculture has undergone great distress. But that distress is now, to an appreciable degree, aggravated, and the effects of a good harvest impaired, by the influences above referred to. And the revival of agriculture, on which the prosperity of the country depends, is thereby impeded. This is not a party question. My only object is to suggest for your consideration whether something might not be done to terminate the present uncertainty regarding the views of the Government affecting the land in

England, and thus restore confidence by putting an end to speculation as to future legislation. Believe me, yours sincerely,
'GEORGE BOWYER.'

Mr. Gladstone replied to this epistle as follows:—

'DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL.

'October 14, 1880.

'MY DEAR SIR GEORGE BOWYER,—I thank you sincerely for your free speech, but I am not able to agree with you. For many long years I have been struck with the fact that the English occupier has raised no inferences in his own favour from the case of Ireland. I do not believe he is so unreasonable as to do it at the present juncture, when all the Irish facts are so peculiar and distinct. Yours is the first intimation that has reached me of this kind. Neither can I agree as to the Disturbance Bill, the rejection of which has done so much harm. But having had my say in public on this question, I will not now re-open it. Believe me, faithfully yours,
'W. E. GLADSTONE.'

It will be remembered that early in 1880, and in the course of his Midlothian campaign, Mr. Gladstone was charged with having expressed himself in a very hostile manner towards Austria, and his language was much misrepresented both upon the Continent and in this country. He accordingly wrote to Count Karolyi, the Austrian representative at the Court of St. James's, the following letter, which excited much comment:—

'LONDON, May 4, 1880.

'DEAR COUNT KAROLYI,—I thank your Excellency for your letter, which, uniting frankness with kindness, renders my task an easy one.

'Without discussing the accuracy of

either repeat or even defend in argument polemical language in regard to more than one foreign Power which I had used individually when in a position of greater freedom and less responsibility.



SIR HENRY ELLIOT.

certain expressions in the report you have forwarded, I proceed at once to the subject. At the moment when I accepted from the Queen the duty of forming an administration, I forthwith resolved that I would not, as a Minister,

'Two points have been raised by your Excellency. I will dispose of the first by expressing my regret that I should even have seemed to impute to his Imperial Majesty language which he did not use.

‘Your Excellency says that his Imperial Majesty expressed, in conversation with Sir H. Elliot, “his deep regret at my hostile disposition towards Austria.” Permit me to say I have no such dispositions towards any country whatever, and that I at all times have particularly and heartily wished well to Austria in the performance of the arduous task of consolidating the Empire. I feel a cordial respect for the efforts of the Emperor, and I trust that their complete success may honourably and nobly mark his reign.

‘With respect to my animadversions on the foreign policy of Austria at times when it was active beyond the borders, I will not conceal from your Excellency that grave apprehensions had been excited in my mind lest Austria should play a part in the Balkan Peninsula hostile to the freedom of the emancipated populations, and to the reasonable and warranted hopes of the subjects of the Sultan. These apprehensions were founded, it is true, upon secondary evidence, but it was not the evidence of hostile witnesses, and it was the best at my command.

‘Your Excellency is now good enough to assure me that your Government has no desire whatever to extend or add to the rights it has acquired under the Treaty of Berlin, and that any such extension would be actually prejudicial to Austro-Hungary.

‘Permit me at once to state to your Excellency that, had I been in possession of such an assurance as I have now been able to receive, I never would

have uttered any one of the words which your Excellency justly describes as of a painful and wounding character. Whether it was my misfortune or my fault that I was not so supplied, I will not now attempt to determine, but will at once express my serious concern that I should, in default of it, have been led to refer to transactions of an earlier period, or to use terms of censure which I can now wholly banish from my mind.

‘I think that the explanation I now tender should be made not less public than the speech which has supplied the occasion for it, and as to the form of such publicity I desire to accede to whatever may be your Excellency’s wish. I have only to thank your Excellency alike for the matter and the manner both of your oral and of your written communications. With,
&c.,
‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

Amongst the English journals which dealt with this letter, the *Times* wrote:—‘During his electoral campaign in Midlothian, Mr. Gladstone claimed for himself, and abundantly used, a freedom of treatment in dealing with political questions, both foreign and domestic, which has not been customary in the case of statesmen likely to become responsible in their own persons for the conduct of public affairs. It has been assumed too lightly that this controversial liberty and all its consequences may be consigned to oblivion now that the strife is over and the Liberals have driven their rivals from power. But this is not in all respects.

possible, as Mr. Gladstone has practically recognised by his letter to the Austrian Ambassador. The language which Mr. Gladstone used before the Midlothian electors in regard to Austria—and, indeed, as he says himself, “in regard to more than one foreign Power”—was not understood upon the Continent to belong to the irresponsible polemics of electioneering. It was felt that if the Liberal party were victorious, hardly any one but Mr. Gladstone could be at the head of the new Government. Sovereigns and statesmen asked themselves, not unreasonably, what Mr. Gladstone’s denunciation of Austria signified. There had been cordial good-will and a close agreement as to the ends and means between the English and Austrian Governments for nearly two years, founded, as was universally believed, upon a common determination to carry out and maintain, in the letter and the spirit, the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin. When Mr. Gladstone declared that “Austria had ever been the unflinching foe of freedom in every country,” when he affirmed that there was not a spot upon the whole map where one could lay one’s finger and say, “There Austria has done good,” when he contended that at the Berlin Congress Austrian influence had been opposed to the extension of freedom, when he quoted against the Constitutional Monarchy of the Emperor Francis Joseph the bygone misdeeds of the autocratic empire of fifty years ago, and its enmities to the young nationalities of Greece and Belgium,

he was dealing with Austrian policy as in substance the same as the policy of Lord Beaconsfield. In fact, he called upon the electors of Midlothian to give their votes for his opponent “if they wanted to have an Austrian foreign policy dominant in the councils of this country.” From these strong statements the inference was drawn abroad that Mr. Gladstone was not only unfriendly to Austria, but that if he returned to power he would use his authority to draw England away from co-operating, as she had recently done, with the Austrian Government for the maintenance of the Berlin settlement.

‘The defeat of the Conservative Government, and Mr. Gladstone’s recall to office, were, therefore, regarded with doubtful feelings by the Austrian Government. It was desirable since, as we now know, an inexact construction had been placed upon Mr. Gladstone’s sharply accentuated and highly-coloured language, that the ambiguity should be cleared up. This was the more necessary because, we believe, Count Karolyi, the Ambassador of Austria at the Court of St. James’s, had felt the difficulty of appearing either to ignore or to take formal notice of Mr. Gladstone’s words. The language used in Midlothian was, to say the least, open to an interpretation which might be resented by a sensitive guardian of the national honour of Austria, and, if left without withdrawal or explanation, must have rendered Mr. Gladstone’s intercourse with Count Karolyi unpleasant to both parties. At the same time it was clear



HERZEGOVINIAN REFUGEES AT RAGUSA.

that any interruption of the diplomatic relations between the two countries, and any change in the personal representation of Austria in London, was for every reason to be deprecated. Count Karolyi has held in his hands the threads of most important and complicated negotiations during a critical period, and his retirement would have given the rein to disquieting and baseless conjectures, attributing to the one State or the other a sudden change of policy or an unwise display of temper. Fortunately, the difficulty has been ended by the complete and gracefully worded *amende* which Mr. Gladstone has made. Nevertheless, the form of the Prime Minister's explanation shows how inexpedient it is that there should ever have been any occasion for it. Mr. Gladstone disclaims, in the most emphatic manner, the "hostile dispositions" towards Austria at which he has heard that the Emperor Francis Joseph has expressed regret; he has, on the contrary, always wished well to Austria, and sympathised with her Constitutional development. But if he looks back upon what he said in Midlothian, he cannot feel surprised that other people, and especially the Austrians themselves, have taken a different view. We do not doubt, however, that Mr. Gladstone's disavowal will be frankly accepted by the Emperor of Austria, the Austrian Ambassador, and the people of the Austro-Hungarian kingdom. We cannot praise too highly the resolution of the Prime Minister not to be led into "defending in argument

terms of censure which," he adds, "I can now wholly banish from my mind." It is well that Mr. Gladstone is able thus readily to dismiss the remembrance of words which Count Karolyi "justly describes as of a painful and wounding character." But it is not safe to calculate on finding the same easy obliviousness, though we trust it has been found in the present instance, among those to whom such "polemical language" has been applied.'

A well-informed political correspondent of the *Daily News*, writing under the *nom de plume* of 'Ignotus,' furnished the following plain statement of the facts of the Gladstone-Karolyi incident, respecting which so much misapprehension and misrepresentation prevailed:—

'At a social gathering, some days after Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister, Count Karolyi took an opportunity, in courteous and friendly terms, to express his regret that Mr. Gladstone thought it his duty to speak of Austria as he had done in Midlothian. In explanation and justification of that language, Mr. Gladstone referred to the current belief in this country that Austria intended to make her occupation of Bosnia and the Herzegovina a base of further annexations, to the detriment of the legitimate aspirations both of the emancipated and the still enslaved races of European Turkey. In reply, the Austrian Ambassador assured Mr. Gladstone that Austria had no intention of extending her frontier southward or of interfering outside her present borders. Mr. Glad-

stone expressed his gratification at this assurance, asked Count Karolyi if he would communicate it to him on paper, and added that if he had been in possession of that assurance beforehand, he should not have felt it to be his duty to speak of Austria as he had done in Midlothian. Count Karolyi acceded to Mr. Gladstone's wish, and repeated his assurance in writing; and Mr. Gladstone thereupon wrote the letter which has been published. In that letter Mr. Gladstone says:—

‘1. That having accepted the responsibilities of office, he “forthwith resolved that he would not as a Minister either repeat, or even defend in argument, polemical language in regard to more than one foreign Power which he had used individually when in a position of greater freedom and less responsibility.” Does this mean that Mr. Gladstone regrets the language he had used or thinks it indefensible? On the contrary, Mr. Gladstone has but expressed a stale truism, on which every member of Parliament who is fit to serve his queen and country must base his conduct. On this point Mr. Gladstone has retracted nothing; he has done nothing, but courteously declined a discussion which, now that he is in a position to give effect to the policy of the Liberal party, could only do harm.

‘2. The Vienna Correspondent of the *Standard*, in the crisis of the general election, had telegraphed an alleged conversation of the Emperor of Austria with the British Ambassador at Vienna, in which his Majesty was represented as deprecating in strong

language the accession of the Liberal party to office. So far from resenting this alleged interference of a foreign potentate in our domestic politics, the very journals which are now so loud in their denunciation of Mr. Gladstone's letter of explanation quoted the Emperor of Austria's alleged attack on Mr. Gladstone as a reason why the people of England should put their ban on the present Prime Minister. Talk of humiliating England! When was there such a humiliation as that? I know of no humiliating in recent times to compare to it, unless it be the late Premier's sneer at Prince Bismarck in 1874, together with his subsequent apology through the English newspapers. But the Emperor of Austria has explained that the conversation attributed to him is a myth, and Mr. Gladstone has taken the first opportunity of expressing his regret that he “should even have seemed to impute to his Imperial Majesty language which he did not use.” In this I see the courtesy of a gentleman, and not the humiliation of a statesman.

‘3. Mr. Gladstone takes note of the Austrian Ambassador's assurance that “his Government has no desire whatever to extend or to add to the rights it has acquired under the Treaty of Berlin,” and gives the following explanations in return:—“Permit me at once to state to your Excellency that, had I been in possession of such an assurance as I have now been able to receive, I never would have uttered any one of the words which your Excellency justly describes as of a

painful and wounding character. Whether it was my misfortune or my fault that I was not so supplied I will not now attempt to determine, but will at once express my serious concern that I should, in default of it, have been led to refer to transactions of an earlier period, or to use terms of censure which I can now wholly banish from my mind." Mr. Gladstone also explains that, in this absence of the assurance now given to him, his "animadversions on the policy of Austria" were founded on "the best evidence at his command."

'Such is the letter which Lord George Hamilton, a member of the late Government, characterises as "the most shameful and shameless that he has ever read in the whole course of his life." And in order to leave no room for doubt as to his meaning, this patronising censor of an illustrious statesman accentuates "the passage which"—I quote his words—"I characterise as shameless, because he (Mr. Gladstone) says that if he had been in the possession of information which had reached him during the last few days, and which for a year or more was in the possession of Lord Beaconsfield and his colleagues, he never would have uttered his animadversions upon the foreign policy of Austria."

"For a year or more," then, "Lord Beaconsfield and his late colleagues" were in possession of the assurance which Count Karolyi has now given to Mr. Gladstone. Why did they keep that assurance secret? Why did they

publicly use language which was so well calculated to mislead, and did actually mislead, not only Mr. Gladstone but the people of England? On his return from Berlin the late Foreign Secretary took an early opportunity of explaining in the House of Lords the reason and the importance of the Austrian occupation of Bosnia and the Herzegovina. "Poets and enthusiasts," he said, "have foreshadowed a Greek succession of the possessions of the Turk;" but the wisdom of Lord Beaconsfield's Government had devised a sounder policy, which Lord Salisbury explained as follows:—"The fact therefore remained true up to within the last month, that if Russia could only shake the Turkish Empire to pieces she was the inevitable heir to its remains. But the arrival of the Austrians at Novi-Bazar has changed the whole position of affairs. There is now a strong Power—strong in itself, still stronger with its necessary alliances—which is now on the high road to Constantinople; and though no one who knows the tenor of Austrian policy would suspect her statesmen of the slightest desire to precipitate such a disastrous result, yet her presence has announced to the world in general, and to intending aggressors in particular, that if either intrigue or violence should shake the Turkish Empire to pieces, it will not be Russia that will rule upon the Bosphorus." ("Hansard," vol. 241, p. 1,806.)

'Everybody in Eng'land understood that official explanation to mean that the Austrian occupation of Bosnia was

but the first stage of Austria's march to Salonica, and perhaps to Constantinople. The Austrian Government has now assured Mr. Gladstone that Austria never cherished any intention of the kind; and a member of the late Government makes the astounding assertion that for a year or more "this assurance was in the possession of Lord Beaconsfield and his late colleagues." And Mr. Gladstone, forsooth, "knew perfectly well that he could not expect to have that information if he was not in office."

'If, Sir, there has been anything "shameful and shameless" in this business, I venture to think that it must be sought elsewhere than in Mr. Gladstone's letter to Count Karolyi. Mr. Gladstone has, in fact, extracted from the Austrian Government a reversal—I do not say of Austrian policy—but certainly of one important part of the policy of Lord Beaconsfield's Government.'

The extreme solicitude of certain members of the Conservative party to make political capital out of this incident at the expense of Mr. Gladstone, was very noteworthy; but the attempt completely failed.

Upon Mr. Gladstone's arrival in London from Hawarden, after the great Liberal victory throughout the country had become known, it was proposed to give him a public reception in London. The Premier, however, declined the honour for the very sufficient reasons stated in the following letter, which he addressed to Mr. S. Plimsoll, M.P. :—

'HAWARDEN, CHESTER,
'April 11th, 1880.

'MY DEAR SIR,—I have endeavoured to consider carefully the proposal made known to me by you on Friday evening, to give me a public reception on my arrival in London.

'Considered in itself as a tribute of confidence and kindness, or, again, with reference to the numbers and weight of those on whose part it is made, it is to me most touching and gratifying in the highest degree, and if I felt justified in accepting it without reference to aspects other than that in which it has been designed, I could not persuade myself to decline it.

'But I am sure that in the eyes of many, and not of our political opponents exclusively, it would be regarded as an attempt, made for the first time, to establish a practice of public rejoicing in the metropolis of the country over the catastrophe of an Administration and a political party, and would wound feelings which we ought to respect as well as spare. You will at once see that for me to share in a proceeding capable of bearing this construction would be inconsistent with the intention which, on the close of the poll in Midlothian, I immediately declared.

'I am also confident that if you and the other promoters agree with me in the belief that this colour might attach to the demonstration, you will arrive at the conclusion that it would be well to waive it; in any case you will see that I am not free to take any other course but that of declining the great and con-



SIR ROBERT PEEL

(After the Portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A.)





Yours truly
Samuel Plimsoll

MR. SAMUEL PLIMSOLL, M.P.

spicuous honour which has been offered me; and you will also accept my assurance that I shall ever remember the proposal with the same sense of lively gratitude and pleasure as if it had

actually taken effect.—I remain, my dear Sir, yours faithfully,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

This letter having been read at a

meeting of the Committee appointed to carry out the proceedings at the proposed reception, the following resolution was adopted:—"That this committee, having heard Mr. Gladstone's letter read, resolve that, although to them it is a great disappointment to be obliged to forego their purpose of giving him such a welcome as would testify to the great and general admiration which is felt for him, nevertheless they cannot but recognise the generosity and magnanimity of Mr. Gladstone's motive, and are of opinion that they would best show their regard for him at this juncture by a prompt, though very reluctant, acquiescence in his wish. That the public reception, therefore, be given up."

In view of Mr. Gladstone's completing his seventieth year, in December, 1879, it was proposed to entertain him at a banquet to be held in the largest available building in London. The Premier, in declining this invitation, thus wrote to Mr. S. Morley, M.P.:—

'73, HARLEY STREET,
'October 23rd, 1879.

'MY DEAR MR. MORLEY,—I reached London on Saturday, and I have since been laid up by a severe cold, which has not entirely left me, so that I must write more hastily than I could wish. But I think it necessary to address you without delay in reference to a plan, most gratifying to my feelings, on which you were the first to speak to me in the spring of this year.

'The design of honouring me with a banquet on the anticipated completion of my seventieth year is so flatter-

ing to me that I am naturally reluctant to withhold my assent from it.

'Had circumstances permitted me to remain in that degree of political quietude which I was able to maintain in 1874 and 1875 I should thankfully have accepted the proposal, without fear of its being misunderstood.

'But the necessities of the period from 1876 onwards have forced me into a constant activity, while I remain as desirous as heretofore to do nothing which could appear to compromise or tend to alter my position as a private member of the Liberal party.

'The prospect of a general election has led to my undertaking in the county of Midlothian a full share of the labour and excitement of the crisis; but this appears to render it especially needful that I should not, at such a period, be the object of a public demonstration elsewhere, whether in the form of a banquet or otherwise.

'I hold it to be at this time a duty of special obligation for every member of the party individually to avoid whatever might tend to disturb its organisation under its excellent leaders, or to weaken its action in pursuit of the greatest and most urgent national aims which have for many years been presented to it.

'I therefore respectfully and gratefully ask you to convey to those who have thus far been engaged in the design, my request on public grounds that it may not be further prosecuted

'I remain, my dear Mr. Morley, very faithfully yours,

'W. E. GLADSTONE.'

The Premier, however, did not decline an offering made to him on his seventieth birthday by the Mayor of Burslem, and several other potters of that town, the memorial consisting of specimens of an art which Mr. Gladstone has always admired, and manufactured in a place where the right hon. gentleman had lectured on 'Wedgwood' sixteen years before. Mr. Gladstone acknowledged the gift in the following terms :—

‘HAWARDEN,
‘December 30, 1879.

‘DEAR SIR,—The articles to which you refer in your two obliging letters arrived here last night in perfect safety, and are much admired by others as well as by myself. They seem to exhibit in many points proofs of the continuance of that growth for which the manufactures in the Potteries have now for a quarter of a century or more been so remarkable. Will you kindly accept, on your own behalf and for the Mayor of Burslem and the other gentlemen whose kindness I am acknowledging, my best thanks, and together with my thanks the expression of my hope that British energy and skill, which have nowhere else been more conspicuous, may continue increasingly to mark the district and to promote its prosperity. I beg to offer herewith my best wishes for a happy new year, and to remain, dear Sir, faithfully yours,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

Mr. Grantham, M.P., in a speech delivered at Tunbridge Wells, mis-

represented a passage in one of Mr. Gladstone's speeches as follows :—‘To use Mr. Gladstone's own words, a prison was blown up in London, and a policeman was murdered in Manchester, and in consequence of these atrocities Mr. Gladstone abolished the Irish Church. I have given you his own words. What is there to show, should sufficient pressure be put upon Mr. Gladstone, that he will not abolish, not only the Scotch Church but the English Church also, if only a few policemen, to say nothing of a clergyman or two, are murdered?’

Hereupon the Rev. James Irving, of Tunbridge Wells, wrote to the Premier respecting this misrepresentation, and received this reply :—

‘TO THE REV. JAMES IRVING.

SIR,—It seems hard to decide which part of the speech you send me is the most abusive or the most ill-informed. What happened about the Irish Church was this :—In 1865 I denounced it in the House of Commons, but saw no preparation in the public mind to entertain the question. The two signal outrages in 1867 drew attention to it. That attention was the only thing lacking, and I thereupon without delay urged, I think in Lancashire, that in my opinion the hour had arrived for establishing religious equality in Ireland.—Your faithful and obedient,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.

‘Dec. 30, 1879.’

The Premier having been asked by an elector of Greenwich whether he would attend a meeting, to be held

for the purpose of protesting against the proposal to pay a salary to the Chairman of the London School Board, returned the following answer:—

‘HAWARDEN, Jan. 9, 1879.

‘SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge your letter of the 7th. The proposal to make the chairmanship of the London School Board a salaried office is one of great importance, and raises a variety of considerations, some of them, perhaps, passing even beyond the limits of the metropolis. I do not doubt that it will be carefully weighed by the constituency of the Board, and I shall certainly endeavour to give attention to the subject with a due sense of the great labours that have been assiduously performed, and with a sincere desire to master all the other bearings of the case. But I am very far from being in any way master of them at present, and I do not think that under the circumstances advantage would arise from my attending the proposed meeting, which I should not be prepared to advise. I remain, sir, your faithful servant,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

‘MR. THOMAS M’CLURE.’

The Assistant-Secretary of the Financial Reform Association received the following letter concerning the well-known almanack published under the auspices of the Association:—

‘My use of almanacks is much more limited than that of many, nor do I think you stand in need of my testimony when I read the very distinguished acknowledgments of the merits of your almanack which you have sent

me. So far, however, as I have referred to its pages I have not only found them distinguished by care in statement and clearness in arrangement, but I have recognised in them the general character described by Mr. Bright in language which I should only mar in attempting to reproduce.’

In the December preceding the Midlothian election Mr. Gladstone had his attention drawn to a statement in an Edinburgh paper to the effect that thirty-three years before he had claimed a faggot vote in Ross-shire, and that the claim had been disallowed. To this charge he thus replied:—

‘DALZELL, MOTHERWELL, N.B.

‘Dec. 6, 1879.

‘SIR,—As far as I can remember what happened thirty-three years ago in such a matter, the statements of the *Courant* are, I will not say false, but groundless. My recollection is that my father possessed a small estate in Ross-shire, and having four sons, who were dependent upon him, did give them four sections of his property, or *bonâ fide* rights of law in relation to it which made them *bonâ fide* voters for the county, and that those claims were admitted and duly registered. I will not excuse a transaction which wants no excuse, for I do not complain of the Duke of Buccleuch or any other man investing his own children, dependent upon him, with rights of property conveying electoral rights in respect of a portion of what they received from him. Such were the votes, according to my recollection, in Ross-shire, and such are not the faggot

votes which will now long be remembered in the county of Midlothian.—
I remain, sir, your faithful servant,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.

‘Publish this letter if you think fit,

‘HAWARDEN, Dec. 24, 1879.

‘DEAR MR. BOURKE,—I find ascribed to you, in a recent speech, words referring to me as follows:—“A man who sent an emissary to Russia for the purpose of translating his pamphlet into



MR. SAMUEL MORLEY, M.P.

and bear in mind that had this transaction been as blameworthy as it was innocent, the blame must have belonged to Toryism, and not to the Liberal party.’

The following correspondence between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bourke, the Tory Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, will explain itself:—

the Russian language with the view of augmenting the power of the war party in Russia.” If the report is incorrect, I am sorry to have troubled you; if otherwise, allow me to ask for the authority on which you have made this statement.—Yours faithfully,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.

‘HON. R. BOURKE, M.P.’

' COALSTOUN, HADDINGTON, N.B.

Dec. 28, 1879.

' DEAR MR. GLADSTONE,—I think the report of that portion of my speech at Leeds which you are good enough to send me is correct.

' I am sure that the passage expresses what I believed to be the case in October, 1876—a belief which I still entertain.

' I have never heard any competent authority, English or foreign, express a doubt that the appearance of Mr. Alexander in Russia as your agent for distributing your pamphlet in the Russian language was most unfortunate and injurious to the public interests, or that it was calculated to produce those effects which were, in fact, its actual sequence—viz., the increase of the number of the Russian volunteers in the Servian army, the strengthening of General Tcherniaeff's position, and the prolongation of the strife between Turkey and Servia, which all the Powers, including Russia, were at that time earnestly endeavouring to terminate. I may also remind you that it was contemporaneously with these events that warlike preparations in Russia were announced in the newspapers.

' From these facts and from the following extracts from the *Journal de St. Pétersbourg* and the *Agence Russe*, I cannot entertain a doubt that Mr. Alexander's mission was calculated to augment the power of the war party in Russia, and did have that effect.

' I find in the *Journal de St. Pétersbourg* of the 8th of October the following paragraphs:—

"*Journal de St. Pétersbourg*, October 8, 1876:—' Nous avons annoncé dernièrement que la brochure de M. Gladstone sur les atrocités de Bulgarie a été traduite en Russe. Cette traduction a eu lieu sur le désir de M. Gladstone lui-même, qui avait chargé un de ses amis, M. Alexander, de se rendre dans ce but à St. Pétersbourg. Le 18 Septembre M. Alexander a été invité à prendre part à une séance de la section Pétersbourgeoise du comité Slave de bienfaisance. A son arrivée la bienvenue à été souhaitée au sympathique étranger par M. T. Phillippow. M. Alexander, de son côté, a répondu à l'allocation du président du comité par le discours suivant que nos journaux reproduisent: " Je comprends très-bien que ce n'est point à mon propre mérite, mais à l'amitié dont m'honore le grand homme d'état de mon pays, que je dois l'accueil flatteur dont je me vois l'objet. Je ne suis que la pâle ombre de ce grand homme; mais l'humble rôle que je joue, et qui m'a permis de me mettre en contact avec vous, restera un des meilleurs souvenirs de ma vie."

' I will not trouble you with any more of the quotation.

' And in the *Agence Russe* of October 10, I read: " Le révérend M. Alexander, envoyé en Russie par M. Gladstone, avait annoncé, ces jours-ci, une chaleureuse allocation témoignant des sentiments d'estime que la nation Anglaise professe pour la nation Russe dans sa lutte contre les oppressions des Chrétiens."

' I need not point out to you the numerous expressions in the above

which justified me in styling Mr. Alexander your "emissary." His proceedings, so far as I know, have never been disavowed or disapproved of by you. In the absence, therefore, of any such disavowal or disapproval, I shall continue to hold that that portion of my speech at Leeds, to which you have drawn my attention, is a just and legitimate commentary on the recorded conduct of a public man. Should you, however, consider that I have done you any injustice you are perfectly welcome to publish this letter, for which I am alone responsible.—I remain very faithfully yours,

ROBERT BOURKE.'

'HAWARDEN CASTLE, CHESTER,
' Dec. 30, 1879.

'DEAR MR. BOURKE,—I have to acknowledge your letter of the 28th. You have stated to the world, as matter of unquestioned fact, evidently in ignorance of the circumstances, that which is altogether without foundation. The pamphlet to which you refer was translated into a great many European languages, among them into Russian. I made no objection to any of these translations, but the translators were not thereby constituted my agents. The only difference, as far as I am aware, in Mr. Alexander's case, was that he, personally a stranger to me, applied for permission, and that I told him what most, if not all, of the others warrantably, under the circumstances, took for granted. I submit to you that it is not for the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, with the unrivalled means of information which

are provided for him, to charge upon a member of Parliament as fact whatever statement he can gather from a foreign newspaper, even if he does not, as I think you have done, somewhat improve upon that statement. I need not say that I never saw nor heard of these reports. I do not act upon your obliging permission to publish your letter. It appears to me to be for the person who has inadvertently fallen into an error to correct it; and in this I do not doubt you will agree with me.—I remain, faithfully yours,

' W. E. GLADSTONE.'

'COALSTOUN, HADDINGTON, N.B.,
' January 3, 1880.

'DEAR MR. GLADSTONE,—I should not trouble you with another letter were it not for the last sentence of your reply to mine, in which you say:—'It appears to me to be for the person who has inadvertently fallen into an error to correct it; and in this, I do not doubt, you will agree with me.' I am quite willing that the explanation of what you consider to be my 'error' should be made as public as the statement I made at Leeds. In accordance, therefore, with the duty you impose upon me, I have sent the correspondence to the London papers.—I remain, very faithfully yours,

' ROBERT BOURKE.'

In connection with this affair, Mr. C. L. Alexander thus wrote to the daily journals:—

'SIR,—The matters revived by Mr. Bourke were disposed of more than

three years ago in the leading London papers. As the so-called "emissary" or "agent"—whichever fanciful word Mr. Bourke prefers—permit me to say briefly:—1. That I visited Russia entirely for objects of my own, and at my

had even taken my passage when I wrote. I went by sea.] 4. Mr. Gladstone's reply, giving the permission craved, arrived on the morning of my departure—the 9th September, 1876—the day on which the steamer sailed



STATUE OF PETER THE GREAT, ST. PETERSBURG.

own expense. 2. That I had determined upon that journey long before Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet was announced, or, probably, even contemplated by its author. 3. That I wrote to Mr. Gladstone soliciting permission to have his pamphlet translated into Russian. [This was a few days only before my departure. I believe that I

from Hull. 5. To describe me as Mr. Gladstone's—or any one's—emissary or agent, is both untrue and absurd. 6. I never represented myself otherwise than as a simple private citizen, visiting Russia at my own instance and expressing my own views. 7. Mr. Bourke furnishes extracts from Russian papers—one dated the 8th October, and the



THE INSURRECTION IN SERBIA: A BAND OF VOLUNTEERS.

other the 10th October. I left Russia on the 7th of that month. 8. I fear that I shall never be able to speak such very good French as is attributed to me. I am very sure that I did not say, and that I could not have said, much that seems put into my mouth. I observe that one of the extracts of the 8th October purports to report a speech of mine of the 18th September. The interval of time is remarkable. The report is, besides, a very inaccurate paraphrase. What the Russian papers said I do not know—not knowing Russian. I do know this, however, that one paper contained the astounding news that I had lent a dozen millions sterling, or so, to the Russian Government. After that, I could not be surprised that some papers had given to many matters a turn which accorded with their wishes rather than with the strict facts. If I were a vain man, I should be overwhelmed with satisfaction on reading the momentous effects which Mr. Bourke traces as having distinctly flowed from my action in Russia; but I am afraid that I cannot so far flatter myself. Could I agree with him, I would indeed have cause for both gratitude and pride—for every word I wrote and spoke in Russia I spoke and wrote from my heart, and on my own responsibility alone; and if, in any degree, however slight, I have helped in the good work of deliverance in the East, I am truly thankful for it. But, again, I say Mr. Bourke flatters me too much, and does so obviously to point his shaft at Mr. Gladstone. It is a deep honour to me

to be, even for a moment, a buckler-bearer for him.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

‘C. L. ALEXANDER.

‘Putney, S.W., Jan. 6, 1880.’

On the occasion of the centenary of the famous divine, Dr. Chalmers, celebrated in the Free Church Assembly Hall, Edinburgh, Mr. Gladstone thus wrote to Lord Moncrieff:—

‘MY DEAR MONCRIEFF, —I wished to have written to you at leisure, but I have to-day observed or reminded myself that the occasion arrives to-morrow, so I must write in haste. However, I do not know whether in my last letter I exhausted, at least verbally, the stores of my admiration for Dr. Chalmers, or whether I allowed it to be taken for granted, what I can now truly say, that there are hardly any words of admiration that could be employed concerning him to which I should scruple to subscribe. My knowledge of him was in a very early period of my manhood, when it was my father’s wont to spend his winter in Edinburgh. I have a certain number of his letters, and I remember how they were always subscribed by him, ‘yours respectfully,’ or ‘yours most respectfully,’ and that I was utterly at fault in the attempt to find any words in return which would duly mark our several positions. He was, indeed, one of Nature’s nobles, and most of the qualities which stamped him with that character were obvious, almost glaring, to all who came across his path. I do not mean merely his rich and glowing eloquence, but his warrior grandeur.

his unbounded philanthropy, his strength of purpose, his mental integrity, his absorbed and absorbing earnestness. They might not be aware of his singular simplicity and detachment from the world, of which I remember to have been deeply struck on a particular occasion. He sometimes gave me the honour of a walk with him, and one day he said he wished to make an appointment of this kind with me, when during our walk he would explain to me fully his situation with respect to the emoluments of his professorship, the Chair of Divinity. If I remember right, the Chair, when he was appointed to it, was believed to have a large endowment; but a point of law was, I think, subsequently raised, which, if affirmed, would have swept away the whole. After forty-five years I may state this inaccurately; but what I remember clearly is that the question was a very grave one, and I think it materially affected the prospects and even the status of himself and his family. The day came, and the walk began, and lasted, I suppose, a couple of hours or more. At our starting he opened one of his favourite and engrossing subjects, probably that of evangelising the country by means of manageable districts, each with its church and minister. Having begun, he forgot all about his endowment and his status. The conversation held fast by the original theme till we were within a few yards of my father's door. He seemed then to recollect himself, and he said, 'If you will allow me I will send my man of business to call

upon you, and he will acquaint you with all the particulars of the question which has been raised.' Such was the impotence of lucre to lay hold of his great, stately, and heavenly mind. After having thus given you a piece of him which I think has internal evidence of being genuine, I will not detain you with anything more, but wishing you all success in rendering honour to whom honour is due, I remain, yours, &c.,

'W. E. GLADSTONE.'

During his second Midlothian campaign Mr. Gladstone found it necessary to send the following communication to the Editor of the *Scotsman* :—

'120, GEORGE STREET, EDINBURGH.

'April 3, 1880.

'SIR,—I request of you kindly to publish the letter herewith enclosed, which I to-day addressed to the Solicitor-General for England, and which I feel myself obliged to make known without delay, as I find that Tory candidates are repeating the preposterous story first put forth by the Solicitor-General in various quarters, and among others in the county of Worcester, for a division of which my eldest son is a candidate.—I have the honour to be, sir, your faithful servant,

'W. E. GLADSTONE.'

'DALMENY PARK, EDINBURGH.

'April, 3, 1880.

'SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter and of the enclosure, which I return. From this enclosure it appears that a correspondent of the *Standard*, in Madrid, has ascribed to Señor Castelar a state-

ment in a speech that, as chief of the British Liberals (which I am not), I approved of the re-conquest of Gibraltar. It also appears that a Spanish newspaper described Señor Castelar as having stated that a cession in some form of Gibraltar to Spain entered into my electoral programme, of the terms of which programme you were, or might have made yourself, perfectly aware at the time when you spoke. Although both these testimonies bore in words which I have underlined the mark of inaccuracy and even of absurdity, you thought yourself justified, as the Solicitor-General for England, presumably on the way to judicial office, in founding on them an allegation, so far as I know unqualified, that I was prepared to give up Gibraltar. On my stating by telegraph that there was not a word of truth in it, you did not withdraw it, but returned to the subject in a lengthened explanation which I do not understand, and which I leave it to you to describe. In the meantime, I request of you the public apology which I conceive to be due, not so much to me personally as to the rules of fair and honourable conflict.—I have the honour to be, sir, your faithful servant,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

The right hon. gentleman had some months before been compelled to address the following communication to the leading journal of Edinburgh respecting other misrepresentations:—

‘HAWARDEN, Dec. 19, 1879.

‘SIR,—It was to be expected, after the recent display of public feeling in

Scotland and the North of England on behalf of the Liberal cause, that the declarations it has been my duty to make, numerous and varied as they were, should be subject to critical review, and to some amount of abusive misinterpretation. As regards the first of the two ordeals, I beg to assure the constituency of Midlothian that when I find any one statement made by me to have been seriously shaken, I shall think it my duty towards them and towards others to correct it. Until I do so, I beg them to remain assured that I abide by and can sustain what I have said. At the same time, the whole of my day, were it so devoted, would not suffice to make myself master of the Tory speeches, articles, and letters which are continued even in that portion of the newspapers which comes under my view; and I must again apologise to a large number of friendly correspondents for my inability even to acknowledge their communications. I regret, however, that beyond the range of critical review, and even of careless citation and licentious comment, another process has been in action, namely, the manufacture of fabrications too common, as far as my experience goes, during these last years, and touching both my public and private life. In a single newspaper—the *North-Eastern Independent*—I find it stated that I opposed the disestablishment of the Irish Church down to 1867; that I opposed for years the repeal of the paper duty; that I levied income-tax as high as 1s. 6d. in the pound; that I sided with the Southern States in the

American War; and other statements, the whole of which are simply false, together with various other half truths, in which the half that is omitted would overthrow or neutralise the garbled half

shareholder in the Russian railways. 4. That I am connected with a firm which advances largely for their construction. 5. That I have denounced Lord Beaconsfield as not having a drop



REV. THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D.

that is presented. Other untruths—some of them, I am sorry to say, propagated, of course inadvertently, by Tory members of Parliament—are: 1. That I created a lordship of the Treasury for my son, the member for Whitby. 2. That I appointed my brother-in-law to a commissionership. 3. That I am well known to be a large

of English blood in his veins. There is not a shadow of foundation for any of these five statements. From the *Kingsbridge Gazette* the following paragraph has been sent to me:—"I have been told by one who professes Radicalism that he was in Wales when Mr. Gladstone came into the Glynne property, and that he (Mr. Gladstone)

evicted some fourteen or fifteen small tenant farmers, and put the land into one farm, and had a Scotch bailiff to manage it. My informant further said those small farmers were obliged to work at the collieries, and from the depression since, he had no doubt many of them had become paupers. So much for speech, so much for action." On this I have only to say that I never came into the Glynne property; that I never turned out a small tenant-farmer or any other resident tenant; that I never consolidated a farm; that this year I have divided a large farm into four smaller holdings. To opponents I will say I think it would be well if some of the very many honourable men in their ranks would discountenance this method of carrying on political warfare, which has no parallel, so far as I am aware, on the Liberal side. If it is thought that these twelve falsehoods are a small catalogue, I must observe that I know not how many more are in circulation. These are a portion that have come to my notice through casual correspondents. To my friends, I must take the liberty of making another request—that when they hear strange and discreditable things imputed to me they will ask their accusers for proof, and, until proof is forthcoming, will remember that, even in a dock, a man is held innocent until he has been shown to be guilty. If I may rely on them to this extent I shall not again have to trouble you on this barren subject, though I may still have a few lines to address to you on a more local matter.'

The Home Rulers misinterpreted certain utterances of Mr. Gladstone in Midlothian, and early in December, 1879, Mr. John Ferguson, president of the Glasgow Home Rulers, wrote to the right hon. gentleman exhorting him to 'wipe off the page of history the enmity that existed between England and Ireland;' and he asked Mr. Gladstone whether he thought any man could be a sound Liberal who would refuse to support a Parliamentary inquiry into the subject of Home Rule. To this communication the right hon. gentleman returned the following reply:—

HAWARDEN, Dec. 11th, 1879.

'SIR,—It is due to you that I should explain with respect to your letter of the 1st December that I had no opportunity of perusing it before I spoke at Glasgow on Friday last. The declarations I made at Edinburgh will be published in an authentic form. Of course I abide by them; they are, I believe, in exact concurrence with what I have formerly stated in Parliament, but perhaps rather more full. You are mistaken in supposing that the outrage in Manchester and Clerkenwell dominated or affected my action in regard to Ireland. They drew the attention of the public, on which there are so many demands, to Irish questions, and thereby enabled me in point of time to act in a manner for which I had previously declared my desire. You state that the Irish voters are preparing themselves to punish the Liberal party in that respect. I do not see that those of whom you speak can improve upon

what they have already done, for in and since 1874, after that party had dealt with the questions of Church and Land, they inflicted upon it the heaviest Parliamentary blow it has received in my time. I hope, however, from every present indication that, notwithstanding the mischief done to it and to the wider interests of humanity by the Irish secession, it will, when an opportunity is allowed, prove to have strength sufficient for the exigencies of the time. The manner in which you speak of the intention now entertained renders it quite impossible for me to take any notice of the question you have put to me. I thank you for the kind expressions you apply to me personally, and remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) W. E. GLADSTONE.

'To J. FERGUSON, Esq.'

The attitude of the Jews in the elections of 1880 was a matter naturally of some importance. Mr. Gladstone having been requested by Mr. H. Hirsch to use any influence he might possess with some of the Christian races of the Levant, 'to procure a favourable treatment of the Jews' in the newly-emancipated provinces, wrote in reply that he had repeatedly declared himself in the desired sense; but he pointed out that the Jews of Vienna and other places on the Continent had been 'the most resolute and effective opponents during the last few years of the deliverance of the subject races of Turkey.' At a later date, addressing Mr. R. Leake, Mr. Gladstone referred to the report, published at the general

election, that the Jewish community in Sheffield were supporting the Tory candidate. 'The English Government of the day,' he remarks, 'has been, of all Governments, the one which the Christians of the East believe, and to a considerable extent with justice believe, to have been, during a great and prolonged crisis, the most hostile to their deliverance from most cruel wrong. And I see it freely stated in the public journals that, at this peculiarly important moment, the Jews of Sheffield are doing their best to give support to the present Ministry in the coming election. I hope this is untrue. But it is uncontradicted; and it is colourably sustained by much that has occurred elsewhere. You know what human nature is; and I ask you whether there is much use in my writing to the East to ask civil equality for the Jews of Roumania, or Servia, or Bulgaria, if the same post, perhaps, carries the account that the Jews of Sheffield are in active opposition to what the inhabitants of those countries deem to be their primary and vital interests?'

The following letter was written by Mr. Gladstone to Mr. Jolly, in acknowledgment of an address from the Greenwich Liberal Association:—

'MY DEAR SIR,—I received with gratitude the address which you, with Mr. Green and Mr. Cavanaugh, have been good enough to subscribe, on the part of the Greenwich Liberal Association, in connection with my seventieth birthday. As that body is a public body, I will take the liberty of de-

spatching a copy of this note to London for publication, and I will also beg the numerous friends in different parts of the country, who by address, letter, and telegram, have been and are offering me their congratulations, to allow me to thank them with and through you, inasmuch as their numbers place it wholly beyond my power to offer them particular acknowledgments. I assure you, my dear sir, in conclusion, that I never can forget the service rendered to me in the most generous manner, and at an opportune moment, by the borough of Greenwich, and I shall ever entertain a lively wish for its prosperity.—I remain, my dear sir, very faithfully yours,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.

‘Hawarden, Dec, 29, 1879.’

The Premier addressed the following letter to the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, respecting the appointment of a temporary commission to inquire immediately into the working of the Irish Land Act of 1870:—

‘10, DOWNING STREET, *June 16, 1880.*

‘MY DEAR DUKE OF RICHMOND,—It has been announced in the House of Commons this evening that we intend to advise the formation immediately of a small commission to examine into the working of the Irish Land Act. Lord Elcho has given notice of a question for Thursday, which, as I heard it, seemed to touch the bearing of this intention on the position and operations of the commission of which you are the head. But, independently of such a question, it would have been my duty

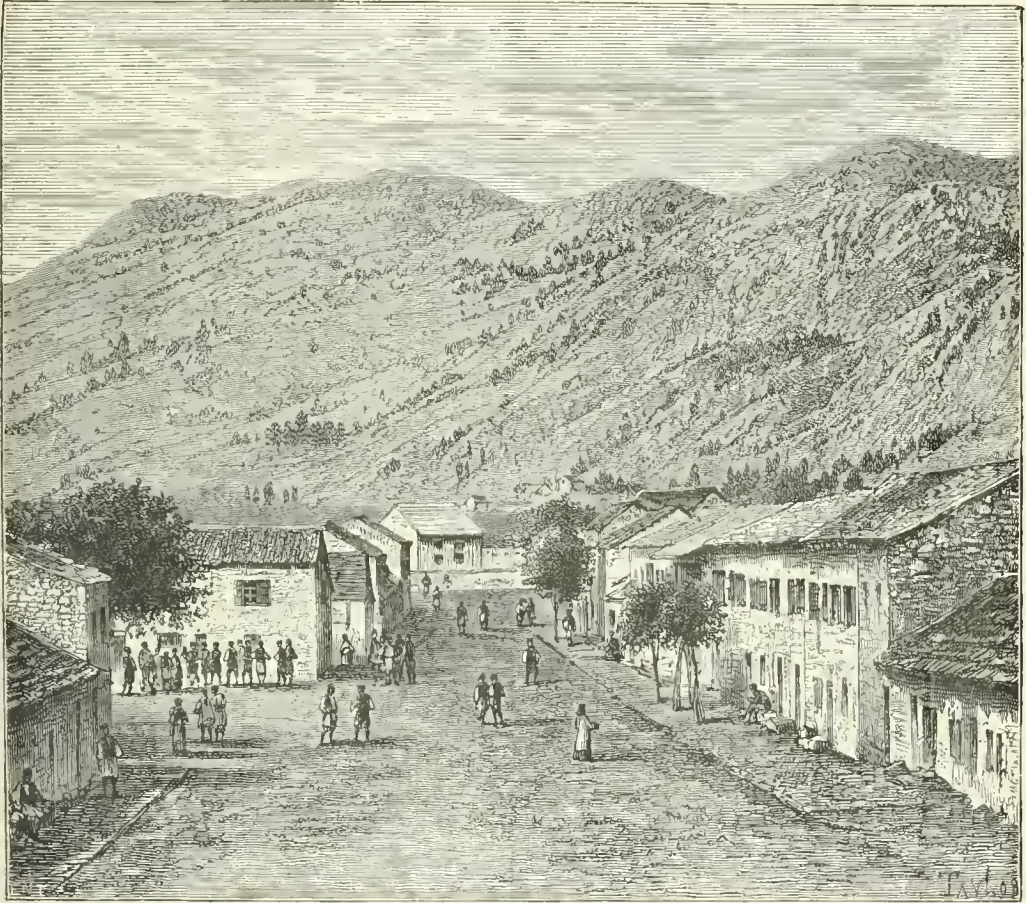
to write to you on the subject, and explain the grounds of the proceedings which we now contemplate. The Government do not intend by this proceeding to signify any want of confidence in the capacity or the intentions of the commission now at work. But the operations of that commission extend over a field of extraordinary width, and embrace an immense variety of subjects. On the other hand, the circumstances of Ireland, in certain districts particularly, as they come almost daily into view, have convinced us that the case is one which requires the concentrated and undivided attention of persons who may be able, without distraction caused by other matters, at once to examine thoroughly, and exhibit to us clearly the working of the Land Act, on which the well-being of the country and the confidence of the people in the Law so materially depend. I will not conceal from you that we think such a work can be accomplished not only most speedily, but best, by a body of gentlemen having this for their sole object. Still, we are far from meditating any interference, by the mere exercise of the Prerogative, with any of the duties which have been entrusted to you and your colleagues, and on which we have every reason to believe that you and they have laboured with all zeal and fidelity.—I remain, &c.,

W. E. GLADSTONE.’

The Worcestershire County Association of Congregationalists, at their annual meeting, passed resolutions expressive of their devout thankfulness at the

Liberal victories, acknowledging the eminent and successful labours of Mr. W. E. Gladstone, and declaring their gratification at the return of Mr. W. H. Gladstone and Mr. G. W. Hastings for

ledge the numerous congratulations which reach me at this time, I cannot pass by this agreeable duty in the case of the Congregational address which you have been so good as to forward,



THE PRINCIPAL STREET IN CETINJE, THE CAPITAL OF MONTENEGRO.

the eastern division of the county. Copies of these resolutions were sent to Mr. Gladstone by the Rev. George Hunsworth, president of the association, and the right hon. gentleman, writing from Hawarden, thus replied :—

‘REV. SIR,—Although time does not permit me to do so much as acknow-

and for which I return my best thanks, in connection with the signal mark of confidence just bestowed upon my son by the constituents of East Worcestershire. But I must give a wider scope to my acknowledgments, for I never can receive any testimonial from the body to which you belong without feeling that it is rather for me than for

them to testify, and that I am a debtor to them and to other bodies, in a position more or less similar, for the generous sympathy and the unflinching steadiness and courage with which, during the last few years, they have maintained through evil report a cause now stamped, upon a regular appeal, with the national approbation.'

The London correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse*, of Vienna, having written to ask whether Mr. Gladstone would oppose a further advance of Austria to Novi Bazar, whether he considered Bosnia and Herzegovina as at present under the Austrian Government permanently settled, and whether he would permit the union of Eastern Roumelia with Bulgaria, the right hon. gentleman sent the following answer:—

'HAWARDEN CASTLE, CHESTER.

'April 19—20.

'SIR,—I am obliged by your letter, which only the great pressure of my engagements has prevented me from answering more speedily. It appears to me that there has been a mistake in the mode of handling the subject to which it refers. All manner of comments have been made on my opinions, without verifying particulars—*e.g.*, in speech on Treaty of Berlin, July, 1878; third Midlothian speech, November, 1879; "The Country and the Government," *Nineteenth Century*, 1880; "The Friends and Foes of Russia," *ibid*, 1879. On the other hand, no information whatever is given as to Austrian intentions and policy and aims. I do not decline to examine further any

point of principle on which my rather copious declarations may be found imperfect; but as long as the course which I have described is followed, I do not see that much progress can be made.—I remain, sir, your faithful servant,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

'Herr Schidrowitz.'

After the Midlothian election, Mr. Gladstone wrote to the Editor of the *Scotsman* as follows:—

'DALMENY, EDINBURGH, April 6, 1880.

'SIR,—Allow me through your columns to discharge a double duty. First, to thank those friends and friendly bodies who have honoured me with congratulations reaching me every few minutes since the result of the Midlothian election was made known, and to whom it is beyond my power to address separate replies, for the purpose of expressing, as I now express, my cordial thanks. Among those it cannot be deemed invidious if I mention one telegram received from emancipated Servia, and another from Cetinje, the capital of heroic and highland Montenegro. My second purpose is to thank the friends who have desired to offer me publicly their congratulations at various points of the route to London. I do not propose to return to London at this moment, and my address will be Hawarden, Cheshire. Moreover, taking into view the energy and heat of the present contest, and the high enthusiasm it has raised, I am of opinion that I shall best discharge my duty by refraining as far as I am able, from steps which would give an unusual

character to my journey. It was one thing to do this while the battle was yet uncertain, it would be another now, and I am sure we shall all gladly waive any proceedings which might be constructed as boastful display or gratuitous disregard of the feelings of opponents.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your very faithful servant,

‘W. E. GLADSTONE.’

The following address from the Bohemian Liberal Club, at Prague, signed on behalf of the club by the president and secretary, was forwarded to Mr. Gladstone:—

‘RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR, — The waves of history have long ago closed over the independent Bohemian State, but the Bohemians continue still to hold the land of their ancestors. The Bohemians will never forget that the dark hour of national calamity at home moved many noble hearts in England; and grieving in their native land, they rejoiced at every joyful event that displayed anew to the world the justice and magnanimity that is the moral greatness of the nation of Milton. Right Honourable Sir, your brilliant victory achieved in these days affords to us, the sons of a struggling nation, the welcome opportunity of congratulating you, Right Honourable Sir, and the English nation in sincere joyfulness of our hearts. Blessed nation! whose chosen leader uplifteth the flag of truth, whose starry splendour is humanity. As a champion of humanity you, Right Honourable Sir, will never be forgotten

by Italy, and also the memory of what you have performed for the martyrs of the Balkan will pass from generation to generation among the Slavonian nations. The blessings and gratitudes of millions will rest on the just revenger of Carlo Poërio, on the valiant adversary of the absolutism of the Pope, on the noble herald of the Bulgarian horrors. Weak words cannot convey what the countrymen of John Huss feel, seeing Christian principles by your efforts applied and carried out in international relations; those principles for which John Huss suffered death, and the Bohemian nation years of sadness and desolation. The Bohemian nation weeps for her past greatness, but she has not ceased to hope, to believe in the victorious power of right, freedom, and humanity. For this bright example of adherence to high principles, now victorious in you, Right Honourable Sir, we express our gratitude, for young hopes spring up where there were tears and oppression.

‘Prague, May 1, 1880.’

Upon Mr. Gladstone's accession to office in April, 1880, he received so many letters of congratulation that he was obliged to request the editor of the *Daily News* to publish this letter:—

‘SIR,—I am reluctant again to trespass on your columns for the purpose of asking the indulgence of my correspondents, but for some weeks past the daily arrivals at my door by post have exceeded one hundred, and I must trust to the kindness of very many, whose communications might well claim a dis-

tinct notice, to believe that they receive from me the best attention which circumstances permit me to give. I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

‘73, Harley Street, April 21, 1880.’

Amongst other bodies throughout

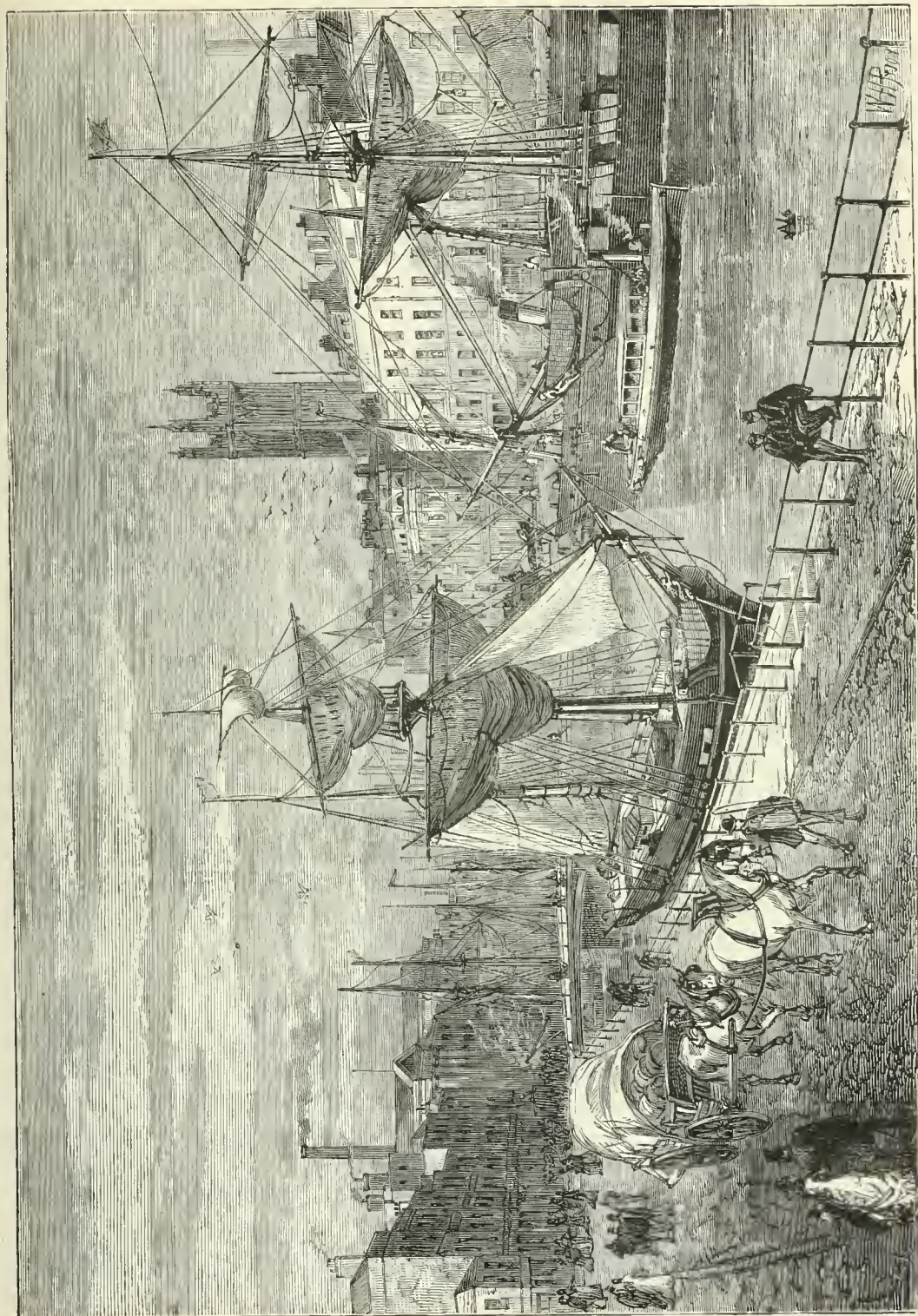
upon the right. hon. gentleman at Downing Street, and presented to him a handsome silver claret service, consisting of a tankard and six goblets, manufactured by Messrs. Fowler, of Bristol. The tankard bore the following inscription :—‘This claret service,



VIEW IN PRAGUE: THE PALACE OF THE BOHEMIAN KINGS AND CATHEDRAL OF HRADŠTIN.

the country, the committee of the Bristol Operatives' Liberal Association, desirous to recognise the efforts of Mr. Gladstone for the welfare of the nation and the energy displayed by him in his electoral tour in Scotland, decided to ask his acceptance of a testimonial. Messrs. S. Morley and Lewis Fry, the members for the city of Bristol, waited

of local manufacture, is presented to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone by the members of the Bristol Operatives' Liberal Association as a slight recognition of the valuable services which he has rendered to his country in the cause of freedom, trade, and civil and religious liberty.' The following address accompanied the service :—‘To the



VIEW IN BRISTOL: ST. AUGUSTINE'S QUAY.

Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.,
First Lord of the Treasury. Right
Hon. Sir,—We, the members of the
Bristol Operatives' Liberal Association,
beg most respectfully to solicit your
acceptance of the accompanying claret
service, not for its intrinsic value, but
as a very sincere expression of our
heartfelt gratitude for the invaluable
benefits which you have conferred upon
the working men, equally with all
classes of the community, by your con-
tinuous, earnest, and most successful
endeavours to advance the cause of
Free Trade and civil and religious
liberty. Our faith in you for the future
will be as great as our debt of obliga-
tion is at the present time; and with-
out a shadow of wavering, we believe
we can leave our interests and the in-
terests of this empire to be directed by
your wisdom and goodness. We trust
that, as the disestablishment and dis-
endowment of the Irish Church was a
great act of justice to Ireland, so the
excellent Land Bill which you have in-
troduced will bring, if placed upon the
statute book, contentment to and win
the goodwill of our fellow-subjects in
the sister isle.

'We sincerely trust also that the
spirit of peace, which has prompted
you in the past to endeavour to settle
national disputes by arbitration rather
than by an appeal to arms, will ever
guide your future actions.

'We humbly pray that your life and
strength may be spared for many years
to continue that course of just and
pure legislation which has characterised
your Parliamentary career, and helped

to make us as a people great and pros-
perous, and which shall yet lead us to
noble ends.'

The following was Mr. Gladstone's
reply, which was sent to Bristol:—'10,
Downing Street, June 16th, 1881.
Dear Sir,—Allow me to convey to you
the expression of my warm acknow-
ledgments for the valuable and interes-
ting gift which you have presented to
me on behalf of the Bristol Opera-
tives' Liberal Association. If there is
any alloy to the satisfaction with which
I receive it, certainly there is none
other than such as arises from a mis-
giving as to my worthiness to be the
object of such a presentation. On the
other hand, my pleasure is enhanced
when I consider of how many inde-
pendent and upright minds it repre-
sents the favourable judgment. Allow
me to add to my thanks, best wishes
for the prosperity of the associa-
tion, which I trust will continue to
influence the political opinion of the
city of Bristol in the manner most
conducive to the welfare of the nation.
—I have the honour to be, dear Sir,
your very faithful servant, W. E.
GLADSTONE. R. H. Williams, Esq.'

On the 1st of June, 1881, the third
annual meeting of the Midlothian
Liberal Association was held in Edin-
burgh. When the report had been
adopted, and the Earl of Rosebery
had been elected president for the cur-
rent year, Mr. Melvin, Bonnington,
moved—'That this meeting expresses
its continued and entire confidence in
Mr. Gladstone, as regards both his

home and foreign policy, thanks him for his great labours in Parliament, particularly those connected with the Irish land question, and earnestly hopes that he will be long spared to discharge the duties of his high office, and that a copy of this resolution be transmitted by the chairman to Mr. Gladstone.' (Cheers.) Mr. John Usher, Woodhall, seconded the motion, which was adopted. Mr. John Cowan stated that a copy of the report had been sent to Mr. Gladstone, coupled with a request for a single line of acknowledgment. The following reply had been received:—

'10, Downing Street, Whitehall, May 30. My dear Sir,—I have read with pleasure and with gratitude the report of the executive committee of the Midlothian Liberal Association. It is with much interest and with hope that I look forward to rendering, at a future date, in person, an account of the manner in which I have thus far striven to act upon the principles declared by me before the electors of Midlothian, and to discharge the trust conferred upon me as their representative. A combination of affairs in Ireland so novel and dangerous as was hardly to be expected has seriously interfered with other domestic affairs, and I grieve to think that Scotland has suffered a full share of disadvantage from this unhappy cause. Her representatives have, however, in overwhelming proportions laboured steadily at the work of rendering whatever yet remains to be rendered of full justice to Ireland. Beyond sea, in Europe, Asia, and Africa, we

have carefully and constantly striven to fulfil the expectations I may have led you to entertain, and, although all the clouds have not yet disappeared, I am thankful to say that the horizon has been greatly cleared and a progress made in the sense of liberty, justice, and humanity, at least as great as in a time so limited it would have been reasonable to expect.—I am, dear Sir, faithfully yours, W. E. GLADSTONE. To John Cowan, Esq.'

In May, 1881, the Prime Minister was addressed by two loyal inhabitants of the Transvaal, acting on behalf of a Committee, respecting the affairs of the Transvaal. Mr. Gladstone replied to the communication in the following important letter:—

'June 1, 1881.

'SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a communication signed by yourself and by Mr. Fawcett on behalf of a committee of the loyal inhabitants of the Transvaal. I observe that a document of a more formal character is promised, and for this as well as other reasons I will not notice in full detail the several allegations in the paper before me. At the same time I desire to state with respect and sympathy as much as appears to be material. It is stated, as I observe, that a promise was given by me that the Transvaal should be given back. There is no mention of the terms or date of this promise. If the reference be to my letter of June 8, 1880, to Messrs. Kruger and Joubert, I do not think the language of that letter justifies the

description given, nor am I sure in white population of the Transvaal, what manner or to what degree the differs from the settlement now about

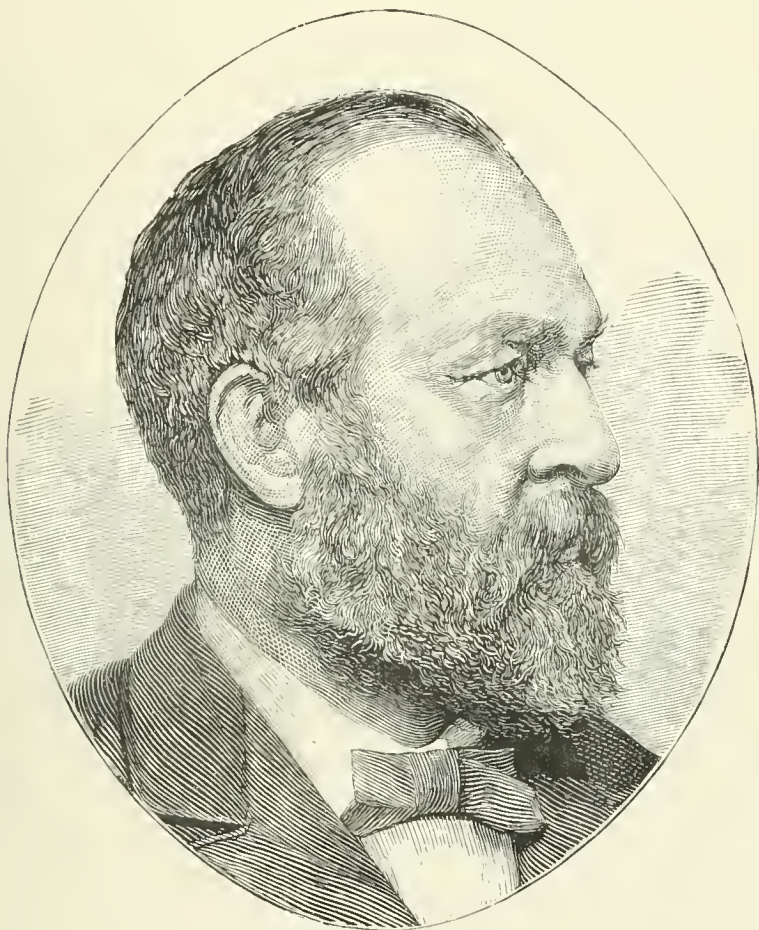


PAUL KRUGER.

fullest liberty to manage their local affairs, which I then said Her Majesty's Government desired to confer on the being made in its bearing on the interests of those whom your committee represents. This object Her Majesty's

Government hoped might have been attained by means of a South African confederation. Unfortunately, owing to the disinclination of the Cape Parliament to proceed with the scheme,

large majority of the white settlers were strongly opposed to British rule, and were prepared to make the greatest sacrifices to recover their self-government. It was thus shown that the



PRESIDENT GARFIELD.

this hope was frustrated. Against the information then given us of the intention formed by the Dutch settlers in December, 1879, we had at that time to set the official assurances which we received from South Africa, but the insurrection in the Transvaal proved in the most unequivocal manner that the

original ground upon which the Transvaal was annexed—namely, that the white settlers were prepared, if not to welcome, at all events to acquiesce in British rule—was entirely devoid of foundation, while no hope any longer remained of leading them by a prospect of confederation to an altered view. In

these circumstances Her Majesty's Government have thought it necessary to avail themselves of the earliest inclinations on the part of the Boers of a disposition to a reasonable adjustment in order to terminate a war which threatened the most disastrous consequences not only to the Transvaal but to the whole of South Africa. Her Majesty's Government willingly and thankfully acknowledge the loyal co-operation which Her Majesty's forces received at Pretoria and elsewhere from the inhabitants, and we sympathise with the privations and sufferings that they endured. I must, however, observe that so great was the preponderance of the Boers who rose in arms against the Queen's authority, that the whole country, except the posts occupied by the British troops, fell at once practically into their hands. Again, the memorialists themselves only estimate the proportion of settlers in the Transvaal to Boers at one-seventh. Nearly, though not quite, the whole of the Boers have appeared to be united in sentiment, and Her Majesty's Government could not deem it their duty to set aside the will of so large a majority by the only probable means—namely, the permanent maintenance of a powerful military force in the country. Such a course would have been inconsistent with the spirit of the Treaty of 1852, with the grounds on which the annexation was sanctioned, and with the general interests of South Africa, which especially require that harmony should prevail between the white races. On the other hand, in the settlement which is now in

progress every care will be taken to secure to the settlers, of whatever origin, the full enjoyment of their property and of all civil rights, and whilst Her Majesty's Government cannot recognise any general claim for compensation in respect of depreciation of property arising from the change of policy involved in the new arrangement, the question of compensation to either side for acts committed during the late troubles not justified by the necessities of war, has been remitted to the Commission.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

‘C. K. WHITE, Esq.’

In July, 1881, a dastardly attack upon the life of General Garfield, President of the United States, was made by a wretched man named Guiteau, who was believed to be a disappointed political aspirant. The news of the attempted assassination caused a thrill of horror throughout Europe, and the sovereigns as well as the eminent statesmen of most of the European States sent letters and messages of condolence to Mrs. Garfield. Mr. Gladstone telegraphed to the President's wife as follows:—

‘LONDON, *July 21, 1881.*

‘DEAR MADAM,—You will, I am sure, excuse me, though personally a stranger, for addressing you by letter, to convey to you the assurances of our feelings and those of my countrymen on the occasion of the late horrible attempt to murder the President of the United States, in a form more palpable at least than that of the messages conveyed by telegraph. Those feelings

have been feelings in the first instance of sympathy, and afterwards of joy and thankfulness almost comparable, and, I venture to say, only second to the strong emotions of the great nation of which he is appointed the head. Individually I have, let me beg you to believe, had my full share in the sentiments which have possessed the British nation. They have been prompted and quickened largely by what I venture to think is the ever growing sense of harmony and mutual respect and affection between the two countries, and of a relationship which from year to year becomes more and more a practical bond of union between us. But they have also drawn much of their strength from a cordial admiration of the simple heroism which has marked the personal conduct of the President, for we have not yet wholly lost the capacity of appreciating such an example of Christian faith and manly fortitude. This exemplary picture has been made complete by your own contribution to its noble and touching features, on which I only forbear to dwell because I am directly addressing you. I beg to have my respectful compliments and congratulations conveyed to the President, and to remain, dear madam, with great esteem, your most faithful servant,

‘WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE.’

The following reply to this message was sent by Mr. Blaine:—

‘WASHINGTON, *July 22, 1881.*

‘LOWELL, Minister, London.

‘I have laid before Mrs. Garfield the note of Mr. Gladstone just received by

cable. I am requested by her to say that among the many thousand manifestations of interest and expressions of sympathy which have reached her, none has more deeply touched her heart than the kind words of Mr. Gladstone. His own solicitude and condolence are received with gratitude, but far beyond this she recognises that Mr. Gladstone rightfully speaks for the people of the British Isles, whose sympathy in this national and personal affliction has been as quick and sincere as that of her own countrymen. Her chief pleasure in Mr. Gladstone’s cordial letter is found in the comfort which it brings to her husband. The President is cheered and solaced on his painful and weary way to health by the many messages of sympathy which in his returning strength he receives and most gratefully appreciates. BLAINE, Secretary.’

Unhappily, the President’s recovery was only temporary, and he died on September 19, 1881.

This multifarious correspondence furnishes another proof of Mr. Gladstone’s versatility, and of his thorough acquaintance with the affairs of his time. Probably no other person in the political annals of the country has taken the same interest in such a variety of questions — theological, social, and literary—while at the same time he has been burdened with the almost overwhelming duties which are associated with the English Premiership, or with the leadership of one of the two great political parties in the country.

CHAPTER XIII.

MR. GLADSTONE'S MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS, ETC.

Characteristics of Mr. Gladstone's Essays—Articles on the Life of the Prince Consort—The County Franchise—'Kin Beyond Sea'—Personal and Literary Essays—Estimates of Macaulay and Tennyson—Wedgwood and his Work—Mr. Gladstone on Art—Its Relations to English Manufactures—Historical and Speculative Essays—*Ecce Homo*—Articles on Foreign Questions—Germany, France, and England—The Hellenic Factor in the Eastern Problem—Aggression in Egypt—Miscellaneous Essays—Comparison between Greece and Palestine—'England's Mission'—Mr. Gladstone on the Policy of the Ministry—Home Questions awaiting Settlement—Speech at Chester—Charges against the Government—Effects of the Premier's 'Imperial' Policy—Close of the Survey of Mr. Gladstone's Literary and Political Career.

THE plenitude and variety of Mr. Gladstone's intellectual powers have been the subject of such frequent comment that it would be superfluous to insist upon them here. On the political side of his career his life has been as unresting and active as that of any other great party leader; and, if we regard him in the literary aspect, we are equally astonished at his energy and versatility. Putting out of view his various works upon Homer, his miscellaneous writings of themselves, with the reading they involve, would entitle their author to take high rank on the score of industry with the majority of the literary craft. As a writer, indeed, fluency may be said to be his besetting sin. Great ideas do not come either to the world or to individuals in battalions; they are the product of thought, action, comparison. So, while we stand amazed at the infinity of topics which have received Mr. Gladstone's attention, we do not always acquire from his essays that high dry light which it is the privilege of the greatest critics to shed upon

the subjects and the men they undertake to interpret.

A competent reviewer, while scarcely doing Mr. Gladstone justice in certain respects, furnishes some apposite observations—or partially apposite, at least—upon the general character of his essays as well as their style. 'It is,' he says, 'the light they throw on Mr Gladstone and upon his habits and modes of thought, far more than any light they throw upon the special subjects they deal with, that gives these essays their strongest claim. And this internal unity of thought and temperament is made the more prominent by the comparative absence of any corresponding unity of style. Indeed, of a style, in the strict sense of the term, Mr. Gladstone has almost little or none, and the reader is almost startled to find how well he gets along without it. Sometimes we have a sentence so long and involved that nothing but a passionate intensity of meaning and a profuse vocabulary could have averted a disastrous collapse. Elsewhere, as for instance in his controversy with Mr.

Lowe, the 'Tempter,' as Mr. Gladstone might say, leads him to imitate, with very partial success, the nimble dialectics of his skilful opponent. His writing, it is true, is often vigorous and trenchant, his phrases not unfrequently

The whole of Mr. Gladstone's miscellaneous writings—with the exception of essays of a strictly controversial and classical kind—have been collected in a uniform edition.† The first volume has no fewer than four



THE PRINCE CONSORT.

happy and well turned; but a distinctive style, such for instance, as Lord Macaulay's, he most certainly has not.* The essays remind the reader more of the flowing eloquence and the declamation of a Burke than of the massiveness, the dignity, and the majesty of a Bacon.

* The *Athenæum*, Feb., 1879.

articles upon the Prince Consort, two of them being based upon Sir Theodore Martin's biography. The critic writes sympathetically upon the virtues of the Prince, who was deserving of the eulogy passed upon him, and who undoubtedly raised the life of

† *Gleanings of Past Years*. In seven volumes London: 1879.

the Court, and the influence and usefulness of our highest institution, to their highest point. He also laments the loss which society had sustained from the slackening of that beneficial action to which the Prince so powerfully contributed. These essays are followed by three papers on the County Franchise, being a response to the deliverances of Mr. Lowe upon this subject. Mr. Gladstone claims to regard this question with strict impartiality, for he looks upon it as one which calls upon him for adhesion as an individual, but not for the guidance of others in any larger capacity. He warns Englishmen, however, against one of the greatest moral dangers that can beset the politics of a self-governed country—the danger of having a great question insincerely dealt with. The Conservatives are ready to step in between the Liberal leaders and their work, and to do the exact opposite of that which was done by Sir Robert Peel in 1829 and 1846:—‘They will handle the subject, to the best of their judgment, as one which may legitimately be used, either by adoption or by a faint or procrastinating repulse, as shall best suit the interests of their party.’ The speech of the present majority will say one thing, while its heart conceals another. In legislating upon this subject, Mr. Gladstone is not afraid that we shall fall down the precipice into national ruin, inasmuch as we fell down a much greater precipice in 1832, and another one in 1867, and are none the worse for it. His arguments are well worthy of study.

The last essay in this volume, ‘Kin Beyond Sea,’ is one for which Mr. Gladstone was taken severely to task by many English journals, on its appearance originally in the *North American Review* for September, 1878. Reading through this essay now after the excitement it created has calmed down, it seems to us to contain much food for reflection for Englishmen. Mr. Gladstone is not alone in taking the following view of the future of America, and we should do well to heed the advice with which he closes:—‘She will probably become what we are now, the head servant in the great household of the world, the employer of all employed; because her services will be the most and ablest. We have no more title against her than Venice, or Genoa, or Holland has had against us. One great duty is entailed upon us, which we, unfortunately, neglect; the duty of preparing, by a resolute and sturdy effort, to reduce our public burdens, in preparation for a day when we shall probably have less capacity than we have now to bear them.’ Again, ‘the England and the America of the present are probably the two strongest nations in the world. But there can hardly be a doubt, as between the America and the England of the future, that the daughter, at some no very distant time, will, whether fairer or less fair, be unquestionably yet stronger than the mother.’ Mr. Gladstone argues in support of this position from the concentrated continuous empire which America possesses, and the enormous progress she has made within

a century. The writer's brief review of the British Constitution, and his summary of possible dangers which may beset the mother-country, are deserving of careful consideration, especially when we reflect that these things have driven one who is perhaps better acquainted with them than most students of the Constitution to this general conclusion:—‘We of this island are not great political philosophers; and we contend with an earnest but disproportioned vehemence about changes which are palpable, such as the extension of the suffrage, or the re-distribution of Parliamentary seats, neglecting wholly other processes of change which work beneath the surface, and in the dark, but which are even more fertile of great organic results.’

The second volume consists of essays exclusively personal and literary. The author discourses both pleasantly and profitably upon such differently constituted beings as Blanco White, Giacomo Leopardi, Bishop Patteson, Dr. Norman Macleod, Macaulay, Tennyson, and Wedgwood. While we could willingly linger over each of these names, it is only the last three to which we can give some attention. In treating of Macaulay, Mr. Gladstone is not so incisive as some other English critics—Mr. John Morley, for example; but the essay is written with admirable temper and a certain largeness of spirit. ‘Prosperous and brilliant, a prodigy, a meteor, almost a portent, in literary history,’ the great Whig historian is described, and yet withal there was much of the commonplace about him;

while his fierceness as an advocate prevented him from attaining to that atmosphere of calm impartiality which surrounds the greatest historians. An accurate man, in the long run, is of more service to the world than a fascinating man, though the latter may in the outset absorb all the honours; and this rule will, we think, be found to hold good in all kinds of intellectual effort. Mr. Gladstone observes that ‘as the serious flaw in Macaulay’s mind was want of depth, so the central defect with which his productions appear to be chargeable, is a pervading strain of more or less exaggeration.’ The truth is that ‘Macaulay was not only accustomed, like many more of us, to go out hobby-riding, but, from the portentous vigour of the animal he mounted, was liable, more than most of us, to be run away with.’ Once more—in drawing a comparison between Macaulay and Thucydides, the latter of whom was greatly admired by the modern historian—‘Ease, brilliancy, pellucid clearness, commanding fascination, the effective marshalling of all facts belonging to the external world as if on parade; all these gifts Macaulay has, and Thucydides has not. But weight, breadth, proportion, deep discernment, habitual contemplation of the springs of character and conduct, and the power to hold the scales of human action with firm and even hand, these must be sought in Thucydides, and are rarely observable in Macaulay.’ Yet with all his defects—and they are nearly as pronounced and conspicuous as his excellences—Macaulay remains

one of the most considerable figures in English literature in the nineteenth century.

The merits of Mr. Tennyson, as a poet, excite less controversy. As the essayist remarks, 'from his very first appearance he has had the form and fashion of a true poet; the delicate insight into beauty, the refined perception of harmony, the faculty of suggestion, the eye both in the physical and moral world for motion, light, and colour, the sympathetic and close observation of nature, the dominance of the constructive faculty, and that rare gift, the thorough mastery and loving use of his native tongue. His turn for metaphysical analysis is closely associated with a deep ethical insight; and many of his verses form sayings of so high a class that we trust they are destined to contribute a permanent part of the household words of England.' It is twenty years since these words were written, and each of those years has witnessed something towards their fulfilment. Like Wordsworth, Mr. Tennyson has won his way with the public against the vaticinations of the reviewers, and this way has been a laborious one. Few poets have aimed at perfection so persistently, so devotedly, as Mr. Tennyson. Unquestionably fine as his genius is, it is not inspiration alone, but a spirit of unrelaxing effort, which has assisted in raising him to the high position he occupies amongst English singers.

Most valuable, perhaps, of all these gleanings of a personal character is the address on Wedgwood, originally

spoken at Burslem, Staffordshire, on the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of the Wedgwood Institute. We not only meet here with many true and beautiful things about art, but with much sound advice calculated to be of profit to all classes of British workmen. Considering the products of industry with reference to their utility, their cheapness, their influence upon the condition of those who produce them, and their beauty, Mr. Gladstone conceives it to be in the last-named department that we are to look for the peculiar pre-eminence, he does not scruple to say the peculiar greatness, of Wedgwood. The association of beauty with convenience is not a matter light and fanciful; beauty is not an accident of things, it pertains to their essence; it pervades the wide range of creation; and wherever it is impaired or banished we perceive proofs of the moral disorder which disturbs the world. God hath made everything 'beautiful in his time.' 'Among all the devices of creation, there is not one more wonderful, whether it be the movement of the heavenly bodies, or the succession of the seasons and the years, or the adaptation of the world and its phenomena to the conditions of human life, or the structure of the eye, or hand, or any other part of the frame of man—not one of all these is more wonderful than the profuseness with which the Mighty Maker has been pleased to shed over the works of his hands an endless and boundless beauty.' England has long taken a lead among the nations of Europe for the cheapness of her

manufactures; and Mr. Gladstone believes that if the day is ever to come when she shall be as eminent in truetaste and beauty as she is now in economy of production, that result will probably be due to no other single man in so great a degree as to Wedgwood. In

those establishments. The lessons to be deduced from a career of toil, and one devoted to the highest ends, like Wedgwood's, are admirably pointed out and enforced. Mr. Gladstone's address especially deserves praise for its insistence upon the great truth that the



THE WEDGWOOD WORKS, ETRURIA.

the words of his epitaph, he 'converted a rude and inconsiderable manufacture into an elegant art and an important branch of national commerce.' Unaided by the national or the royal gifts which were found necessary to uphold the glories of Sèvres, of Chelsea, and of Dresden, he produced works truer, perhaps, to the inexorable laws of art, than the fine fabrics that proceeded from

mean and the lowly are not divorced from the beautiful. 'Down to the humblest condition of life, down to the lowest and most backward grade of civilisation, the nature of man craves, and seems even as it were to cry aloud, for something, some sign or token at the least, of what is beautiful, in some of the many spheres of the mind or sense.'

In an address delivered at Chester,* Mr. Gladstone once more spoke concerning art in its relation to English manufactures. He denied that the promotion of excellence for its own sake was a visionary idea; for every excellence that was real, whether it related in the first instance to utility or beauty, had got its price, its value in the market. It was an element of strength. In France, the standard of taste, taken as a whole, was very much higher than in England. This was a great national want—a want that had been felt at all times, and a national want that was now specially felt because of the depression of British commerce, and the increased difficulties in finding a way into the markets of many foreign countries. Yet it was a very significant thing that this want should exist, because it was admitted that England is a country which, in the production of beauty in its highest form, showed no deficiency at all. The very highest form in which the beautiful could be produced was that of poetry, and the English poetry of the nineteenth century has been at the head of the poetry of the world. With the English people there was some deficiency in that quality or habit which connects the sense of beauty with the production of works of utility. 'With the English those two things are quite distinct; but in the oldest times of human industry—that is to say, amongst the Greeks—there was no separation whatever, no gap at all, between the idea of beauty

and the idea of utility. Whatever the ancient Greek produced he made as useful as he could; and at the same time a cardinal law with him was to make it as beautiful as he could.' In the industrial productions of America there was very little idea of beauty; an American's axe, for example, was not intended to cut away a tree neatly, but quickly. The object was to clear the ground, and that is the history of American industry up to the present time. In England, schools of art were producing an excellent effect upon almost every branch of industry. 'We want a workman to understand that if he can learn to appreciate beauty in industrial productions, he is thereby doing good to himself, first of all in the improvement of his mind, and in the pleasure he derives from his work, and likewise that literally he is increasing his own capital, which is his labour.' He looked to the union of beauty and utility in industrial production as the true way to ensure success in our national enterprise and commerce.

Mr. Gladstone's third series of essays, which are of an historical and speculative character, opens with 'The Theses of Erastus and the Scottish Church Establishment, 1844.' The writer strongly condemns Erastianism, and though his subject is one which does not profoundly concern the great body of the people, it has a special interest for those who have followed the deep ecclesiastical upheaval in Scotland. The articles on *Ecce Homo* take a wider range, and are written with consider-

* Opening of an Art Loan Exhibition, August 11, 1879.

able eloquence and power. That remarkable work is closely examined, with the object of showing that the method and order of religious teaching may vary, as between the period of first introduction, on the one hand, and of established possession and hereditary transmission on the other; that there were seasons in the state of the world, at the period of the Advent, for a careful and delicate regulation of the approaches for the new religion to the mind of man; and that in the matter and succession of the Gospels we may find a succinct testimony to this system of providential adjustment. He next discusses what was the order or economy observed by the Saviour in making known to the world the religion He had come on earth to found. On the great question whether the world has gained on the whole in Christian ages as compared with those of heathenism, Mr. Gladstone cites social changes of a vast and wide range, which decisively settle the problem in favour of Christianity. He concludes his survey by expressing a hope 'that the present tendency to treat the old belief of man with a precipitate, shallow, and unexamining disparagement, is simply a distemper that infects for a time the moral atmosphere; that is due, like plagues and fevers, to our own previous folly and neglect; and that, when it has served its work of admonition and reform, will be allowed to pass away. Towards this result the author of *Ecce Homo*, if I read him right, will have the consolation and the praise of having furnished an earnest, powerful,

and original contribution.' Seldom has the work to be effected in man by the Christian religion been so felicitously expressed as in the following passage:—

'No more in the inner than the outer sphere did Christ come among us as a conqueror, making His appeal to force. We were neither to be consumed by the heat of the Divine presence, nor were we to be dazzled by its brightness; God was not in the storm, nor in the fire, nor in the flood, but He was in the still small voice. This vast treasure was not only to be conveyed to us, and to be set down as it were at our doors; it was to enter into us, to become part of us, and to become that part which should rule the rest; it was to assimilate alike the mind and heart of every class and description of men. While, as a moral system, it aimed at an entire dominion in the heart, this dominion was to be founded upon an essential conformity to the whole of our original and true essence. It, therefore, recognised the freedom of man, and respected his understanding, even while it absolutely required him both to learn and to unlearn so largely; the whole of the new lessons were founded upon principles that were based in the deepest and best regions of his nature, and that had the sanction of his highest faculties in their moments of calm, and in circumstances of impartiality. The work was one of restoration, of return, and of enlargement, not of innovation. A space was to be bridged over, and it was vast: but a space where all the piers, and every foundation-stone of the connecting structure, were to be laid in the reason and common sense, in the history and experience of man. This movement was to be a revolutionary movement, but only in the sense of a return from anarchy to order.'

The remaining essays of an historical and ecclesiastical type are 'The Courses of Religious Thought,' 'The Sixteenth Century and the Nineteenth,' and 'The Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion'—the main argument of the last-named paper being suggested by Sir G. C. Lewis's well-known essay upon the same subject.

In the foreign essays are to be found the letters to Lord Aberdeen on the Neapolitan prisons, which have been

already referred to at length in another part of this work. In an article upon 'Germany, France, and England,' contributed to the *Edinburgh Review*, in

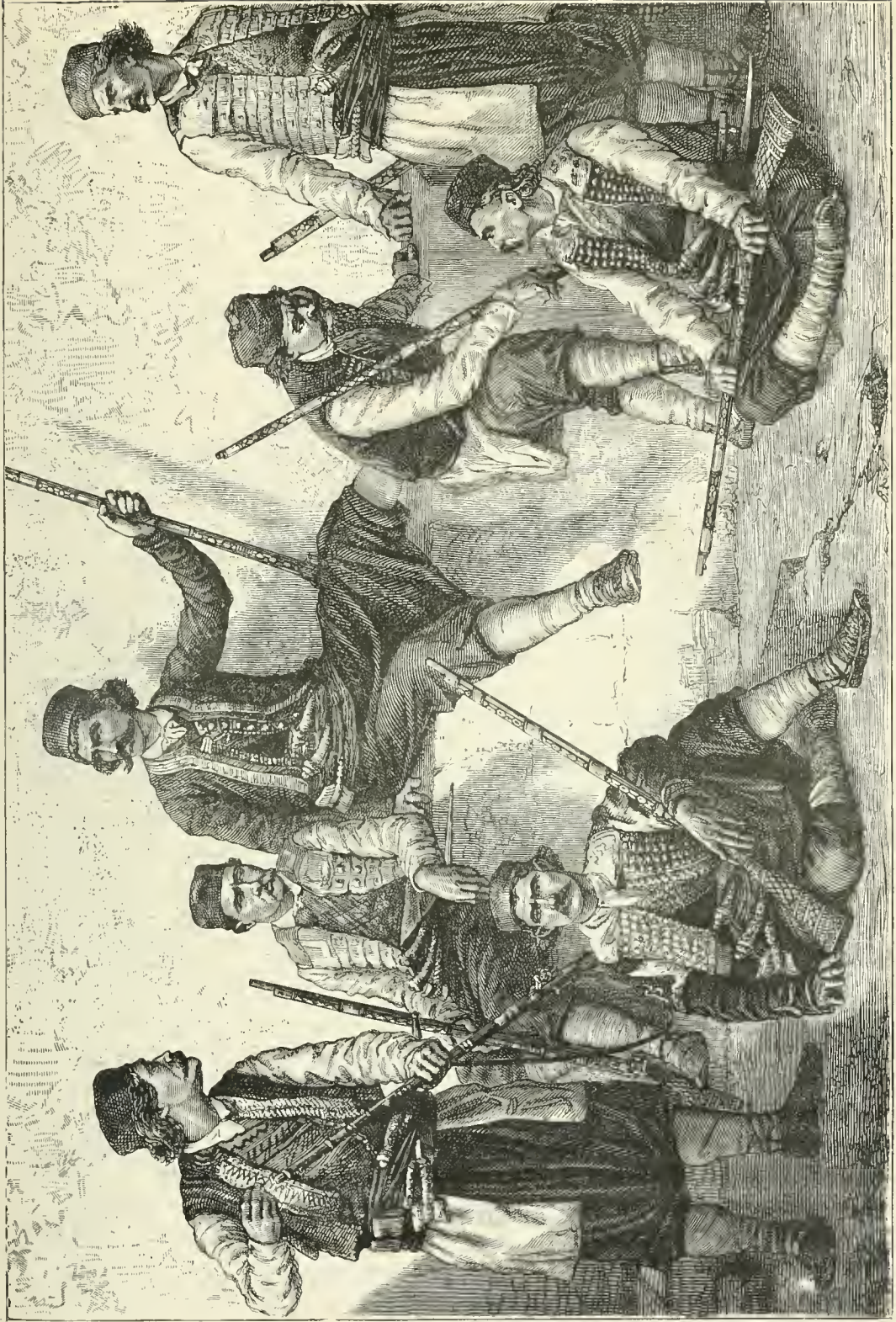
Right, as the governing idea of European policy ; as the common and precious inheritance of all lands, but superior to the passing opinion of any.



TOWN AND FORTRESS OF DOMOKO, ON THE FRONTIER OF THESSALY.

1870, Mr. Gladstone pleads for the time when nations shall do to each other as they would wish to be done by. 'The greatest triumph of our time, a triumph in a region loftier than that of electricity and steam, will be the enthronement of the idea of Public

The foremost among the nations will be that one which by its conduct shall gradually engender in the mind of the others a fixed belief that it is just. In the competition for this prize, the bounty of Providence has given us a place of vantage ; and no-



GROUP OF MONTENEGRINS.

thing save our own fault or folly can wrest it from our grasp.' Dealing with 'The Hellenic Factor in the Eastern Problem,' Mr. Gladstone traces the course of British policy with respect to Greece, and redeems the memory of Lord Palmerston from the wrong done it by those who believe or argue that, if now alive, he would have been found to plead the obligation of maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Power as paramount to the duty of granting to her afflicted subjects simple, broad, and effective guarantees for their personal and civil liberties. In no spirit of unfriendliness to the Porte, Earl Russell and Lord Palmerston wished for the assignment of Thessaly and Epirus to Greece, subject to the conditions of suzerain and tribute. Mr. Gladstone shows that there is an opportunity for England to acquire the lasting gratitude of Greece. 'Of that people who still fondle in their memories the names of Canning and Byron, there are in the Levant, we may safely say, four millions, on whose affections we may take a standing hold, by giving a little friendly care at this juncture to the case of the Hellenic provinces. They want not Russian institutions, but such a freedom as we enjoy. They want for their cause an advocate who is not likely to turn into an adversary, one whose temptations lie in other quarters; who cannot (as they fondly trust) ask anything from them; or, in any possible contingency, through durable opposition of sympathies or interests, inflict anything upon them.' Such a thorough

and steadfast friend England has not yet proved herself. Mr. Gladstone relates, in another article, the long struggle of the noble and heroic people of Montenegro against their hereditary oppressors; and he has further something to say anent 'Aggression in Egypt, and Freedom in the East.'* He does not hide the difficulties besetting British encroachments in the East. Enlargements of the empire are for us an evil fraught with serious if not with immediate danger. We have left many old tasks undone; 'our currency, our local government, our liquor laws, portions even of our taxation, remain in a state either positively discreditable or at the least inviting and demanding great improvements; but, for want of time and strength, we cannot handle them. For the romance of political travel we are ready to scour the world, and yet of capital defect in duties lying at our door we are not ashamed.' By way of reply to the fears and arguments of those who advocate the strengthening of our position in the East, Mr. Gladstone does not believe that Russian power on the Bosphorus is a prac-

* Egypt may yet prove a source of serious difficulty to England. It was stated in a communication to the *Times* from Alexandria, dated August 24, 1879, that when Ismail Pasha was still Viceroy of Egypt, and was being pressed to sign his abdication, he used these words:—'You English have made a mistake; whatever I have been or done, I made English interests in Egypt paramount. You have the railways, the customs, the post-office, the telegraphs, and the ports, entirely under English administration. To gain more you have called in the French. You then hesitated, and Bismarck, who looks far ahead, pushed you on till you have come to direct intervention. Mark my words, Bismarck sees what I see, that Egypt will become the Schleswig-Holstein of England and France.'

tical possibility. But if the worst came to the worst, and Russia accomplished the designs attributed to her, and stopped also the Suez Canal, she would have done nothing more than introduce an average delay of about three weeks into our military communications with Bombay, and less with Calcutta. In time of war this would not make the difference to us between life and death in the maintenance of our Indian Empire.

Mr. Gladstone's position on Ritualism, and his answer to the question whether the Church of England is worth preserving, have already been defined in a previous chapter. He has reprinted the essays in which he expounded his views on these questions in two volumes, which also contain papers entitled 'Remarks on the Royal Supremacy,' 'Present Aspect of the Church, 1843,' 'Ward's Ideal of a Christian Church,' 'On the Functions of Laymen in the Church,' 'The Bill for Divorce,' and 'Italy and her Church.' These essays are undoubtedly valuable as affording materials to add to the general stock 'from which the religious history of a critical period will have finally to be written.' They do not, however, possess the same general interest as the volume of miscellaneous essays which succeeds them. This volume includes the admirable Inaugural Address delivered to the students of Edinburgh University in 1860; the address on the Place of Ancient Greece in the Providential Order; a Chapter of Autobiography; Probability as a Guide of Conduct, and the very enter-

taining narrative of the parentage, progress, and issue of the Evangelical movement in England.* Mr. Gladstone's strength does not lie in discovering and exposing the deep roots of those great principles which have governed the growth of nations in the various ages of the world; he rather, by graphic and picturesque antithesis, illustrates the outer effects and manifestations of those principles in national life. Take, for example, this comparison between Greece and Palestine, extracted from the essay on the Place of Ancient Greece:—

'For the exercises of strength and skill, for the achievements and for the enchantments of wit, of eloquence, of art, of genius, for the imperial games of politics and war—let us seek them on the shores of Greece. But if the first among the problems of life be how to establish the peace and restore the balance of our inward being; if the highest of all conditions in the existence of the creature be his aspect towards the God to whom he owes his being, and in whose great hand he stands; then let us make our search elsewhere. All the wonders of the Greek civilisation heaped together are less wonderful than is the single Book of Psalms. Palestine was weak and despised, always obscure, oftentimes and long trodden down beneath the feet of imperious masters. On the other hand, Greece for a thousand years,

"Confident from foreign purposes,"

repelled every invader from her shores. Fostering her strength in the keen air of freedom, she defied, and at length overthrew, the mightiest of existing empires; and when finally she felt the resistless grasp of the masters of all the world, them, too, at the very moment of their subjugation, she herself subdued to her literature, language, arts, and manners. Palestine, in a word, had no share of the glories of our race; while they blaze on every page of the history of Greece with an overpowering splendour. Greece had valour, policy, reason, genius, wisdom, wit; she had all, in a word, that this world could give her; but the flowers of Paradise, which bloomed at the best but thinly, blossomed in Palestine alone.'

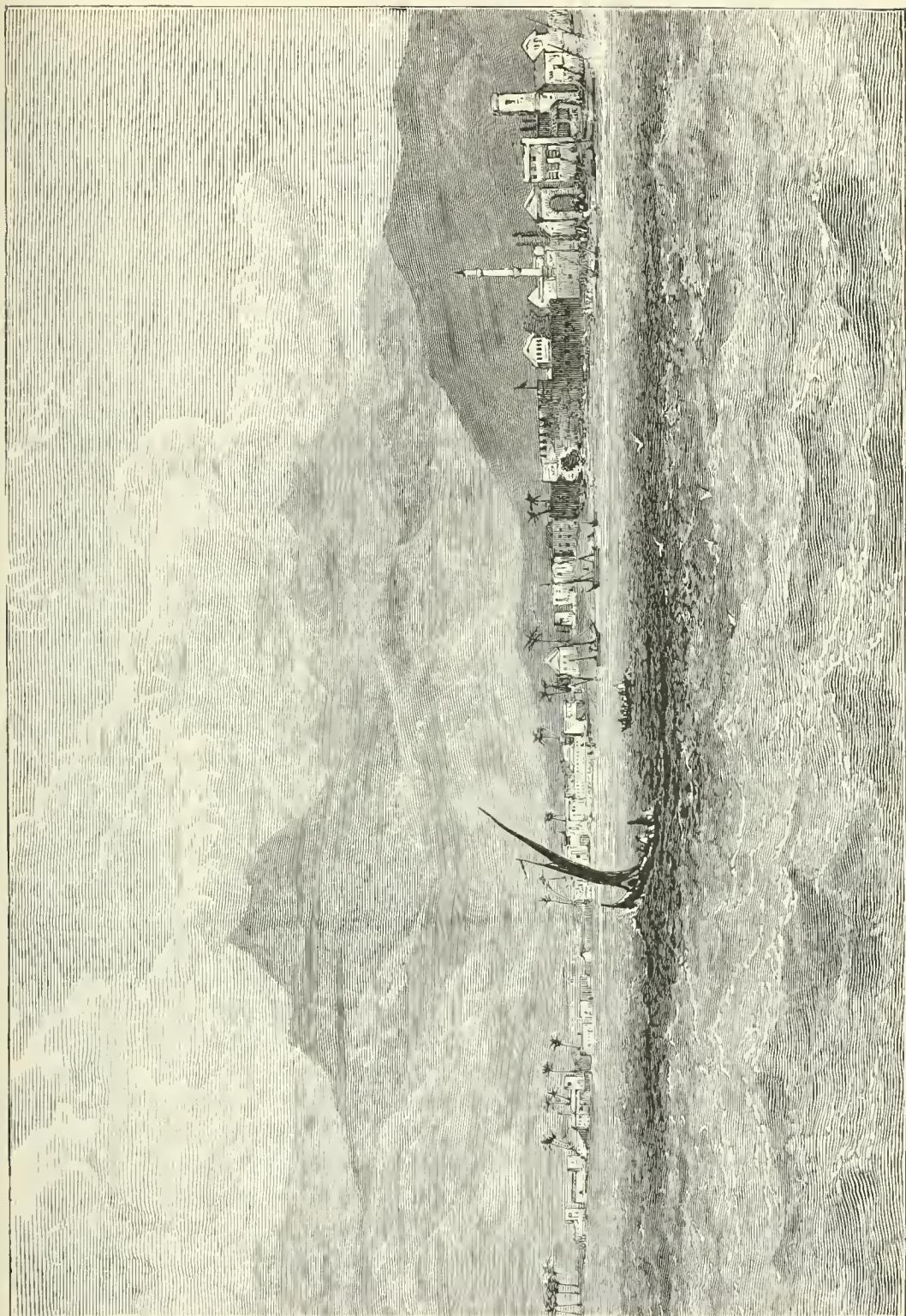
* This article on the Evangelical movement in England originally appeared in the *British Quarterly Review*.

One article by Mr. Gladstone—which does not appear in the collected edition of his essays, on account of its political and controversial character—still claims attention. It does so on the ground of its exposition of the writer's views as to the dangers attendant upon an Imperial policy. This article is entitled 'England's Mission.'* The writer was alarmed by recent developments of English statesmanship. He maintains that 'not peace, not humanity, not reverence for the traditions established by the thought and care of the mighty dead, not anxiety to secure the equal rights of nations, not the golden rule to do to others as we would fain have them do to us, not far-seeing provision for the future, have been the sources from which the present Ministers have drawn their strength.'† On the contrary, 'they are the men, and the political heirs of the men, who passed the Six Acts and the Corn Laws; who impoverished the population, who fettered enterprise by legislative restraint, who withheld those franchises that have given voice and vent to the public wishes, whose policy, in a word, kept the Throne insecure and the empire weak; and would, unless happily arrested in 1832, and again in 1846, have plunged the country into revolution.' They have abandoned all idea, such as inspired Sir Robert Peel, that Government should live by great measures of legislation framed for the national benefit, and have substituted

a careful regard to interest and class, from bishops down to beer-houses. This inglorious existence being unable to bear the concentrated force of criticism, however, they sought out a vigorous foreign policy. The first care of the Liberal party has been held to be the care of her own children within her own shores, the redress of wrongs, the supply of needs, the improvements of laws and institutions; but against this doctrine 'the present Government appears to set up territorial aggrandisement, large establishments, and the accumulation of a multitude of fictitious interests abroad, as if our real interests were not enough.' Mr. Gladstone deprecated the multiplication of British possessions beyond the sea, and especially condemned such acquisitions as that of Cyprus, which can never become truly British in character. As every possible road to India threatens to become a British interest, he observes that there is no saying what preposterous guarantees may be proposed for Khiva, or Bokhara, or Badakshan. Nay, as China is a possible road to India, why should it not also have a guarantee? All the old doctrines of statesmanship which should have been jealously guarded by Ministers have been left to the advocacy of unofficial persons. The writer maintains that the Government have, on the whole, opened up and relied on an illegitimate source of power; and that one of the damning signs of the politics of the school is their total blindness to the fact that the central strength of England lies in England. He further complains

* See the *Nineteenth Century* for September, 1878.

† Referring to the Beaconsfield Administration.



LARNACA, CYPRUS.

that 'we have undertaken in the matter of Governments far more than ever in the history of the world has been previously attempted by the children of men. None of the great continuous empires of ancient or modern times ever grappled with such a task.' Meanwhile during the prevalence of this lust of empire, what had become of domestic legislation? Mr. Gladstone supplied the following list of questions not (so far) grappled with, and 'the neglect to which amounts, in not a few instances, to positive scandal: London Municipal Reform; County Government; County Franchise; Liquor Laws; Irish Borough Franchise; Irish University Question; Opium Revenue; Criminal Law Procedure; Responsibility of Masters for Injuries to Workmen; Reduction of Public Expenditure; Probate Duty; Indian Finance; Working of the Home Government of India; City Companies; Burial Laws; Valuation of Property; Law of the Medical Profession; Law of Entail and Settlement; Corrupt Practices at Elections; Expenses of Election; Reorganisation of the Revenue Departments; and the Currency. In a later article, entitled 'The Country and the Government,' Mr. Gladstone added to these subjects waiting to be dealt with, the Laws of Bankruptcy, of Banking, of Distress, of Charities, and Mortmain, Loans for Local Purposes, Game, Distribution as well as Redistribution of Seats, Savings Bank Finance, and the Bright Clauses of the Irish Land Act. Instead of dealing with these matters, the Government of Lord

Beaconsfield had raised up as from a virgin soil a whole forest of new questions, in themselves enough to occupy a Parliament and a State which had nothing else to do. Of these new and thorny subjects, he gave the following enumeration, which, while probably incomplete, might suffice for present purposes:—1. Eastern Roumelia; 2. The Greek Frontier; 3. Crete and the other European Provinces of Turkey; 4. The Armenians; 5. Turkey in Asia; 6. Cyprus; 7. Suez Canal Shares and Management; 8. Egyptian Debt; 9. Egyptian Succession; 10. North-west Frontier of India; 11. Supervision of Afghanistan; 12. East Indian Finance; 13. Arms Act, Press Act, and Taxing Legislation of India; 14. Cape—Annexation of the Transvaal, the act of the present Administration; and 15. Cape—Zulu War: the result of the mission of Sir Bartle Frere. Of these, the first three come under the Treaty of Berlin; the fourth, fifth, and sixth under the Anglo-Turkish Convention; the seventh, eighth, and ninth are assumed to result from the purchase of shares in the Suez Canal; while the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth, result from the mission of Lord Lytton. After reviewing the home and foreign policy of the Government, the right hon. gentleman compared its claims with those of its predecessor, and said that though there had been times when men of ardent minds had complained that they could scarcely distinguish between one party and another, assuredly no such complaint could then be made, and the

nation must choose between them in the light afforded by the experience of the last six years.

Mr. Gladstone supplemented this indictment by other charges in a speech at Chester.* He maintained, as he had assured the electors of Midlothian, that at no period of his public life had the issues inviting the judgment of the nation been of such profound importance—including the management of finance, the scale of expenditure, and the constantly growing arrears of legislation—as now. ‘I hold,’ he continued, ‘that the faith and honour of the country have been gravely compromised by the foreign policy of the Ministry; that by the disturbance of confidence, and lately even of peace, which they have brought about, they have prolonged and aggravated public distress; that they have augmented the power and interest of the Russian Empire, even while estranging the feelings of its population; that they have embarked the Crown and people in an unjust war; that their Afghan war is full of mischief, if not of positive danger, to India; and that by their use of the treaty-making and war-making powers of the Crown they have abridged the just rights of Parliament, and have presented its prerogatives to the nation under an unconstitutional aspect, which tends to make it insecure.’ Mr. Gladstone added that these were the characters he had inscribed on his colours, and he had nailed them to the mast. He again reiterated his charge that the Ministry had played the game of

Russia, and had enabled her to take the part which belonged to our forefathers—and which ought to have belonged to us—that of promoting the interests of liberty and justice. Further, although it was perfectly well known that we had invaded the country of the Zulus, Lord Salisbury, the Foreign Secretary—who ought to be among the best informed men—had lately announced that we had engaged in a war in South Africa which was brought upon us in order to repel an attack made by savages upon our colonial dominions. It was coolly asserted by a responsible Minister of the Crown that the people of the country which we invaded invaded us. The Zulus, denounced as savages by Lord Salisbury, showed us an evidence of the right feeling which was rather to have been expected from a Christian people, and refused to cross the little thread of a stream that separated their land from ours, being simply contented to await within their own territories a renewal of our wanton, unprovoked, mischievous, and deplorable attacks. Describing our latest acquisition, Mr. Gladstone said, ‘You know what Cyprus is. It is a small island, but it is a great imposture.’ In that great and wonderful arsenal which was to contain an army that would frighten Russia out of its wits, there were now three hundred English soldiers, and so inadequate were they even to the duty of keeping the people in order that, notwithstanding the promise given that Cyprus should not cost a shilling for civil government, one of the last acts of

* Delivered August 19, 1879.

the Administration had been to carry a vote through Parliament for the support of the civil police of the island. With regard to financial matters, Mr.

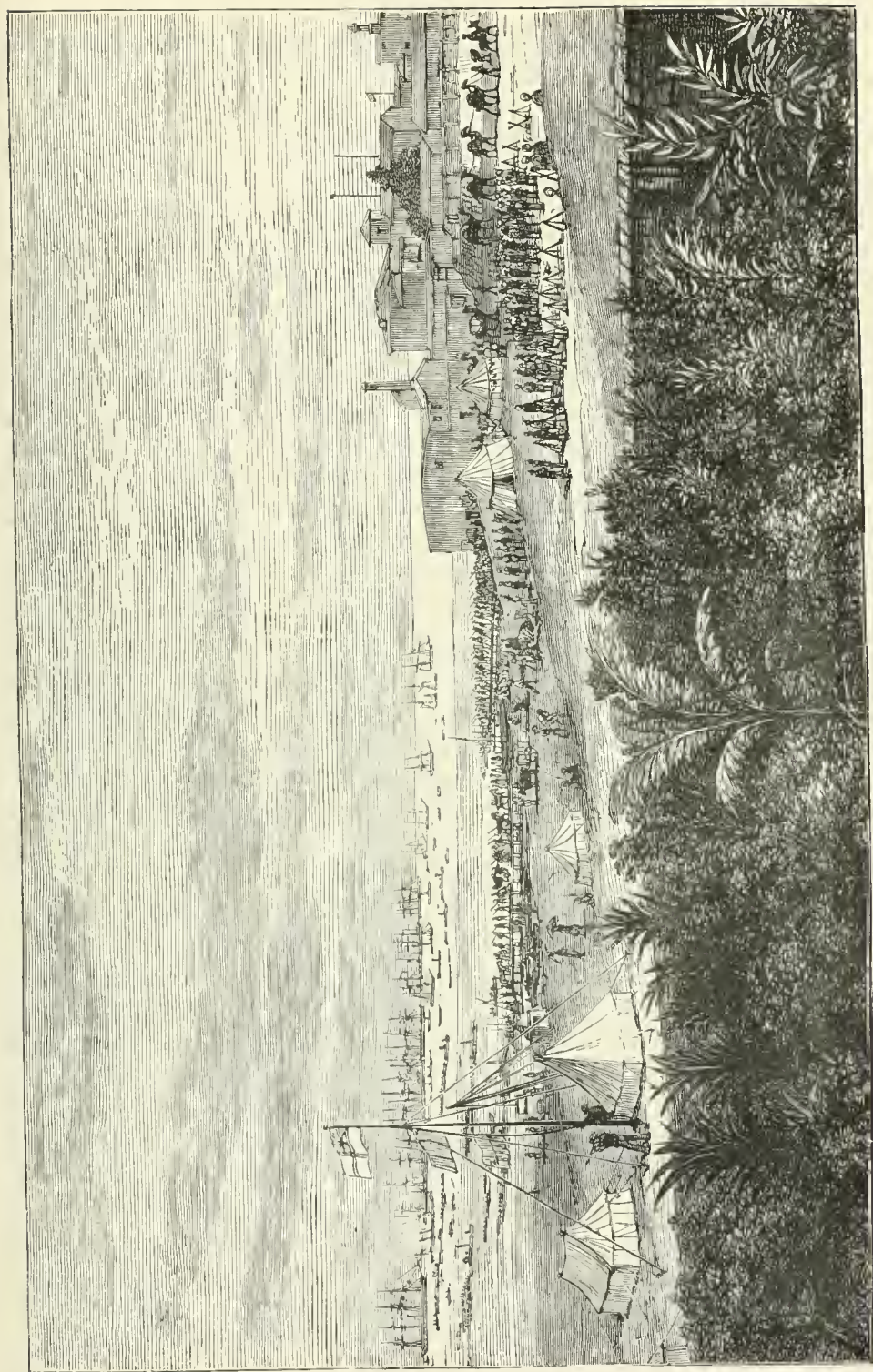
Government if they could postpone the presentation of the bill for expenses until after the dissolution. From the Liberal party had proceeded all the



SIR GARNET WOLSELEY,
Lord High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief of the Island of Cyprus.

Gladstone said at the beginning of the year the deficiency stood at six millions sterling, and there would be a deficiency of three and a half millions more at the end of the financial year. It would be a great stroke for the

measures which had made the country so great and so strong, that had led to the prosperity which lasted in an unbroken term for such a number of years until this crisis had arrived—a crisis so unhappily prolonged and



LANDING OF BRITISH TROOPS AT LARNACA, CYPRUS.

aggravated by the financial extravagance of the Government, and by that want of confidence which they had introduced into their relations with the different countries of the globe. When the dissolution came, if they did their duty, there was no fear for the Liberals.

This address by the ex-Premier, delivered in his seventieth year, exhibited all the energy and vigour usually associated with a political chief of fifty. It demonstrated that, though he had retired from the leadership of his party, he answered the call to the political battle as the war-horse scents the conflict from afar.

A final word remains to be said upon the Anglo-Turkish Convention and the policy generally of the late Government. The acquisition of Cyprus was Lord Beaconsfield's set-off against the territorial cessions to Russia under the Treaty of Berlin. It was deemed necessary for England to do something at this juncture, and, to obtain Cyprus, the Premier even pledged England to that immense responsibility (whose results no man can possibly foresee), the Protectorate over the Turkish dominions in Asia. Lord Beaconsfield had fixed his attention upon Cyprus some time before its cession to Great Britain, for Lord Derby, in explaining the reasons for his secession from the Cabinet, said, 'When I quitted the Cabinet I did so mainly because it was said that it was necessary to secure a naval station in the Eastern part of the Mediterranean; and that, for that purpose, it was necessary to seize and occupy the island of

Cyprus, together with a point upon the Syrian coast. That was to be done by means of a Syrian expedition sent out from India, with or without the consent of the Sultan.' The late Premier not only pursued a policy now widely recognised under the term 'Imperial,' but he pursued this policy in secret, and showed so great a contempt for Parliamentary and constitutional usage as to take little thought for the nation, or its representatives in the House of Commons. The results of Lord Beaconsfield's policy were thus described by Mr. Gladstone:—'There is not a nation upon earth with which we have drawn the bonds of friendship closer by the transactions of these last years, but we have played perilous tricks with the loyalty of India, have estranged the ninety millions who inhabit Russia, and have severed ourselves from the Christians of Turkey, Greek and Slav alike, without gaining the respect of the Moslem. And all this we have done, not to increase our power, but only our engagements.' A statesman who neglects every home interest to boast of our power before other nations; who enters upon engagements lightly, and without thinking of the enormous responsibilities they must devolve upon us in the future; who enacts the swashbuckler in foreign politics, and endeavours to flatter us by a sense of our own grandeur—such a statesman, whatever may be his claims in other respects, is to be dreaded as the most dangerous foe that England could possess.

We have now reached the close of our survey of Mr. Gladstone's literary and

political career. In both aspects the average reader seems to toil after him in vain, so great is his fertility in resource, so extraordinary his power of seizing upon and comprehending the facts and bearings of our foreign and domestic policy, so copious and inexhaustible the eloquence with which he illustrates and enforces his views—whether those views relate to the immortal works of Homer, the scandals of the Neapolitan prisons, the questions raised by *Ecce Homo*, the details of the last budget, the principles which should pervade industrial art, the dogmas of the Romish Church, the duty of man in relation to education and religion, or the policy of the Beaconsfield Administration. The strength and

vehemence of his denunciations of the late Government—as we have already had occasion to remark—were sometimes severely commented upon; but, without defending his addresses in every particular, it may be observed that strong language is sometimes called for in English politics, provided it be just. Moreover, in addition to the force which Mr. Gladstone's addresses on foreign questions derived from the natural ardour of his temperament, they owed much of their polemical character to his firm and settled conviction that the policy of Lord Beaconsfield's Ministry was derogatory to the honour and interests of England. at home and abroad.



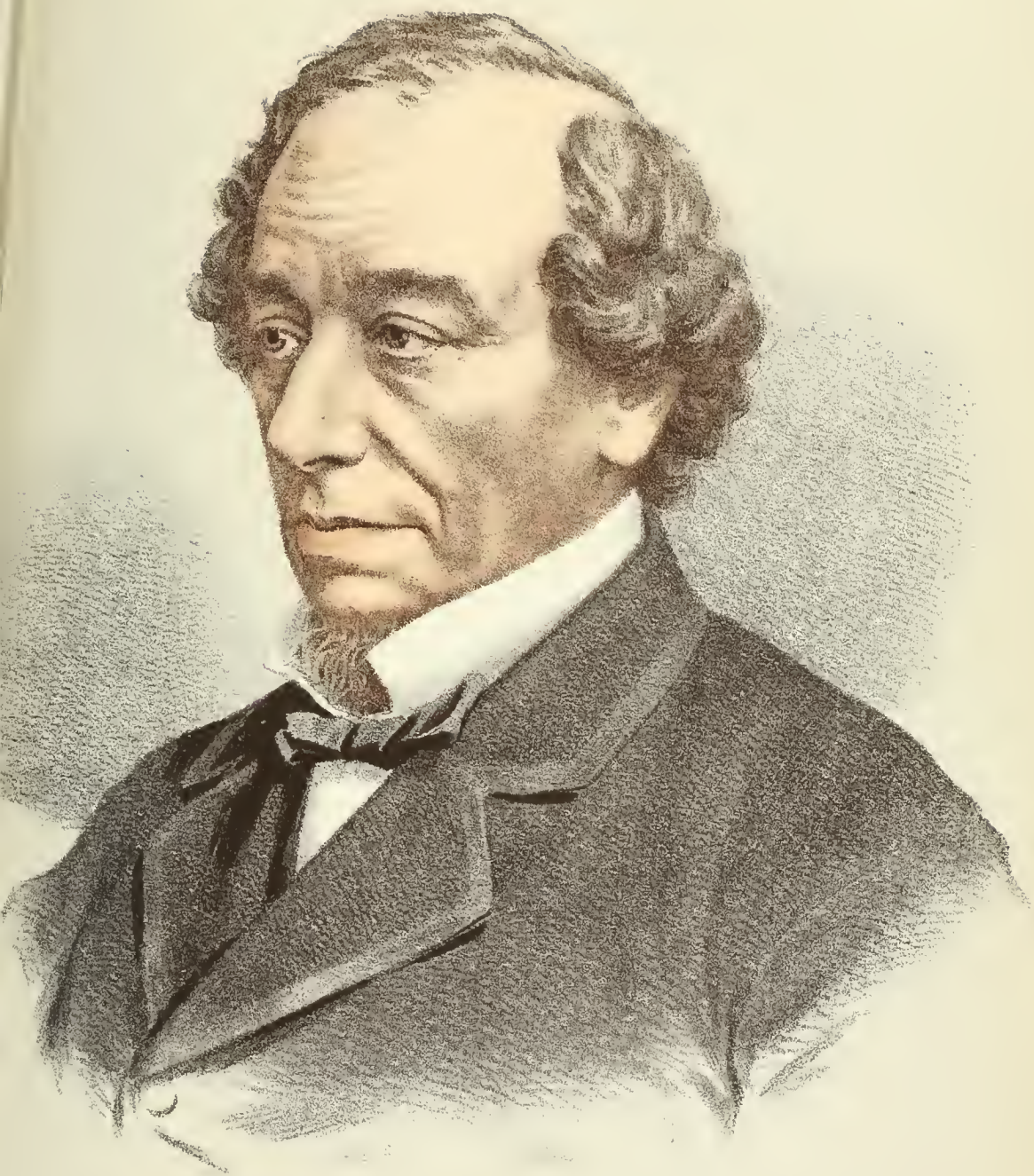
THE FORTRESS OF CLISSA, DALMATIA.

CHAPTER XIV.

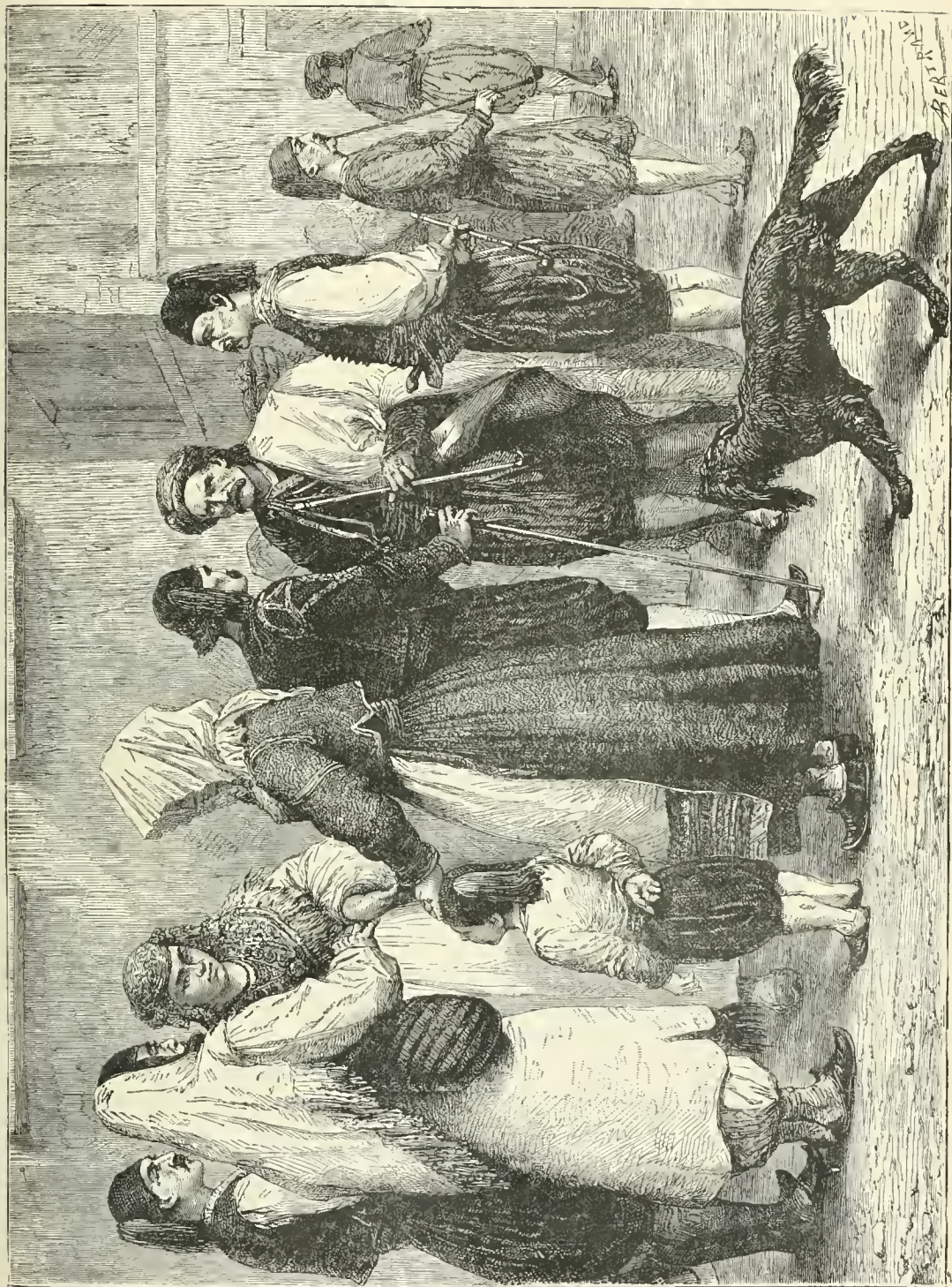
THE EASTERN QUESTION.

Mr Gladstone's Views on the Eastern Question—The Rising in the Herzegovina—The Andrassy Note—Conference of the Emperors at Berlin—Startling Events at Constantinople—The Massacres in Bulgaria—Servia and Montenegro declare War against Turkey—The English Fleet despatched to Besika Bay—Mr. Disraeli and the 'Bulgarian Atrocities'—Mr. Baring's Corroboration of the Outrages—Publication of Mr. Gladstone's Pamphlet—The ex-Premier's Address on Blackheath—Lord Beaconsfield at Aylesbury—Turkey agrees to an Armistice—The Constantinople Conference—Meeting at St. James's Hall—Letter from Mr. Carlyle—Failure of the Conference at Constantinople—Parliamentary Debates on the Eastern Question—Appeal on the General Question—Protocol signed at the English Foreign Office—Rejected by Turkey—Declaration of War by Russia—Great Debate in the House of Commons—Mr. Gladstone's Five Resolutions—Eloquent Speech of the Mover—The First Resolution defeated—The ex-Premier at Birmingham and Holyhead—Elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University—Course of the Russo-Turkish War—Fall of Plevna—Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Gladstone—Another Debate in the House of Commons—Panic on the Stock Exchange—Treaty of San Stefano—The Bases of Peace—Objected to by England.

PERHAPS no period of Mr. Gladstone's career has been the subject of so much animadversion as that in which he made his series of public utterances upon the complications in Eastern Europe. It has frequently been urged against the leader of the Liberal party that his views upon foreign affairs



Beaconsfield



NATIVES OF RAGUSA AND THE SURROUNDING DISTRICT.

were narrow, contracted, and impracticable; and yet it was by no means unreasonable to suppose that his much-canvassed 'bag and baggage' policy with regard to Turkey would prove to be the only permanent solution of the Eastern Question, as it especially affected the Christian provinces of the Ottoman Empire. It is not our purpose to show either that Mr. Gladstone has invariably been right or that his opponents have invariably been wrong, in the attitude they have respectively assumed at the various stages of this vexed and intricate question. At the same time, we cannot pass to the mere retrospect of facts which it is our intention only to give, without recalling to general recollection how closely many of the earliest predictions of Mr. Gladstone upon the Eastern Question have been verified.

Before dealing with those addresses in which Mr. Gladstone roused in so remarkable a degree the feelings of the British people in favour of the oppressed nationalities of Turkey, we will rapidly recapitulate the events which led to the great conflict in the East of Europe. Turkish oppression, which had long prevailed in its worst forms, at length resulted in an outbreak in the Herzegovina. This insurrectionary movement began on the 1st of July, 1875, and, without tracing its gradual stages, it will be sufficient to state that it ultimately led to an open and formal conflict with the Ottoman Government. This movement was as the letting out of waters, and in a short time the Eastern Ques-

tion was re-opened in all its fulness. The cruel oppression of the Herzegovinian peasantry by their Mohammedan landlords, was the first stage in the new phase of that question for which the wisest diplomatic minds in Europe saw no settlement save by the adoption of thoroughly root measures. Hostilities ensued, and in January, 1876, the Herzegovinians gained a victory over the Turks. A few days later, the Austrian statesman, Count Andrassy, drew up a Note containing a scheme of reforms in favour of the insurgents of Herzegovina; and this being communicated to the Porte by the Austrian, Russian, and German Ambassadors, it was accepted by the Sultan's Government on the 6th of February. Early in May, however, another insurrection broke out in several Bulgarian villages, and this was followed a week afterwards by the atrocities at Batak, committed by Bashi-Bazouks—atrocities which sent a thrill of horror throughout Europe. Early in the insurrection, Christians from several of the Herzegovinian villages fled into Dalmatia, where they were kindly received by the inhabitants of Ragusa and other towns. The popular excitement had rapidly spread into Dalmatia and the adjacent provinces.

Affairs had become so serious that on the 11th of May the Emperor of Russia, accompanied by Prince Gortschakoff, arrived at Berlin to confer with Count Andrassy, the Emperor William, and Prince Bismarck, on the Eastern Question generally. On the 22nd, in both Houses of the British

Parliament, Ministers announced that they had been unable to concur in the Memorandum drawn up at the Berlin Conference—an intimation which caused considerable surprise throughout the country. The public feeling was not calmed when it became known two days later that the British fleet in the Mediterranean had been ordered to Besika Bay. By the 28th of May the insurrection in Bulgaria was suppressed, and on the 30th the Sultan Abdul Aziz was deposed at Constantinople. He was succeeded by Murad V., who issued an imperial Hatt, stating that he desired a Government which should best guarantee the liberties of all.

But two startling tragedies now engrossed the attention of Europe. The first of these related to the ex-Sultan Abdul Aziz, who was found dead on the morning of the 4th of June. It was affirmed—and circumstances seemed to bear out the assertion—that he had committed suicide. ‘On the day after his deposition,’ wrote the correspondent of the *Times*, ‘he had written to his nephew, congratulating him on his promotion, assuring him of his best wishes, and at the same time asking as a favour to be removed from Top Capou, in the old Seraglio, where he was first lodged, and to be conveyed to one of the pavilions of the palace of Cheragan, which he had himself built, and to the very pavilion which he had destined as a residence for his nephew, Murad Effendi, now Sultan Murad. This latter immediately granted the ex-Sultan’s request, and the ex-Sultan and his family were taken in boats

across the Golden Horn to Cheragan that very evening of Wednesday. Subsequently, I have been told, Abdul Aziz again asked to be transferred across the Bosphorus to the fair palace of Beglerbeg, on the Asiatic side, the very palace in which the Sultan himself lodged his distinguished visitor the Empress Eugénie at the time of her Eastern tour at the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. This new request was also favourably entertained, but the ex-Sultan did not profit by this new evidence of the Sultan’s liberality. Already throughout Thursday and Friday he had, it is said, given proofs of mental aberration, and on Friday, at the time of the new Sultan’s progress to Stamboul, he had addressed some of the crew of an ironclad anchored close to the palace, asking them why they did not fire on the sacrilegious usurper. He was seen walking restlessly up and down his apartment, took little or no food for two days, and seemed plunged into such depths of savage melancholy that—as on Saturday he aimed his revolver at one of the sentries at his door—the people of his household deemed it expedient to remove all weapons beyond his reach. Early on Sunday morning, however, the ex-Sultan was found lying half across the sofa, with his feet on the floor in a great pool of blood, and with the traces of recent death.’ No fewer than nineteen physicians of different nationalities were summoned, and they unanimously agreed that, from the direction and nature of the wounds, as well as the instrument which was

said to have produced them—a pair of scissors—the case was one of suicide.

In less than a fortnight after this event another extraordinary tragedy was reported from Constantinople. It appears that on the 16th of June, as the Council of Ministers was holding

who remained as if spell-bound and nailed to his seat; while the Minister of Marine, Ahmed Kaissarli, who alone showed some presence of mind, immediately closed with the assassin, seized him round the waist, and pinioned down both his arms. Hassan, how-

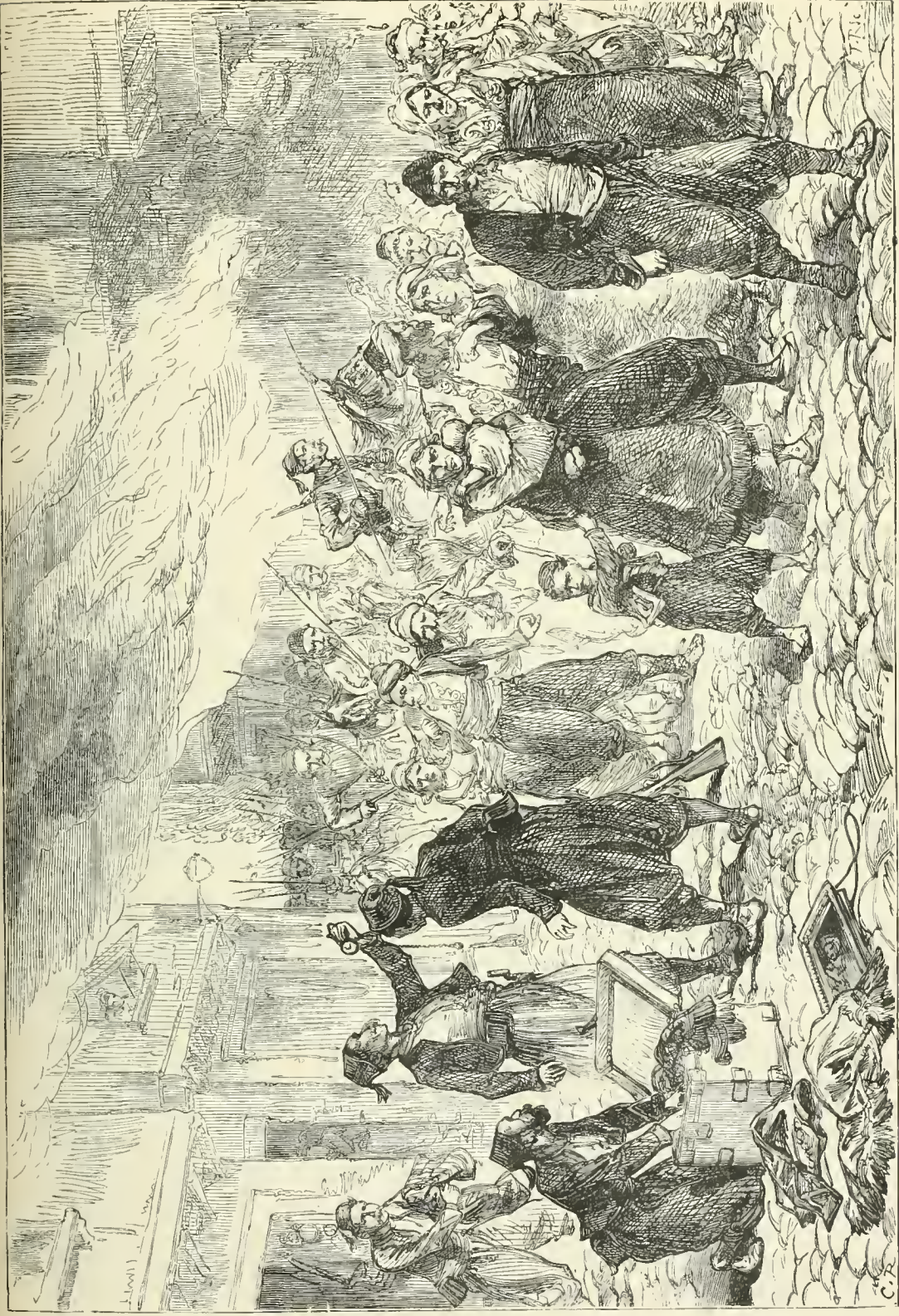


MIDHAT PASHA.

its meeting in the palace of Midhat Pasha, a Turkish officer, called Hassan, entered the room, and discharged a shot at the War Minister, Hussein Avni. 'Terror seemed to seize the other Ministers,' wrote the *Times* correspondent in describing the scene. 'Midhat Pasha at once made for the bottom door, rushed through it to the inner apartments, and was followed by all his colleagues except Raschid Pasha,

ever, by a strenuous exertion succeeded in disengaging his right hand, and with his Circassian knife inflicted several wounds on Kaissarli, who at last released him, and joined the other Ministers in their flight.

'In the meantime, Hussein Avni, who was not dead, had risen, and was crawling with great difficulty towards the entrance-door. Thereupon Hassan, leaving the Marine Minister, whom he



THE BURNING AND SACK OF BATAK.

would otherwise have killed, and rushing upon Hussein Avni, overtook him, and hacked at him with his knife, cutting his throat, and never leaving him until he lay motionless at his feet. He turned then, and perceiving Raschid Pasha, who had never stirred, and alone remained in the room seated on the divan—in the opinion of some persons already dead with fright—he pointed his revolver at him, exclaiming, “Do you stop here to arrest me?” and shot him through the head. The assassin then went up to the bottom door, which the fugitives had fastened and barricaded from the inside, and shaking it lustily, he cried, “Grand Vizier, open the door—no harm to you is intended!” and called out that the Minister of Marine should be delivered up to him. The old Grand Vizier, greatly terrified, called out, it is said, from behind the closed door, “My son, not now; you are too much excited to listen to reason.” Hassan, baffled, in his rage sent two pistol-shots through the door, fortunately without results. Unable to force open the door, the assassin upset the furniture, set fire to the curtains, and broke the lustre or chandelier, so that the large room was only lighted by one single taper. At length Ahmed Agha and Chukri Bey ventured into the slaughter room. As these two men entered the apartment, both fell dead, struck by Hassan’s unerring revolver. But by this time the police and soldiery from the nearest post arrived on the spot, and Hassan, after killing a police officer and wounding

six zaptiehs and soldiers, was overpowered and secured, being himself seriously wounded. The assassin was taken to the Seraskierat, or War Office, where on the following morning (Friday) he was examined, tried, and sentenced to death. On Saturday at daybreak (4 A.M.), he was hanged on a tree in the open space before the Seraskierat. He would not allow the surgeons to bind up his wounds, and was greatly exhausted by loss of blood before he reached the place of execution. The body was left hanging for the whole of the day. Of his victims, Hussein Avni was about sixty years old; Raschid Pasha about forty-eight.’

In consequence of the changed condition of affairs, the result of these and other events, on the 9th of June Mr. Disraeli stated in the House of Commons that the Berlin Memorandum would not be presented, and that the steps taken by Her Majesty’s Government in Turkish affairs were such as he believed would lead to the maintenance of an honourable peace.

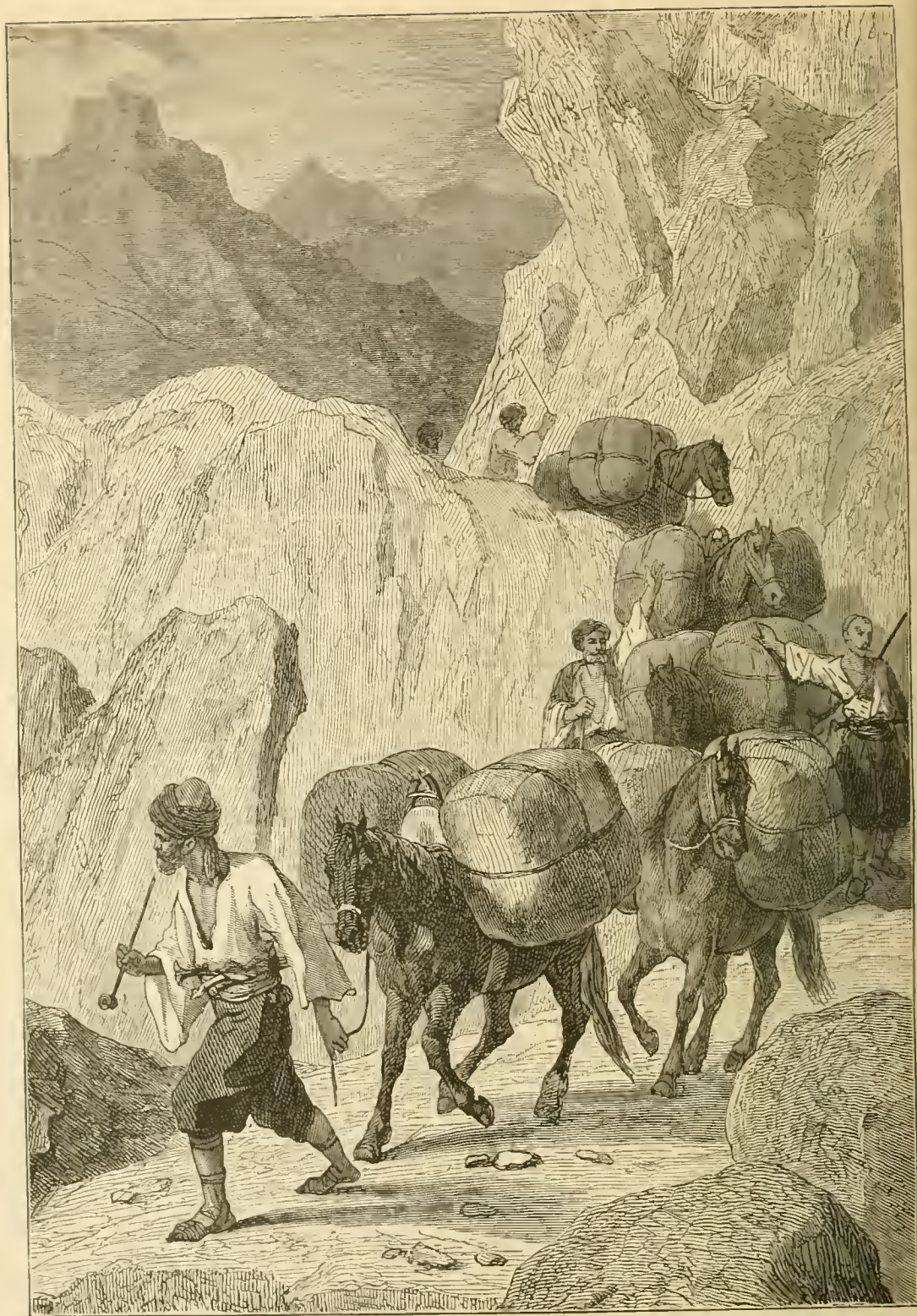
How far these optimist views were justified was speedily shown by events which we now look back upon with horror. Within a fortnight only of Mr Disraeli’s declaration, England was moved with indignation at the revelations published in the *Daily News* from its correspondent at Constantinople, respecting the massacres in Bulgaria by the Moslems. Thousands of innocent men, women, and children, it was stated, had been slaughtered; at least sixty villages had been utterly de-

stroyed; the most terrible scenes of violence had been committed; and a district once the most fertile in the empire had been completely ruined. Crimes had been committed on a scale unknown in Europe for many years. Forty girls were shut up in a straw loft and burnt; and outrages of the most fearful description were committed upon hundreds of unfortunate captives.

While the whole heart of Great Britain was stirred, it was left for an English Prime Minister to grow jocular upon cruelties and sufferings almost unparalleled in the world's history. In the House of Commons, in answer to an interpellation upon the Bulgarian massacres, Mr. Disraeli expressed his belief that the outrages committed by the Turkish troops had been exaggerated; while as to the torture of impalement (which had caused universal disgust and anger), he had only to remark that an Oriental people generally terminated their connection with culprits in a more expeditious manner! Mr. Disraeli's belief, however, was as unfounded as his witticism was callous and heartless, for the substantial accuracy of the statements in the *Daily News* was afterwards duly attested.

Before the end of June Prince Milan left Belgrade, and joined his army on the frontier. In a proclamation issued to his people, he declared that, since the insurrection had broken out in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the situation of Servia had become intolerable. Notwithstanding his neutral attitude, the Porte had continued to send military forces

and savage hordes to the Servian frontier. "To remain longer in moderation," said the Prince, "would be weakness." The Montenegrins next united with Servia in declaring war against Turkey. The Servians were defeated near Novi Bazar, in Bosnia, on the 6th of July, with considerable loss. On the 20th they sustained another serious defeat near Belfina, which was hardly counterbalanced by the success gained a week later by Prince Nikita over Mukhtar Pasha. By the first week in August the Servians had been driven from their positions, and compelled to retreat all along the Timok valley. It was resolved, however, at a cabinet council held at Belgrade on the 18th, under the presidency of Prince Milan, to continue the war *à outrance*. But on the very next day the Turks put the Servians to flight at Tescieza. The way to Alexinatz, which was the whole key of the Servian position, was thus opened. Prince Milan now signified to the foreign consuls in Belgrade his willingness to accept the intervention of the Powers for the purpose of securing a cessation of hostilities. On the 1st of September, however, an important battle under the walls of Alexinatz, resulted in the complete defeat of the Servian army, although the latter fought with undoubted bravery. England now proposed that there should be an armistice, but this the Porte declined, offering peace instead, on condition that Prince Milan should do homage to the Sultan in Constantinople, that four of the Servian fortresses should be garrisoned by Turkish

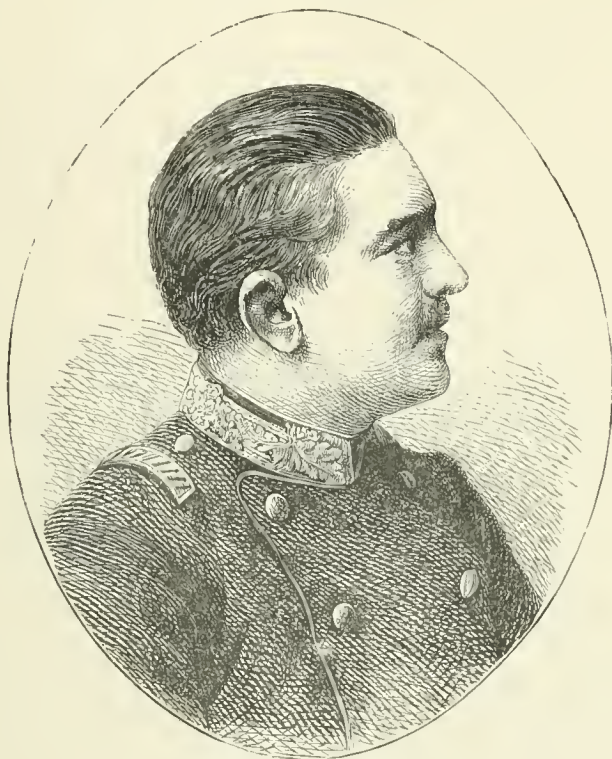


TURKISH MULETEERS OF HERZEGOVINA.

troops, that the number of the Servian forces should be limited, that Servia should pay either an indemnity or a larger tribute, and that the Porte should have a right to construct and work a railway through the Principality.

All the Powers declared these de-

tions were in progress, on the suggestion of Lord Derby, Prince Milan, at the instigation of his leading military supporter, General Tchernayeff, was proclaimed King of Servia at Deligrad. This step gave great umbrage to the Porte; and Prince Milan having re-



PRINCE MILAN (AFTERWARDS KING) OF SERVIA.

mands to be inadmissible, and matters remained *in statu quo*. At this juncture another surprising *coup d'état* was reported from Constantinople. On the 31st of August Sultan Murad—who was insane, or incapable of exercising his mental faculties—was deposed, and Abdul Hamid was called to the throne in his stead. The Porte agreed to a suspension of hostilities on the 10th of September; but while new negotia-

tions were in progress, on the suggestion of Lord Derby, Prince Milan, at the instigation of his leading military supporter, General Tchernayeff, was proclaimed King of Servia at Deligrad. This step gave great umbrage to the Porte; and Prince Milan having re-

Debates in the House of Commons on the progress of events in the East were of frequent occurrence; and on the 30th of July—in answer to Mr. Gladstone, who had defended the Crimean War, and expressed his strong desire for the restoration of the European concert in the East—Mr. Disraeli explained that the despatch of the Fleet to Besika Bay implied no threat to anybody: it was not sent to protect the Turkish Empire, but the British Empire. On the following day Mr. Gladstone again returned to the subject, and Mr. Disraeli rejoined that the Berlin Memorandum had nothing to do with the present war, which was one of aggression. The policy of the British Government, he said, had been approved by the other Powers. Lord Derby and other members of the Ministry had previously defined this policy as one of strict neutrality. On the 11th of August Mr. Disraeli made his last speech in the House of Commons. It was one distinguished by much of his old brilliancy and power, and was delivered during the debate raised by Mr. Evelyn Ashley on the Eastern Question. He explained that he had not denied the existence of the ‘Bulgarian atrocities,’ but that he had no official knowledge of them. In answer to Sir W. Harcourt, he affirmed that we were not responsible for what occurred in Turkey, nor were the Turks our especial *protégés*. The Premier announced that the duty of the Government at that critical moment was to maintain the Empire of England, and they would never agree to any step

that hazarded the existence of that Empire. On the morning after this speech, it was publicly announced that Mr. Disraeli would be immediately elevated to the peerage under the title of Earl of Beaconsfield.

Parliament was prorogued on the 15th of August, and shortly afterwards appeared the official report of Mr. W. Baring, corroborating the reported outrages in Bulgaria. After strict investigation, Mr. Baring came to the conclusion that no fewer than 12,000 persons had perished in the sandjak of Philippopolis! But the most fearful tragedy during the whole insurrection was the one at Batak, respecting which the following account was furnished by Mr. Baring:—‘The Medjliss of Tatar-Bazardjik, hearing that preparations for revolt were going on in this village (Batak), ordered Achmet Agha of Dospat to attack it; and this individual having joined his forces with those of Mohammed Agha, of Dorkova, proceeded to carry out these orders. On arriving at the village, he summoned the inhabitants to give up their arms, which, as they mistrusted him, they refused to do, and a desultory fight succeeded, which lasted two days, hardly any loss being inflicted on either side. On May 9 the inhabitants seeing that things were going badly with them, and that no aid came from without, had a parley with Achmet, who solemnly swore that if they only gave up their arms, not a hair of their heads should be touched. A certain number of the inhabitants—luckily for them!—took advantage of this parley to make their

escape. The villagers believed Achmet's oath, and surrendered their arms. But this demand was followed by one for all the money in the village, which, of course, had also to be acceded to. No sooner was the money given up, than the Bashi-Bazouks set upon the people, and slaughtered them like sheep. A large number of people—probably about 1,000 or 1,200—took refuge in the church and churchyard, the latter being surrounded by a wall. The church itself is a solid building, and resisted all the attempts of the Bashi-Bazouks to burn it from the outside. They consequently fired in through the windows, and, getting upon the roof, tore off the tiles, and threw burning pieces of wood, and rags dipped in petroleum among the mass of unhappy human beings inside. At last the door was forced in, the massacre completed, and the inside of the church burnt. Hardly any escaped out of these fatal walls. The only survivor I could find was one old woman, who alone remained out of a family of seven. When the door was broken in, and she was expecting immediate death, a Turk took her by the hand, and saying, "Come, old woman, I am not going to hurt you," led her away, and saved her life. The spectacle which the church and churchyard present must be seen to be described. Hardly a corpse has been buried; where a man fell, there he lies; and it is with difficulty that one picks one's way to the door of the church, the entrance of which is barred by a ghastly corpse stretched across the threshold. I visited this Valley of

the Shadow of Death on July 31, more than two months and a half after the massacre, but still the stench was so overpowering that one could hardly force one's way into the churchyard. In the streets, at every step lay human remains, rotting and sweltering in the summer sun. Here a skull of an old woman with the grey hair still attached to it; there the false tress of some unhappy girl, slashed in half by a yataghan, the head which it adorned having been probably carried off to be devoured by some of the dogs, who up to this have been the only scavengers. Just outside the village I counted more than sixty skulls in a little hollow, and it was evident from their appearance that nearly all of them had been severed from the bodies by axes and yataghans. From the remains of female wearing apparel scattered about, it is plain that many of the persons here massacred were women. It is to be feared, also, that some of the richer villagers were subjected to cruel tortures before being put to death, in hopes that they would reveal the existence of hidden treasure. Thus Petro Triandaphyllos and Pope Necio were roasted, and Stoyan Stoychhoff had his ears, nose, hands, and feet cut off. Enough I think has been said to show that to Achmet Agha and his men belongs the distinction of having committed perhaps the most heinous crime that has stained the history of the present century, Nana Sahib alone, I should say, having rivalled their deeds. Yet for this infamous deed Achmet Agha received the order of the *Medjidie*! Mr.



ABDUL HAMID II., SULTAN OF TURKEY

Baring added, that a Turk who accompanied him from Bazardjik, and who on the way had been loud in his denunciation of the rebels, changed his tone

completely when he really saw what his countrymen had done, and was as horror-stricken as himself.

Dealing with the manner in which

the insurrection generally in Bulgaria was suppressed, Mr. Baring denied the truth of certain exaggerated reports which had reached England, but went on to add:—"It is utterly untrue that

Bazouks to the north of Sofia. Some of the dead were decapitated by the conquerors, who brought the heads into Sofia on bayonets and poles, and took them to the Konak, where the



SOFIA.

cartloads of heads were ever paraded in the streets of any town; but I think I can trace the origin of the story, which was telegraphed to England, from Servia. During the insurrection, about 150 insurgents crossed over from Roumania, in the *Radetzky*, and were encountered and defeated by Bashi-

Pasha told them that he wanted not dead men's heads but live prisoners, from whom he could obtain evidence. It is not true that women or children have been publicly sold in the streets under the very eyes of the authorities at Philippopolis or Tatar-Bazardjik. During the terrific confusion that

followed the insurrection, there is no doubt that many children were lost. Some of these have been taken into the houses of charitable persons, and others have now been recovered by their parents. Some may be in the houses of Mussulmans, but I have not heard of one single properly-authenticated case of sale. In fact, respectable Bulgarians themselves, at Philippopolis and elsewhere, have told me that these stories of sales are only fabrications. As regards young women, a certain number have no doubt been carried off from different villages by the Bashli-Bazouks, who keep them in their harems—*e.g.*, after the awful massacre of Batak, about eighty young women and girls were taken to Mussulman villages, where they still are.'

In concluding his report Mr. Baring remarked :—'There was undoubtedly a revolution, which had to be suppressed by armed force. A small minority of the population committed reprehensible acts, which merited punishment. The Government of Mahmoud Pasha is to blame for the calling out of the Bashli-Bazouks, for had it sent troops earlier, this disastrous measure would never have been necessary. It is also to blame for allowing revolutionary agents to circulate under its very eyes, without taking measures to counteract the spread of their pernicious doctrines. The manner in which the rising was suppressed was inhuman in the last degree, fifty innocent persons suffering for every guilty one. The deeds of blood I have spoken of, and the misery I have witnessed, must rouse just in-

dignation in every mind ; but the infamous conduct of those agitators, who, to serve the selfish ends of States whose only object is territorial aggrandisement, have not shrunk from exciting poor ignorant peasants to revolt, thus desolating thousands of homes, and leaving to a fine rich province a legacy of tears, should not be allowed to escape without their share of public execration.'

Mr. Gladstone deemed it high time that the voice of England should be heard upon these hideous deeds, and in September, 1876, published a pamphlet on 'Bulgarian Horrors, and the Question of the East.' He urged that England should aim at the accomplishment of three great objects, in addition to the termination of the war, viz., 1. To put a stop to the anarchical misrule, the plundering, the murdering, which still desolated Bulgaria ; 2. To make effectual provision against the recurrence of the outrages recently perpetrated under the sanction of the Ottoman Government by excluding its administrative action for the future not only from Bosnia and the Herzegovina, but also, and above all, from Bulgaria ; 3. To redeem by such measures the honour of the British name, which in the deplorable events of the year had been more gravely compromised than he had known it to be at any former period. 'Let us insist,' he said, 'that our Government, which has been working in one direction, shall work in the other, and shall apply all its vigour to concur with the other States of Europe in obtaining the extinction of the

Turkish executive power in Bulgaria. Let the Turks now carry away their abuses in the only possible manner, namely, by carrying off themselves. Their Zaptiehs and their Mudirs, their Bimbashis and their Yuzbachis, their Kainakams and their Pashas, one and all, bag and baggage, shall, I hope, clear out from the province they have desolated and profaned. . . . If it be allowable that the executive power of Turkey should renew at this great crisis, by permission or authority of Europe, the charter of its existence in Bulgaria, then there is not on record, since the beginnings of political society, a protest that man has lodged against intolerable misgovernment, or a stroke he has dealt at loathsome tyranny, that ought not henceforward to be branded as a crime.'

A few days later, Mr. Gladstone followed up his pamphlet by an address to his constituents on Blackheath. This speech not only furnished a watchword for the campaign which followed, but is amongst the most eloquent and impassioned of the ex-Premier's political orations. The speaker was received with the greatest enthusiasm, and at various points in his address the meeting was literally carried away by the strength of its emotions. Referring to the massacre at Glencoe, the atrocities of Badajoz, the revolt of Cephalonia, and the more recent revolt in Jamaica, Mr. Gladstone said, 'To compare those proceedings to what we are now dealing with, is an insult to the common sense of Europe. They may constitute a dark page in British history, but if you

could concentrate the whole of that page, or every one of them, into a single point and a single spot, it would not be worthy to appear upon one of the pages that will hereafter consign to everlasting infamy the proceedings of the Turks in Bulgaria.' With regard to the policy to be pursued, and the terms to be offered to the Turk, he would say to the latter, 'You shall receive a reasonable tribute; you shall retain your titular sovereignty; your empire shall not be invaded; but never again while the years roll their course, so far as it is in our power to determine, never again shall the hand of violence be raised by you; never again shall the dire refinements of cruelty be devised by you for the sake of making mankind miserable in Bulgaria.' Passing on to the question how this effectual prevention was to be secured, Mr. Gladstone said it could only be done with safety by the united action of the Powers of Europe. The mind and the heart of Europe must be one in this matter. The assent of Russia, Germany, Austria, France, England, and Italy, was not only important, but indispensable, to entire success and satisfaction. Yet there were two Powers whose position was such that they stood forth far before the rest in authority, in the means of effectually applying that authority, and in responsibility upon this great question, viz., England and Russia. Enlarging still further upon this point, Mr. Gladstone observed:—

'I am far from supposing—I am not such a dreamer as to suppose, that Russia, more than any

other country, is exempt from selfishness and ambition. But she has also within her, like other countries, the pulse of humanity, and, for my own part,

Their power is immense. The power of Russia by land for acting upon these countries as against Turkey is perfectly resistless; the power of England by



MR. WALTER BARING, SECOND SECRETARY TO H.B.M. EMBASSY, CONSTANTINOPLE.
(THE BRITISH COMMISSIONER APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO THE BULGARIAN ATROCITIES.)
[From a Photograph by Messrs. Disderi & Co., 4, Brook Street, Hanover Square.]

I believe it is the pulse of humanity which is now throbbing almost ungovernably in her people. Upon the concord and hearty co-operation—not upon a mere hollow truce between England and Russia, but upon their concord and hearty cordial co-operation—depends a good settlement of this question.

sea is scarcely less important at this moment. For, I ask you, what would be the condition of the Turkish armies if the British Admiral now in Besika Bay were to inform the Government of Constantinople that from that hour, until atonement had been made—until punishment had descended, until justice

had been vindicated—not a man, nor a ship, nor a boat, should cross the waters of the Bosphorus, or the cloudy Euxine, or the bright Egean, to carry aid to the Turkish troops?’

describe the conduct of his opponents as worse than any Bulgarian atrocity: he strongly condemned the ‘designing



MR. EUGENE SCHUYLER, U.S. CONSUL-GENERAL AND SECRETARY OF THE U.S. LEGATION, CONSTANTINOPLE.
(THE AMERICAN COMMISSIONER APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO THE BULGARIAN ATROCITIES.)

This address drew forth a reply from Lord Beaconsfield. Speaking at Aylesbury, he admitted that the Ministerial policy was unpopular, but went on to

politicians who take advantage of sublime sentiments, and apply them for the furtherance of their sinister ends.’ This language, though endorsed in

some quarters, was warmly denounced as painful and extraordinary trifling in others.

Lord Derby directed Sir Henry Elliot, our ambassador at Constantinople, to lay the results of Mr. Baring's inquiry into the Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria before the Sultan, and to demand the punishment of the offenders. This demand, however, practically went unenforced. On the 1st of November, Turkey, under pressure from Russia, agreed to an armistice of eight weeks. On the 2nd the Emperor of Russia pledged his sacred word of honour to the English ambassador, in the most serious and solemn manner, that he had no intention of acquiring Constantinople; and that, if necessity compelled him to occupy a portion of Bulgaria, it would only be provisionally, and until the peace and safety of the Christian population were secured. He desired the ambassador to dispel the cloud of suspicion and distrust which had gathered in England against Russia. Notwithstanding these pacific assurances, on the 9th Lord Beaconsfield delivered a warlike speech at the Ministerial banquet at the Guildhall. Apprised of the tenor of his speech, the Czar stated on the following day at Moscow that, if the Porte did not accede to his demands, Russia would be prepared to act independently.

Lord Salisbury arrived at Constantinople on the 5th of December, to attend the Conference, and on the 8th a great meeting took place at St. James's Hall, for the purpose of discussing the Eastern Question. The

Duke of Westminster occupied the chair at the afternoon conference, which was addressed by representative men connected with the army, with letters, and with religion, including Mr. Anthony Trollope, Professor Bryce, Mr. Richard, Sir T. F. Buxton, Sir G. Campbell, the Rev. Dr. Allon, and Sir H. Havelock. The evening meeting, which was presided over by Lord Shaftesbury, was addressed by Mr. Gladstone, Canon Liddon, Lord Waverley, Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Fawcett, Mr. E. A. Freeman, and others. Mr. Freeman, referring to one interpretation of the doctrine of British interests, said, 'Perish the interests of England, perish our dominion in India, sooner than we should strike one blow, or speak one word on behalf of the wrong against the right.' Professor Fawcett said they had been enjoined to 'forgive and forget,' but they could never forget that England's present rulers had done all that they could do to associate the name of England with the most abominable cruelties that ever disgraced Europe, and with the most detestable Government that ever afflicted mankind. There was one Minister at least who ought never to be forgiven, and that was the present Prime Minister. The chief interest of the proceedings, however, centred in the speech which it was known that Mr. Gladstone would deliver. When the right hon. gentleman rose, he was received (as at Blackheath) with almost unbounded demonstrations of applause. After declaring that no change of the public sentiment of England had taken place on this

question, and repudiating the assertion that the conveners of that meeting had any desire to embarrass the Government, he expressed what he believed to be the general feeling and knowledge of the Conference—that the power and reputation and influence of England had, for a long period of time within the past twelve months, and in regard to that enormous question, been employed for purposes and to an effect directly at variance with the convictions of the country. Lord Beaconsfield, he observed, had made several speeches, but it was not until his latest utterance at Aylesbury that he appeared conscious that England had duties to perform towards the Christian populations of Turkey. ‘In that speech I recognise first of all this admission, that we had duties towards the subject populations—an acknowledgment which we were never able to obtain during the session. Not one word, not one syllable, to that effect, could we draw from the lips of the Minister. The first declaration of it, if I remember aright, was made by Sir Stafford Northcote, in some speech in the North, in which he said, “Of course, we are all aware of our duties to the Christian populations of Turkey.” I am extremely glad that they were aware of it; but I am not the less sorry that during the whole session of Parliament, and during the whole of the correspondence that filled the Blue-books, the recognition of that obligation is, so far as I know, nowhere to be found.’

After making this effective point, Mr. Gladstone turned to the Confer-

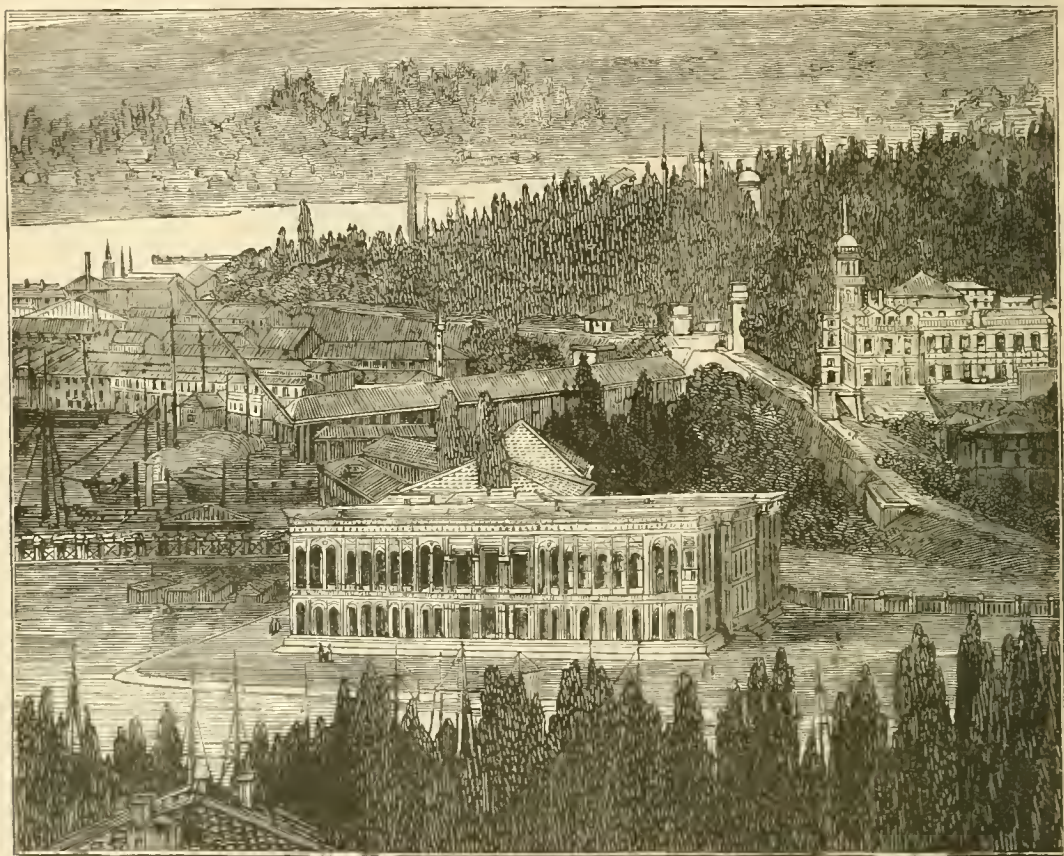
ence, and expressed a fervent hope that Lord Salisbury’s instructions were not in accordance with the Guildhall speech, but that his lordship’s own clear sight and generous instincts would have free scope at Constantinople. He also trusted that the Plenipotentiaries would insist on the future independence of the provinces, or at least of such a mediate autonomy as would insure them against arbitrary injustice and oppression. The speaker, in his peroration, referred to the work indicated, not merely as a worthy deed, but as an absolute duty. ‘It is a case of positive obligation, and, under the stringent pressure of that obligation, I say that, if at length long-suffering and long-oppressed humanity in these provinces is lifting itself from the ground, and beginning again to contemplate the heavens, it is our business to assist the work. It is our business to acknowledge the obligation, to take part in the burden, and it is our privilege to claim for our country a share in the honour and in the fame. This acknowledgment of duty, this attempt to realise the honour, is what we at least shall endeavour to obtain from the Government; and with nothing less than this shall we who are assembled here be, under any circumstances, persuaded to say “Content.”’

Mr. Carlyle, who had been invited to join the Conference, wrote a letter in which he said, ‘The only clear advice I have to give is, as I have stated, that the unspeakable Turk should be immediately struck out of the question, and the country left to honest European

guidance, delaying which can be profitable or agreeable only to gamblers on the Stock Exchange, but distressing and unprofitable to all other men.' One excellent effect of this public agitation had been to convince the

Constantinople was being awaited with considerable anxiety, and yet at the same time strong hopefulness, by the English people.

The Constantinople Conference met on the 23rd of December, and just as



THE ADMIRALTY PALACE, CONSTANTINOPLE, IN WHICH THE CONFERENCE WAS HELD.

Government of the reality of the grievances of the Christian populations of Turkey, and of the necessity for stronger measures than they had at first contemplated. The Conference at St. James's Hall would have had an even deeper and wider influence, however, but for the fact that the result of the diplomatic Conference at Con-

a stringent scheme of reform and guarantees had been drawn up, the Plenipotentiaries were informed of the promulgation of a new Ottoman constitution. On the 30th, the Porte announced that it had a counter-proposition to make. This was not then produced, and matters dragged their slow length along until the 20th of



Sir H. Elliot.

Count Claudorly.

Safvet Pasha

Count Zichy.

Lord Salisbury.

Count de Bourgoing.

General Ignatieff.

Baron Werther.

Count Corti.

THE MEMBERS OF THE CONSTANTINOPLE CONFERENCE.

January, 1877, when the Conference closed. The Turkish Government had rejected the proposals of the European Powers. These proposals had been reduced to two, viz., an International Commission nominated by Europe without executive powers, and the appointment of Valis (governors-general) by the Sultan for five years, with the approval of guaranteeing Governments. Less than these demands the Powers would not accept, but they were rejected by the Ottoman Government as 'contrary to the integrity, independence, and dignity of the Empire.'

During the recess Mr. Gladstone spoke on several occasions upon the all-absorbing topic then agitating the public mind. At Hawarden he dwelt upon the condition of Turkey, and pleaded that it was the wretched Turkish system, and not the Turks themselves, whom we should judge. He hoped that a remedy might be found for the existing melancholy condition of things. When the Constantinople Conference failed, the right hon. gentleman, alluding to this 'great transaction and woeful failure,' threw the responsibility of the situation on the Government. In an address to the electors of Frome he referred strongly to the tremendous responsibility of Ministers; and in a speech at the Taunton railway-station he said, with reference to the injunction to himself and his friends to mind their own business, that the Eastern Question was their own business. As to the treaties of 1856 being in force,

his opinion upon this point was given in one sentence—Turkey had entirely broken those treaties, and trampled them under foot. If the treaties were in force, we were bound to Turkey by a several as well as a joint guarantee. But it was ridiculous to say that these treaties were in force as between Turkey and ourselves.

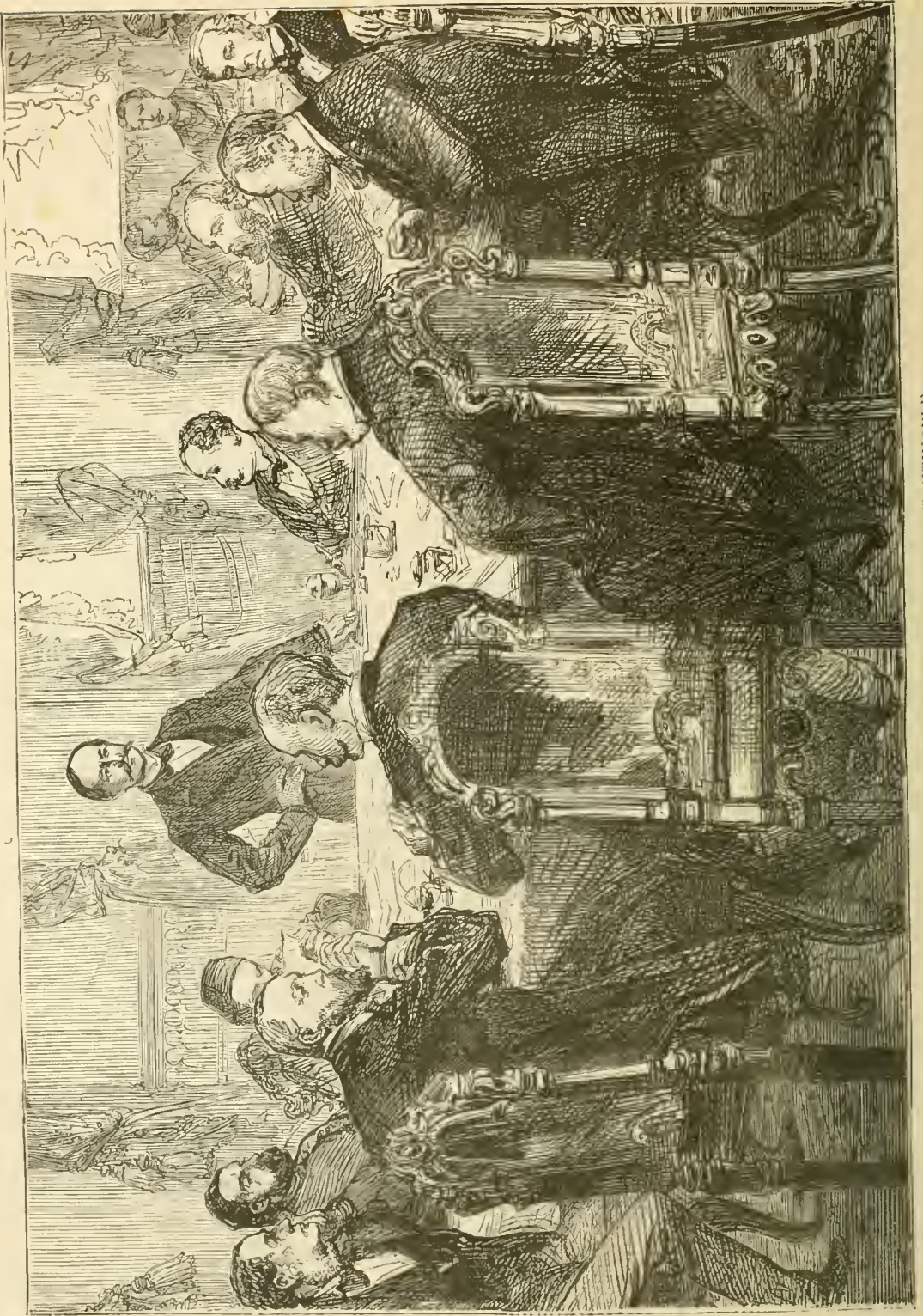
Parliament opened on the 8th of February. In the House of Lords, in reply to a powerful speech by the Duke of Argyll, the Premier said he believed that any interference directed to the alleviation of the sufferings of the Turkish Christians would only make their sufferings worse. He asked for a calm, sagacious, and statesmanlike consideration of the whole subject, never forgetting the great interests of England, if it was to have any solution at all. In the House of Commons, during the debate on the Address, Mr. Gladstone said that he was prepared to stand by every statement he had made in the autumn; and on the 16th he initiated a debate upon the Eastern Question generally, but with special reference to our treaty obligations. The right hon. gentleman demanded the entire freedom of England from any obligation to the Porte, and enlarged upon the contradictory declarations of recent negotiations, Foreign Office documents, Queen's Speech, and Ministerial orations. The country, he maintained, must be left absolutely free to act upon the dictates of policy, justice, and humanity. Mr. Gathorne Hardy said that if the Eastern knot were difficult to untie, the time had not yet arrived for Eng-

land to apply the sword to cut it. The Government, without being obliged to go to war with Turkey, were pledged to maintain the faith of treaties which they had no right to violate.

During the animated debate which ensued, Mr. Gladstone furnished another proof of his claim to be accounted, perhaps, the readiest and most effective debater of his time. Having been taken to task by Mr. Chaplin, he retorted in an impromptu speech, which, for incisiveness and effect, can never be forgotten by those who listened to it. Mr. Chaplin complained that Mr. Gladstone and a certain portion of the Liberal party had endeavoured to regulate the foreign policy of the country by pamphlets, by speeches at public meetings, and by a so-called National Conference, instead of leaving it in the hands of the Executive Government. One of two things he maintained the right hon. gentleman must do—he must either make good or withdraw his assertions; there was no other course which it was open to a man of honour to follow. The Speaker, being appealed to, ruled that the last expression exceeded the limits of Parliamentary discussion. The hon. member withdrew it, but concluded by expressing his regret that the right hon. member for Greenwich had, during the recess, done so much to impair that respect and esteem which they on all sides felt for him in that House, and to shake to its foundation the great and splendid reputation of a man whom England had long learnt to regard, and as he and all admitted him to be, among

the greatest of her sons. He moved the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. Chaplin speedily discovered how profound had been his mistake in beard-ing the lion of debate. Mr. Gladstone at once rose; and, in seconding the motion for adjournment, expressed his surprise that for the first time in a public career extending over nearly half a century, he should be accused of a disinclination to meet his opponents in fair fight. Why had not the hon. gentleman attended those public meetings of which he complained? As far as he (Mr. Gladstone) was concerned, it was perfectly well known to Liberals and Tories alike that he had shrunk from meeting the public on this question. ‘But such is the depth and strength of the sentiment which has taken possession of the mind and heart of England in reference to this question, that I, in my poor and feeble person, simply because I have been associated with that sentiment, have felt it almost impossible to avoid the manifestation of this almost unexampled national and popular feeling.’ After a scathing rebuke of Lord George Hamilton, who had twice interrupted the course of his speech, Mr. Gladstone thus returned to Mr. Chaplin:—‘He says, sir, that I have been an inflammatory agitator, and that, as soon as I have got into this House, I have no disposition to chant in the same key. But before these debates are over—before this question is settled—the hon. gentleman will know more about my opinions than he knows at present, or is likely to know to-night. I am not about to



MEETING OF THE CONFERENCE AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

reveal now to the hon. gentleman the secrets of a mind so inferior to his own. I am not so young as to think that his

comes in his turn to be accused of cowardice by a man of the next generation to himself, he probably may find



COUNT ANDRÁSSY.

obliging inquiries supply me with the opportunities most advantageous to the public interest for the laying out of the plan of a campaign. By the time the hon. member is as old as I am, if he

it convenient to refer to the reply I am now making, and to make it a model, or, at all events, to take from it hints and suggestions, with which to dispose of the antagonist that may then

rise against him.' Mr. Gladstone was glad that there was a tremendous feeling abroad upon this Eastern Question. He had been told that by the pamphlet he wrote, and the speech he delivered, he had done all this mischief, and agitated Europe and the world; but if that were the case, why did not the hon. gentleman, by writing another pamphlet, and delivering another speech, put the whole thing right? If he (the speaker) had done anything, it was only in the same way that a man applies a match to an enormous mass of fuel which had been already prepared. Before his pamphlet appeared, Lord Derby had telegraphed to Sir Henry Elliot that the outrages committed by the Turkish troops had roused a universal feeling of indignation in all classes of English society. It was the nation that led the classes and the leaders in this matter, and not the classes and leaders who led the nation. 'I will tell the hon. gentleman,' continued Mr. Gladstone, 'something in answer to his questions, and it is that I will tell him nothing at all. I will take my own counsel, and beg to inform him that he shall have no reason whatever to complain, when the accounts come to be settled and cast up at the end of the whole matter, of any reticence or suppressions on my part.' As to what he (the speaker) had told the people of Taunton, it was briefly this—that it was absolutely necessary to watch the policy of the Government; that in the acts, in the language, and in the tendency of Lord Salisbury he had great confidence; but that he did

not know whether the Government had one policy or two policies. Mr. Gladstone concluded his spirited retort with this appeal upon the general question:—

'We have, I think, the most solemn and the greatest question to determine that has come before Parliament in my time. It is only under very rare circumstances that such a question—the question of the East—can be fully raised, fully developed and exhibited, and fully brought home to the minds of men with that force, with that command, with that absorbing power, which it ought to exercise over them. In the original entrance of the Turks into Europe, it may be said to have been a turning point in human history. To a great extent it continues to be the cardinal question, the question which casts into the shade every other question, and the question which is now brought before the mind of the country far more fully than at any period of our history, far more fully than even at the time of the Crimean War, when we were pouring forth our blood and treasure in what we thought to be the cause of justice and right. And I endeavoured to impress upon the minds of my audience at Taunton, not a blind prejudice against this man or that, but a great watchfulness, and the duty of great activity. It is the duty of every man to feel that he is bound for himself, according to his opportunities, to examine what belongs to this question, with regard to which it can never be forgotten that we are those who set up the power of Turkey in 1854; that we are those who gave her the strength which has been exhibited in the Bulgarian massacres; that we are those who made the treaty arrangements that have secured her for twenty years from almost a single hour of uneasiness brought about by foreign intervention; and that, therefore, nothing can be greater and nothing deeper than our responsibility in the matter. It is incumbent upon us, one and all, that we do not allow any consideration, either of party or personal convenience, to prevent us from endeavouring to the best of our ability to discharge this great duty, that now, at length, in the East, has sprung up; and that in the midst of this great opportunity, when all Europe has been called to collective action, and when something like European concert has been established, when we learn the deep human interests that are involved in every stage of the question—as far as England at least is concerned—every Englishman should strive to the utmost of his might that justice shall be done.'

These eloquent words were followed by protracted cheering—cheering at

which the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself said he could not feel surprised. Another debate on the Eastern Question took place before the recess, on a motion, by Mr. Fawcett, affirming the necessity of obtaining adequate securities for the better government of Turkey. Sir H. Drummond Wolff read extracts from speeches by Mr. Gladstone on the Crimean War and the Cretan Insurrection, to show that whereas he now refused the Turks even a twelvemonth's respite, and acknowledged none but humanitarian motives, he then contemplated Turkish reform must be the work of a generation, and that the duty of neutrality was superior to that of humanity. Upon this Mr. Gladstone showed that his assailant had used garbled extracts from old speeches, which were susceptible of a different interpretation being put upon them. In a correspondence with Sir Henry Elliot, Mr. Gladstone also vindicated himself from an erroneous interpretation that had been put on his 'bag and baggage' declaration, which, he explained, did not mean turning the Turks out of Europe, but that all the civil, military, and police authorities should leave the country.

A Protocol was signed at the English Foreign Office, on the 31st of March, stating that the Powers proposed to watch carefully, by means of their representatives at Constantinople, and their local agents, the manner in which the promises of the Ottoman Government were carried into effect. If their hopes should be once more disappointed, and if the condition of the Christian sub-

jects of the Sultan should not be improved in a manner to prevent the return of the complications which periodically disturbed the peace of the East, they thought it right to declare that such a state of affairs would be incompatible with their interests, and those of Europe in general. The Turkish Government replied that it was not aware how it could have deserved so ill of justice and civilisation as to see itself placed in a humiliating position without example in the world. On the 24th of April war was declared by Russia, the Czar's manifesto giving as the reasons for this step the refusal of guarantees by the Porte for the proposed reforms, the failure of the Conference, and the rejection of the Protocol. England, France, and Italy issued proclamations, on the 1st of May, enjoining strict neutrality in the war then pending between Turkey and Russia.

On the 7th a great debate was opened in the House of Commons by Mr. Gladstone. Disappointed with the course of the negotiations, and incensed at the attitude of Turkey, he had given notice that he should move the following resolutions:—

'First: That this House finds just cause of dissatisfaction and complaint in the conduct of the Ottoman Porte with regard to the despatch written by the Earl of Derby on September 21, 1876, and relating to the massacres in Bulgaria. Second: That until such conduct shall have been essentially changed, and guarantees on behalf of the subject populations other than the promises or ostensible measures of the Porte shall have been provided, that Government will be deemed by this House to have lost all claim to receive either the material or the moral support of the British Crown. Third: That in the midst of the complications which exist, and the war which has actually begun, this House

earnestly desires the influence of the British Crown in the Councils of Europe to be employed with a view to the early and effectual development of local liberty and practical self-government in the disturbed provinces of Turkey, by putting an end to the oppression which they now suffer, without the imposition upon them of any other foreign dominion. Fourth: That bearing in mind the wise and

setting forth the prayer of this House, according to the tenor of the foregoing resolutions, be prepared and presented to her Majesty.'

These resolutions were, of course, on the face of them, hostile to the Government, and it was found that



TURKISH TROOPS AT A CARAVANSERAI IN DALMATIA.

honourable policy of this country in the Protocol of April, 1826, and the Treaty of July, 1827, with respect to Greece this House furthermore earnestly desires that the influence of the British Crown may be addressed to the promoting the concert of the European Powers in exacting from the Ottoman Porte, by their united authority, such changes in the Government of Turkey as they may deem to be necessary for the purposes of humanity and justice, for effectual defence against intrigue, and for the peace of the world. Fifth: That an humble Address,

many members of the Liberal party declined to give them their support, on the ground that they pledged England to a joint policy of force with Russia. When the time came for moving them, therefore, Mr. Gladstone announced that he accepted a verbal amendment of the second resolution, which in its

amended form simply declared that Turkey had forfeited all claim to support, moral and material. The last so, but would cordially support the amended resolutions. A long preliminary discussion ensued upon the altered



PRINCE GOETSCHAKOFF.

three resolutions would not be proceeded with. Sir John Lubbock, who had given notice to move the 'previous question,' now said he should not do

condition of affairs, but ultimately the standing orders were postponed, and Mr. Gladstone rose to propose his resolutions in their altered form.

He began by alluding to the enormous number of manifestations of the opinion of the country, reports of nearly one hundred meetings having reached him that morning. With regard to the resolutions passed at these meetings, in more than nineteen cases out of twenty their general scope had been in correspondence not merely with the first two of his resolutions, but with the whole. Coming then to the general question, Mr. Gladstone, with clear and tempered eloquence, discussed the resolutions in their entirety, affirming their justice. He exposed the different views prevailing in the Cabinet, though the Government had never disclaimed their ill-omened phrase of promised 'moral support' to Turkey. The conduct of the Government for eighteen months back had been more deplorable than the conduct of any Government since the Peace of Vienna, and its position had been most ambiguous. The public mind had been prepared for war, and Lord Derby's answer to the Gortschakoff Circular was redolent with the old odious doctrine of 'moral support.' With regard to our expostulations and remonstrances, the Porte, which well understood the force of words, knew that our expostulations began in words and that they ended in words; and it was time that the people of England and the people of Turkish Christian provinces should begin to understand as much. If we went no further than this, the work must pass into the hands of others. Reviewing the history of the atrocities, Lord Derby's despatch,

and the existing deplorable condition of the provinces, he insisted that the guilt must be fixed, not on the minor instruments, but on the Turkish Government, which had caused and encouraged the massacres. The Christian subjects of the Porte had been led by the conduct of the British Government to look upon Russia as their best friend, and we had forced upon the Czar the task of redeeming them from oppression. Mr. Gladstone next showed how firmly and vigorously a Liberal Government had acted in the case of the Syrian massacres; and giving what he believed to be the true interpretation of the treaty of Kainardji, he contended that the Crimean War deprived the Christians of a safeguard which we were bound to make good to them. He steadfastly adhered to the whole of his resolutions, but, though he could not understand why they should not in their entirety receive the support of Lord Hartington, he had come to the conclusion that it would not be expedient or becoming in him to ask the Speaker to go through the idle form of putting each of them in succession from the chair.

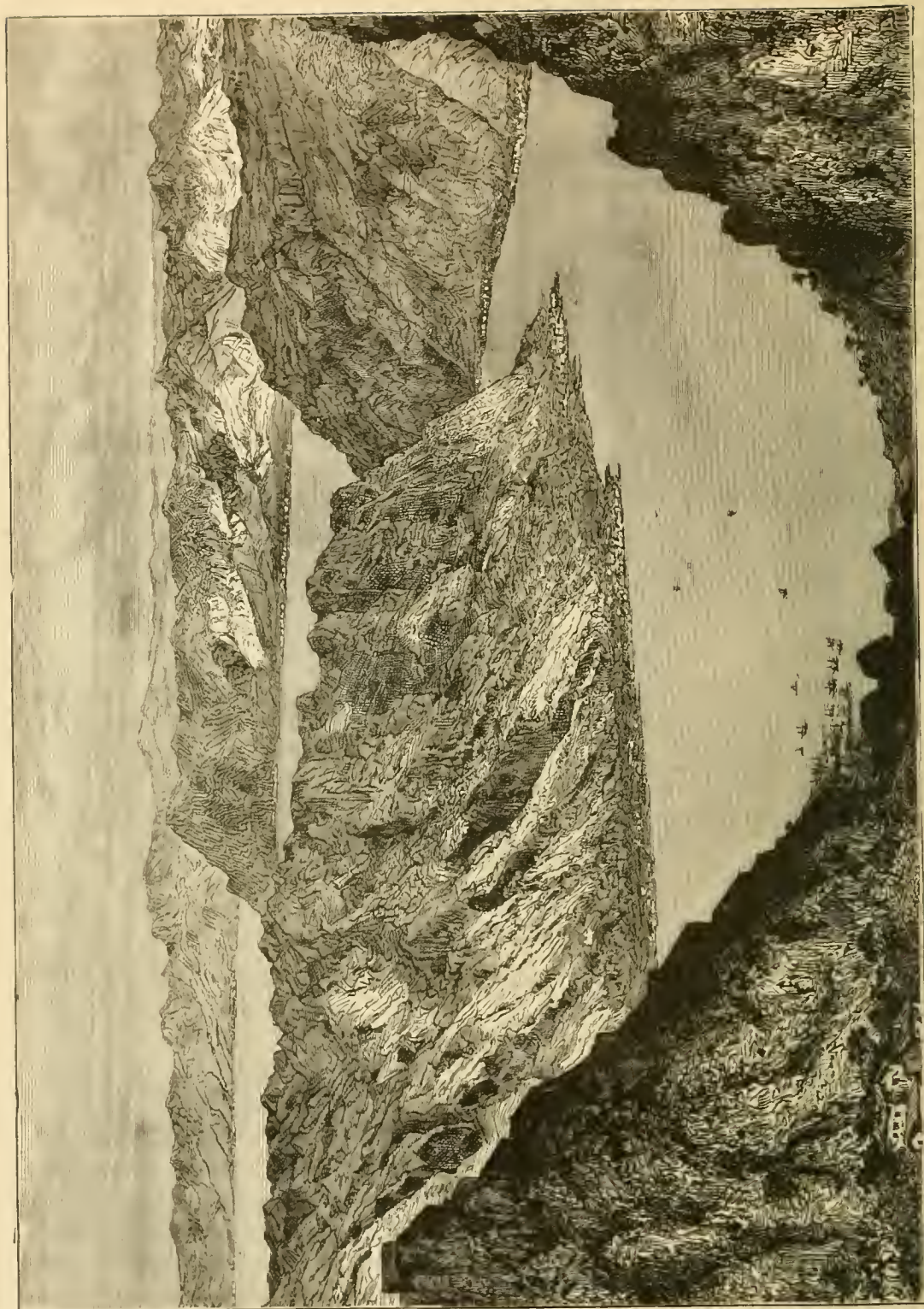
Mr. Gladstone asked, in conclusion, whether, with regard to the great battle of freedom against oppression then going on, we in England could lay our hands upon our hearts, and in the face of God and man say, 'We have well and sufficiently performed our part?' Then came this noble peroration:—

'Sir, there were other days when England was the hope of freedom. Wherever in the world a high aspiration was entertained or a noble blow was struck, it was to England that the eyes of the oppressed were always turned—to this favourite, this

darling home of so much privilege and so much happiness, where the people that had built up a noble edifice for themselves would, it was well known, be ready to do what in them lay to secure the benefit of the same inestimable boon for others. You talk to me of the established tradition and policy in regard to Turkey. I appeal to an established tradition, older, wider, nobler far—a tradition not which disregards British interests, but which teaches you to seek the promotion of these interests in obeying the dictates of honour and justice. And, sir, what is to be the end of this? Are we to dress up the fantastic ideas some people entertain about this policy and that policy in the garb of British interests, and then, with a new and base idolatry, fall down and worship them? Or are we to look not at the sentiment, but at the hard facts of the case which Lord Derby told us fifteen years ago—viz., that it is the populations of those countries that will ultimately possess them—that will ultimately determine their abiding condition? It is to this fact, this law, that we should look. There is now before the world a glorious prize. A portion of those unhappy people are still as yet making an effort to retrieve what they have lost so long, but have not ceased to love and to desire. I speak of those in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Another portion—a band of heroes such as the world has rarely seen—stand on the rocks of Montenegro, and are ready now, as they have ever been during the 400 years of their exile from their fertile plains, to sweep down from their fastnesses, and meet the Turks at any odds for the re-establishment of justice and of peace in those countries. Another portion still, the 5,000,000 of Bulgarians cowed and beaten down to the ground, hardly venturing to look upwards, even to their Father in Heaven, have extended their hands to you; they have sent you their petition, they have prayed for your help and protection. They have told you that they do not seek alliance with Russia, or with any foreign Power, but that they seek to be delivered from an intolerable burden of woe and shame. That burden of woe and shame—the greatest that exists on God's earth—is one that we thought united Europe was about to remove, but to removing which, for the present, you seem to have no efficacious means of offering even the smallest practical contribution. But, sir, the removal of that load of woe and shame is a great and noble prize. It is a prize well worth competing for. It is not yet too late to try to win it. I believe there are men in the Cabinet who would try to win it if they were free to act on their own beliefs and aspiration. It is not yet too late, I say, to become competitors for that prize, but be assured that whether you mean to claim for yourselves even a single leaf in that immortal chaplet of renown, which will be the reward

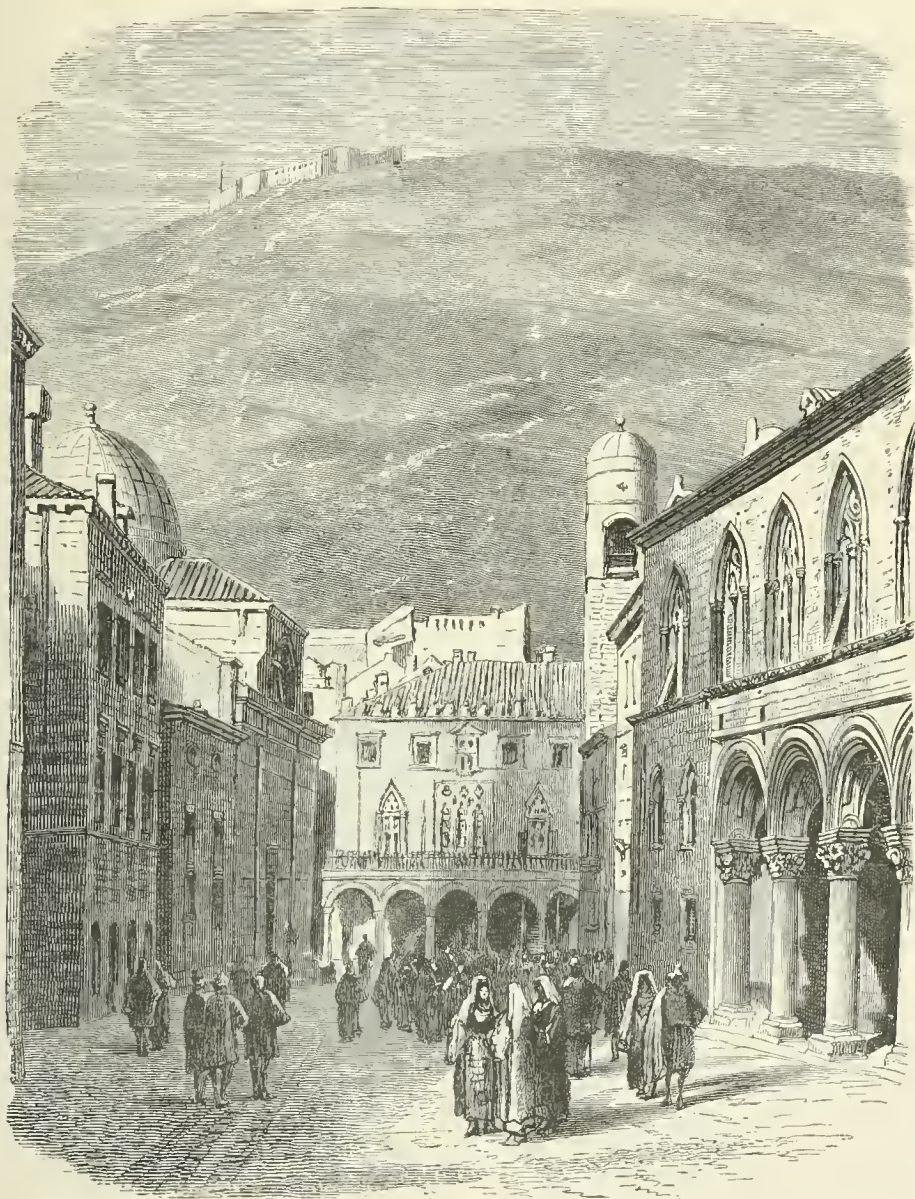
of true labour in that cause, or whether you turn your backs upon that cause and upon your own duty, I believe for one that the knell of Turkish tyranny in these provinces has sounded. So far as human eye can judge, it is about to be destroyed. The destruction may not come in the way or by the means that we should choose; but come this boon from what hands it may, it will be a noble boon, and as a noble boon will gladly be accepted by Christendom and the world.'

The debate was continued for five days. In the course of it, Mr. Cross stated that now that war had broken out, absolute neutrality was the rule of the Government, and neither side would have either moral or material support from England. Conscious of their strength, the Government would watch the course of events, and, if an opportunity offered for interposing their good offices, they would not allow it to pass. These Ministerial assurances appeared to satisfy a large party in the House and the country. The speakers for and against the resolutions included most of the able men of both parties. Mr. Courtney, Mr. Chamberlain, and other advanced Liberal members spoke warmly against the Government, and Mr. Walter strongly regretted that they had not used the power of coercion earlier, affirming that public opinion would have enforced it if only the Bulgarian massacres had preceded the Berlin Memorandum. Mr. Roebuck (type of Liberals so-called) rendered a service to the Government which was gratefully accepted, and delivered a speech against the resolutions. The one sentence in this address, perhaps, which is now best worth preserving is that in which he described Mr. Gladstone as



THE HEIGHTS OF MONTENEGRO, LOOKING TOWARDS CATTARO.

‘a man whom the country has believed to be one of its greatest and most de- influence in this House has been al- most illimitable.’ Men like Sir Robert



LA LOGGIA, THE PRINCIPAL SQUARE OF RAGUSA.

serving and most patriotic Ministers at one time or another—a man endowed with great ability, with vast power, with a winning manner, and whose

Peel and Mr. Roebuck failed to perceive that in this Eastern Question (as in many others in the past) it was his high moral courage and loftiness of

purpose which had given Mr. Gladstone this 'almost illimitable' influence, and that were now urging him forward in 'the cause of oppressed humanity.'

The Chancellor of the Exchequer insisted that all idea of concerted action was now out of the question; but Lord Hartington maintained that the resolutions pointed to the only true policy that ought to guide the action of the Government. In summing up the debate, Mr. Gladstone passed in review many of the speeches delivered, and pointed out that Mr. Cross's assurances (of which he approved) were in direct contradiction to Lord Derby's despatch. He did not believe that the time for an authoritative interference by combined Europe had gone by. Such an interference was the only satisfactory settlement that could be arrived at. He denied emphatically that coercion meant war. The shortest way to put an end to the conflict and stop bloodshed would be by drawing a naval cordon round Turkey, and neutralising the Turkish fleet. In concluding, the right hon. gentleman said:—

'We are engaged in a continuous effort; we roll the stone of Sisyphus against the slope, and the moment the hand shall be withdrawn, down it will begin to run. However, the time is short; the sands of the hour-glass are running out. The longer you delay, the less in all likelihood you will be able to save from the wreck of the integrity and independence of the Turkish Empire. If Russia should fail, her failure would be a disaster to mankind, and the condition of the suffering races, for whom we are supposed to have laboured, will be worse than it was before. If she succeed, and if her conduct be honourable, nay, even if it be but tolerably prudent, the performance of the work she has in hand will, notwithstanding all your jealousies and all your reproaches, secure for her an undying

fame. When that work shall be accomplished, though it be not in the way and by the means I would have chosen, as an Englishman I shall hide my head, but as a man I shall rejoice. Nevertheless, to my latest day I will exclaim—Would God that in this crisis the voice of the nation had been suffered to prevail; would God that in this great, this holy deed, England had not been refused her share!'

For Mr. Gladstone's first resolution there appeared 223; against, 354. Six Liberals voted with the Government, and only one Conservative (Mr. Newdegate) against them. Sixteen Conservatives were absent, and twenty Liberals; while nineteen Home Rulers voted with the Government, and eleven with Mr. Gladstone. It was matter of complaint that English statesmanship at this time was not at a very high level, but the country generally was for the moment content with a policy of watchfulness and strict neutrality.

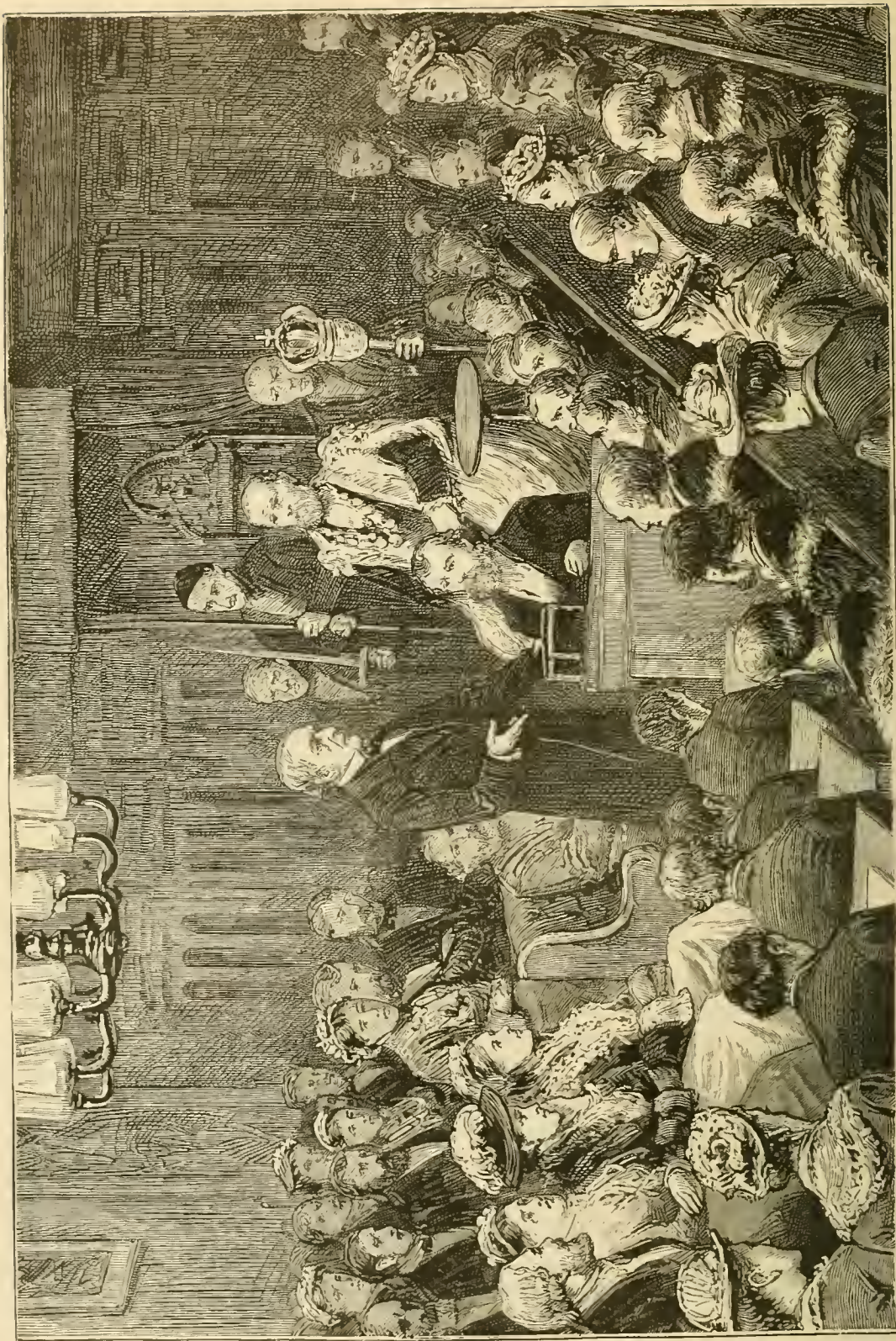
Before the session closed Mr. Gladstone addressed a large meeting at Bingley Hall, Birmingham, on the Eastern Question and the present condition of the Liberal party; and though his attention had been deeply engrossed with the ever-shifting phases of the Eastern Question, he found time to visit Ireland in the month of November, 1877. Taking advantage of his presence in the country, the Corporation of the City of Dublin resolved to confer upon him the freedom of the city. The presentation was made in the council chamber of the city hall, which was crowded with a brilliant company of spectators. The beautifully-illuminated burgess ticket was enclosed in a handsome casket of bog-oak, and the mayor, in presenting it,

adverted to the fact of the reformed corporations of Ireland having been deprived, in 1841, of the right of bestowing the honorary freedom of their respective cities, and to the restoration of that right by Act of Parliament during the session of the previous year. He also stated that the vote conferring the freedom was divested of all political significance, inasmuch as it had been proposed by a Jew, seconded by a Roman Catholic, and unanimously agreed to by the members of the Corporation, who held widely different opinions, as a recognition of his great abilities, his fervent eloquence, and his many services to the State. Mr. Gladstone acknowledged the honour in a speech of an hour's duration. Accepting the gift in the spirit in which it was intended, he assured his hearers that he meant to say nothing that could hurt any of their political or religious feelings, and went on to vindicate the various measures which he had passed or suggested for Ireland, declaring that he had been prompted throughout by a spirit of justice and equality. He also expressed his surprise and gratification at the signs of commercial life, and the evidences of prosperity which he had seen in Dublin and the surrounding country, and concluded by declaring that no Irishman could more heartily pray that the country might become even more prosperous and powerful, free and glorious, a happy and contented part of the great United Empire. Mr. Gladstone's visit to Ireland furnished additional evidence of that many-

sidedness which is his most distinctive feature. He mixed frequently among the people as he travelled about, thus acquiring a practical knowledge of their character that was no doubt of considerable use to him in his great Irish legislation of a later period. On his return to Holyhead, in obedience to the demand of those who had gathered to receive him, he referred to the question which was yet uppermost in the minds of the people. He still expressed his belief that Turkey would have yielded to the concerted action of Europe, and noticed the change in the tone of the Government, which was shown by the careful omission in the Premier's speech of the old phrase, 'the independence of Turkey.' Again he protested strongly against the country being dragged into war, and warmly eulogised the Nonconformists for the consistency and unanimity with which they had insisted on justice to the Eastern Christians.

Political feeling at this time entered into everything; but Scotland remained true to Mr. Gladstone. It was not without significance, perhaps, that in November he was elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University by a large majority in all the nations, his opponent being the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Beaconsfield was the retiring Lord Rector, and the Conservatives nominated Sir Stafford Northcote as his successor. The polling gave the following result—For Mr. Gladstone, 1,153; for Sir S. Northcote, 609.

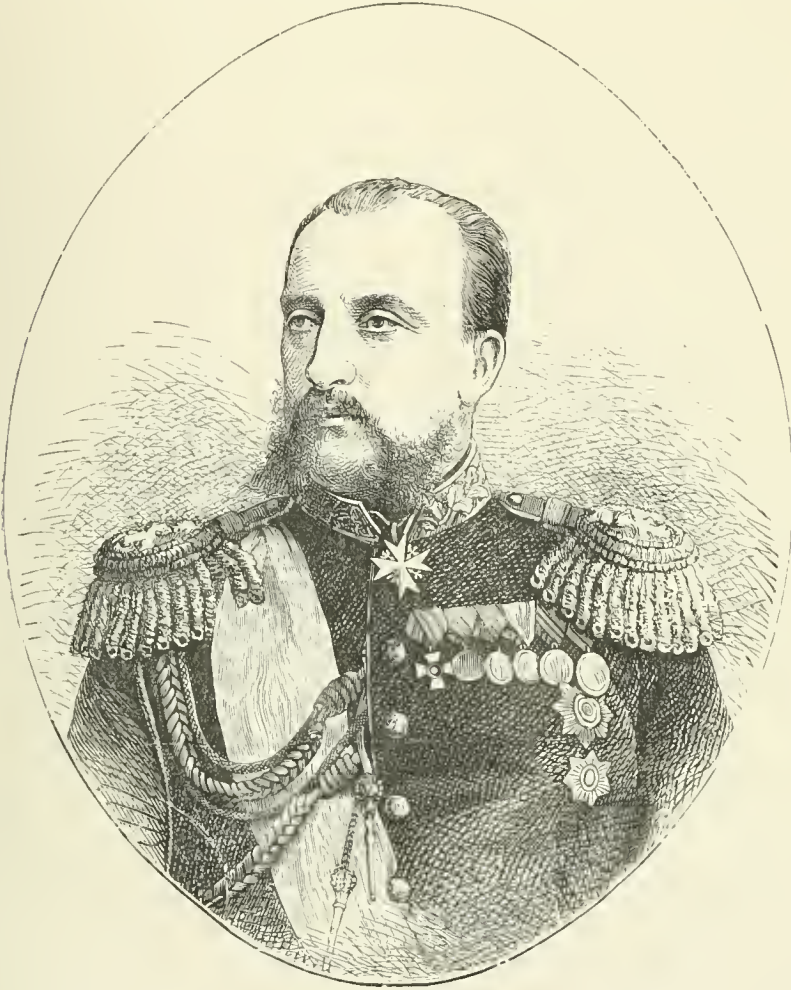
The course of the Russo-Turkish



PRESENTATION OF THE FREEDOM OF THE CITY TO MR. GLADSTONE IN THE COUNCIL CHAMBER, DUBLIN.

War may be briefly traced. On the day upon which the Czar's war manifesto appeared—the 24th of April, 1877—the Russian forces crossed the frontier into Asia, thus invading the

strength, being backed by the Caucasus, and flanked by the Caspian and Euxine Seas. The Russian army of the Caucasus was calculated at 150,000 men, under the command of the Grand



THE GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE RUSSIAN FORCES IN EUROPE.

territories of the Sultan; and in Europe they passed into Roumania, a state dependent upon Turkey, but not engaged in the war. The Russians were naturally fortunate in possessing the province of Trans-Caucasia, as a base of operations and a position of great

Duke Michael. The Turkish army consisted of 80,000 regular troops, 15,000 Circassians, 4,000 Kurds, and 25,000 militia—or 124,000 in all. On April 29 and 30 the Russians gained a victory before Kars, and a few days later they took Ardahan; but, on the

other hand, they were defeated at Batoum on the 11th of May, and they also lost the important military post of Sukkum Kalé. Batoum is a very important port on the eastern coast of the Black Sea.

With regard to the war on the Danube, on the 10th of April the Roumanian Chamber adopted a convention, by which the Russian troops were permitted free passage through the State, and friendly assistance was to be given to them; Russia, on the other hand, agreeing to respect the rights of the Roumanians. As the result of this step, official relations ceased between the Porte and her vassal state, which soon declared itself independent, and took an actively hostile part against Turkey. The Russian army on the Danube, which was under the command of the Grand Duke Nicholas, was said to consist of nine army corps, and a total of 310,000 men, 55,806 horses, and 972 guns. There was, in addition, the Roumanian army, under Prince Charles, 72,000 strong. The Turkish army, on the opposite side of the Danube, numbered 247,000 men. After two months of preparation and delay, the Russians accomplished the great feat of crossing the Danube by a *coup de main*, which was brilliantly executed. The passage was effected successfully at four points—Galatz, Braila, and Hirsova, into the Dobrudscha, and from Simnitz to Sistova. Abdul Kerim, the Turkish Commander-in-Chief, remained passive, allowing 120,000 Russian soldiers to pass quietly over to the Bulgarian side

of the Danube. The Czar, on entering Bulgaria, issued a proclamation, assuring the Christian inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula in general, and the Bulgarians in particular, of his solicitude for the amelioration of their lot. The Russians now captured Tirnova, Nicopolis was carried by assault, and the Balkans were passed. The march of the Grand Duke Nicholas from Sistova to Tirnova, and his reception there, resembled the triumphal marches of antiquity. 'Everywhere,' wrote an eye-witness, 'the people came out to meet us, offering bread and salt and the most friendly greetings; while the women and girls offered fruit and pelted us with flowers. Processions, headed by priests, came out singing to meet us with pictures from the churches, standards, and banners. There were deafening cheers and the most extravagant joy. The priests bore a large beautiful Bible, which the soldiers kissed as they passed; the people of the monasteries hoisted old bells which had lain hidden for four hundred years, and the voices of which will soon be heard again rolling up and down the hollows and gorges of the mountains. The Duke entered Tirnova on the 12th of July, and was met by priests in robes, chanting prayers in the old Slavonic tongue, and followed by immense crowds of people.'

The taking of Nicopol, or Nicopolis, which was accomplished by the Russian troops under General Krüdener, gave the Russians command over a considerable stretch of river, and secured their

communications between Simnitsa and Sistova. But the boldest undertaking was that achieved by General Gourko, who, leaving Tirnova on July 12, led a flying detachment composed of all arms across the Balkans. On the 14th inst. he penetrated by way of the Hain Bogaz, or Hainkoi Pass, into Roumelia, as far as Yeni-Sagra, almost without opposition. It seemed now a matter of the greatest ease for the invaders to push forward to Adrianople or Constantinople; but the tide of affairs was rapidly, if temporarily, changed by Russian reverses both in Europe and Armenia. With regard to the campaign in Asia, Mukhtar Pasha, the Turkish Commander-in-Chief, succeeded in relieving and re-victualling Kars, which the Russians abandoned till more favourable times. This was followed by several Russian defeats, including that of Kizil-Tepe. These events led the Grand Duke Michael to decline any longer to carry out General Melikoff's plan of operations.

But Bulgaria now became the great theatre of war. Rarely in the world's history has there been such stubborn and sanguinary fighting as took place before Plevna and in the Shipka Pass. The earliest disastrous actions before Plevna were those of July 20 and 31. This Bulgarian town, which is twenty miles south of the Danube, was held by Osman Pasha, who also had the reinforcements originally destined for Nicopolis. Plevna being important to the Russians, orders were given that it should be occupied. Troops for this

purpose were despatched under General Schildner-Schuldner, but they fell into a trap, and were almost cut to pieces. In the second battle of Plevna, that of July 31, the Turkish forces were estimated at from 50,000 to 70,000. They occupied a series of positions in horse-shoe shape in front of Plevna, with both flanks resting on the river Vid, behind the town. The defensive strength of the ground they occupied, naturally great, was increased by earth-works, redoubts, and shelter trenches in every available spot. The assailing force consisted of the Ninth Russian Army Corps, under Baron Krüdener, and the Thirtieth Division, and the Thirtieth Brigade of the second division, under Prince Schackosky, with three brigades of cavalry and 160 guns. The Russians were completely defeated, with a loss of about 8,000 killed and as many wounded. General Krüdener was blamed for this disaster, although he had carried out the attack under protest.

Equally fierce contests were waged south of the Balkans. Sulciman Pasha, having defeated General Gourko's force at Eski-Sagra on the 15th of February, and driven the Russians back to the mountains, assailed the Russian fortified positions in the Shipka Pass. Most sanguinary fighting ensued. The Russian garrisons consisted in all of about 3,000 men, with forty cannon. Through the Pass was the road to Gabrova and Tirnova, from which all supplies and reinforcements must arrive, and by which a retreat to Tirnova must be conducted. The attack began on the

21st of August; and the two Russian generals, Stoletoff and Derotchinski, expected to be momentarily surrounded. 'It was six o'clock,' said the enter-

no cooking for three days, and there was no water within the Russian lines. The poor fellows lay panting on the bare ridge, reckless that it was swept



REPULSE OF THE GRAND ASSAULT ON PLEVNA.

prising correspondent of the *Daily News*, 'there was a lull in fighting, of which the Russians could take no advantage, since the reserves were all engaged. The grimed, sun-blistered men were beaten out with heat, fatigue, hunger, and thirst. There had been

by the Turkish rifle-fire. Others doggedly fought on down among the rocks, forced to give ground, but grimly and sourly. The cliffs and valleys sent back the triumphant Turkish shouts of "Allah il Allah!" The two Russian generals were on the peak which the



GENERAL GOURKO.

first position half encloses. With their glasses they anxiously scanned the glimpses of the steep brown road leading up from the Jantra valley through thick copses of sombre green and dark rocks. Stoletoff cries aloud in sudden

excitement, clutches his brother general by the arm, and points down the pass. The head of a long black column was plainly visible against the reddish-brown bed of the road. "Now, God be thanked!" says Stoletoff, solemnly.

Both generals bare their heads. The troops spring to their feet. Such a gust of Russian cheers whirls and eddies among the mountain tops, that the Turkish war-cries are wholly drowned in the glad welcome which the Russian soldiers send to the comrades coming to help them. It is a battalion of the Rifle Brigade—the same Rifle Brigade which followed General Gourko in his victorious advance and chequered retreat. The brigade has marched fifteen kilomètres without cooking or sleeping, and now is in action without so much as a breathing halt. Such is the stuff of which thorough good soldiers are made. Their general, the gallant Tzeritinsky, accompanies them, and pushes on an attack on the enemy's position on that wooded range on the Russian right. But Radetzky, who himself brought up the *Tirailleurs*, and thus saved the day, marches on up the road with his staff at his back, runs the triple gauntlet of the Turkish rifle-fire, and joins the two generals on the peak, hard by the batteries of the first position. As senior and highest officer present, he at once took command, complimenting General Stoletoff, whom he relieved, on the excellence of his dispositions and stubborn defence.'

The Russians captured Loftcha on September 3rd, the commander being Prince Meretinsky, supported by the young and brilliant General Skobelev, who was the hero of the day. Against this success, the Turks claimed a victory on the Lom. Abdul Kerim Pasha being now recalled from the command of the

Turkish forces on the Danube, the appointment was given provisionally to Mehemet Ali Pasha. On the last day of August, Osman Pasha, with 25,000 men, made a desperate but unsuccessful attack against the Russo-Roumanian army. After losing 3,000 men, he was defeated and driven back by General Zotoff. The successful dash at Loftcha was followed by a series of attacks by the Russian and Roumanian forces on the fortified positions of Osman Pasha at Plevna, in which brute force was substituted for skill. The conflict began on the 11th of September; General Skobelev captured three redoubts, but with heavy loss, and they were re-taken the next day; the Gravitza redoubt only remaining in the possession of the Russians and Roumanians. The slaughter was renewed day after day, until the Russian losses before Plevna amounted to more than 12,000 men, and the Roumanian to 3,000. In the Shipka Pass, Suleiman Pasha had lost more than 12,000 of his best men by dashing them against the Russian fortifications; and on the 17th of September he renewed his assaults on Mount St. Nicholas, only to see his troops driven back with heavy loss.

After much terrible but indecisive fighting, news arrived in the European capitals of a great and decisive Russian victory in Armenia. On the 14th of October, General Lazaroff outflanked the right of the Turkish army under Mukhtar Pasha, and the next day the Grand Duke Michael attacked the centre of the Turkish position with

overwhelming force, while General Lazaroff assaulted the rear. By 9 p.m. twenty-six battalions and seven pashas had surrendered, with thirty-six guns. The Turkish stronghold on Mount Acolias was taken, and the army cut in two. The right wing was compelled to lay down its arms; while Mukhtar Pasha, with the left wing, retreated to Kars. The spoil was enormous. The remnant of Mukhtar's army, reinforced by Ismail Pasha's troops, took up a strong position at Kupri Koi, before Erzeroum, from which it was driven in wild confusion on the 4th of November, the Turkish commander retreating towards Trebizond. On the 18th the famous fortress of Kars was taken by assault by General Melikoff, but not without suspicion of treachery. The Turks lost 5,000 in killed and wounded, and the enemy captured 300 cannon and 10,000 prisoners.

The Turkish defence in Europe was for some time far more stubborn. Suleiman Pasha had several successes, and threatened Tirnova; but on the 9th of December, the greatest disaster which the Turks had hitherto sustained in Europe, came upon them by the fall of Plevna, and the unconditional surrender of Osman Pasha and his army. Osman had seen the advantage of Plevna, and took possession of it with thirty-six battalions and forty-four guns. It was soon converted into a position of great strength, and its capture cost the Czar upwards of 50,000 men in killed and wounded and a serious delay. For nearly five months it defied the Russian armies, and on three occasions

at least these armies were driven back from its positions and redoubts with heavy slaughter. Direct assaults having failed to take the place, the Russians determined upon investing it. General Todleben, the well-known engineer officer, already distinguished for his defence of Sebastopol, was summoned to undertake the reduction of Plevna by regular approaches. Osman Pasha received his last supplies from Sofia by way of Orkhanie, early in November, and by the middle of that month an iron coil was thrown around the place. It was completely invested, and all supplies cut off. General Gourko and his cavalry blockaded the Sofia road, and, unless relieved by a Turkish army sufficiently strong to break through the investing force, the fall of Plevna was only a question of time. No relief came, and food and ammunition being well-nigh exhausted, a council of war was held, at which it was determined to make the effort to cut through the Russian army. The point chosen for this enterprise was across the Vid, north of the Sofia road; and on the night of the 9th of December Osman Pasha issued from Plevna with a force of 32,000 men. Desperate fighting now ensued, but the fortune of war went against the Turks, who fought bravely, and before 10,000 of the Turkish troops had crossed the Vid, they laid down their arms. Osman Pasha now capitulated, the terms including the complete surrender of the town and its entrenchments, the army and its arms, including 10 pashas, 2,128 officers, and 97 guns. By the



DEFEAT OF THE TURKS AT KARS: THE RUSSIANS STORMING OLYA TEPE.

fall of Plevna, 100,000 Russian troops were set at liberty for offensive purposes. Some idea of the carnage which the Russo-Turkish war involved may be gathered from the fact that by

war in the Balkans still went on in a desultory manner. For three months peace was not secured, and Europe and England were constantly disturbed by rumours, which had the effect of causing



OSMAN PASHA.

Christmas Day, 1877, the Russian losses had reached a total of 80,435 men, while the losses of the Turks were much greater, and there were in addition 80,000 of their soldiers prisoners in the hands of the Russians.

The Porte now issued a circular to the Powers, inviting mediation, but the

the British Government to take precautionary measures.

At a meeting of Oxford under graduates, held on the 30th of January, 1878, to celebrate the formation of a Liberal Palmerston Club, Mr. Gladstone strongly condemned the sending of the British Fleet into the Dar-

danelles. He was afraid it would be found that it was a breach of European law. He had been accused of being an agitator, and with regard to the last eighteen months that was true. To his own great pain, and with infinite reluctance, but under the full and strong conviction, he might say of political old age, for the last eighteen months he might be said to have played the part of an agitator. His purpose had been to the best of his power, day and night, week by week, month by month, to counterwork what he believed to be the purposes of Lord Beaconsfield. The proposed vote of credit, Mr. Gladstone said, was the most indefensible proposition that in his time had ever been submitted to Parliament. Lord Beaconsfield, replying to this and other speeches of his rival, at a banquet held at the Riding School at Knightsbridge, described him as 'a sophistical rhetorician, inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity, and gifted with an egotistical imagination that can at all times command an interminable and inconsistent series of arguments to malign his opponents and to glorify himself.' This description of Mr. Gladstone's eloquence bears no inconsiderable resemblance to a passage in Lord Macaulay's *Edinburgh Review* article, but the language of the former lacks the clearness and simplicity which distinguish that of the great Whig historian.*

* In this Knightsbridge speech, also, Lord Beaconsfield strongly attacked Mr. Gladstone for his alleged personalities. Being courteously requested by his rival to furnish references to these personalities, his lordship excused himself for

The Government having asked for a vote of credit, a long discussion ensued in the House of Commons early in February. Mr. Gladstone, while willing to allow bygones to be bygones, said that the vote could not possibly give the Government the strength of an undivided nation. He regretted having to play such a prominent extra-Parliamentary part, and, though he had never impugned anybody's motives, not a single speech had been made in which the worst motives were not attributed to himself. The vote would not strengthen the hands of the Government, nor was it needed for any endangered British interests, and with ordinary military estimates of £26,000,000, we were surely already on a footing of equality with other Powers. The vote was, moreover, a complete violation of the constitutional rule that no burden should be placed on the people without its necessity being proved. Besides, to usher in a Conference with the clash of arms would destroy its peaceful character. He next specified the points upon which the Government should insist at the Conference, and in which they would have the support of the Opposition. Interference with the freedom of the Danube, by a cession of Roumanian territory, should be resisted; the claims of the subject races to freedom and good government should be supported; but there was no reason

searching over the speeches of two years and a half, but admitted that the word 'devilish' had not been used by Mr. Gladstone, either in the Oxford speech or elsewhere. This was the only reparation Mr. Gladstone could obtain.

why Bulgaria should not be content to pay a tribute, seeing that she had relied on the efforts of others for her liberty. Great Britain ought to act as the champion of the Hellenic provinces, and the Government should be content to join with the other Powers in regard to the Straits. In order to secure unity and concord, and to unite a now divided nation, Mr. Gladstone suggested that the Government should postpone the proposed vote for a time, with liberty to renew it if the Government thought fit; and he added that an address should be presented to her Majesty from both Houses, expressing their readiness to support the Government in bringing about a permanent peace at the Conference, recognising the promise which the Government had given to obtain good terms for Turkey, but expressing a hope that the influence of the country would be used to obtain liberty and good government for the Christian subjects of the Porte.

Before the debate closed, a serious panic occurred on the Stock Exchange, in consequence of a report that the Russians were advancing on Constantinople. On the 7th, however, the Chancellor of the Exchequer read a telegram from Prince Gortschakoff, declaring that there was not a word of truth in the telegrams, but that orders had been given to the Russian troops in Europe and in Asia to stop all hostilities. Next day it was announced that a portion of the British Mediterranean fleet had been despatched to Constantinople. The vote of credit was ultimately carried by

328 against 124. The Marquis of Hartington and other prominent Liberals refrained from voting. On the 3rd of March a treaty of peace between Russia and Turkey was signed at San Stefano. The treaty consisted of twenty-nine articles, of which the following were the chief:—Turkey agreed to pay a large war indemnity; Servia and Montenegro were to acquire their independence, and to receive accessions of territory; Bulgaria was to be formed into a new Principality with greatly extended boundaries, and to be governed by a prince elected by the inhabitants; the navigation of the Straits was declared free for merchant vessels both in time of peace and war; fifty thousand Russian troops would occupy Bulgaria for about two years, until the formation of a Bulgarian militia, whose strength would be fixed by Russia and Turkey; Batoum, Ardahan, Kars, and Bayazid, with the territories comprised, were to be ceded to Russia; a treaty was to be concluded between Turkey and Roumania, and the latter was to demand her indemnity from the Porte; and finally, Russia, not wishing to annex territory, was to receive the Dobrudscha, in order to cede it to Roumania in exchange for the Roumanian portion of Bessarabia. These terms were regarded as oppressive by her Majesty's Government, who demanded that the whole treaty should be submitted to the proposed Congress at Berlin.

The sanguinary Russo-Turkish War afforded striking proof of the decline of Turkey as a military power.

As the Duke of Argyll has well observed, 'Some of the very best generals in the service of the Porte, with a large part of its regular army, were not only kept at bay for many months, but were at last completely defeated by the little bands

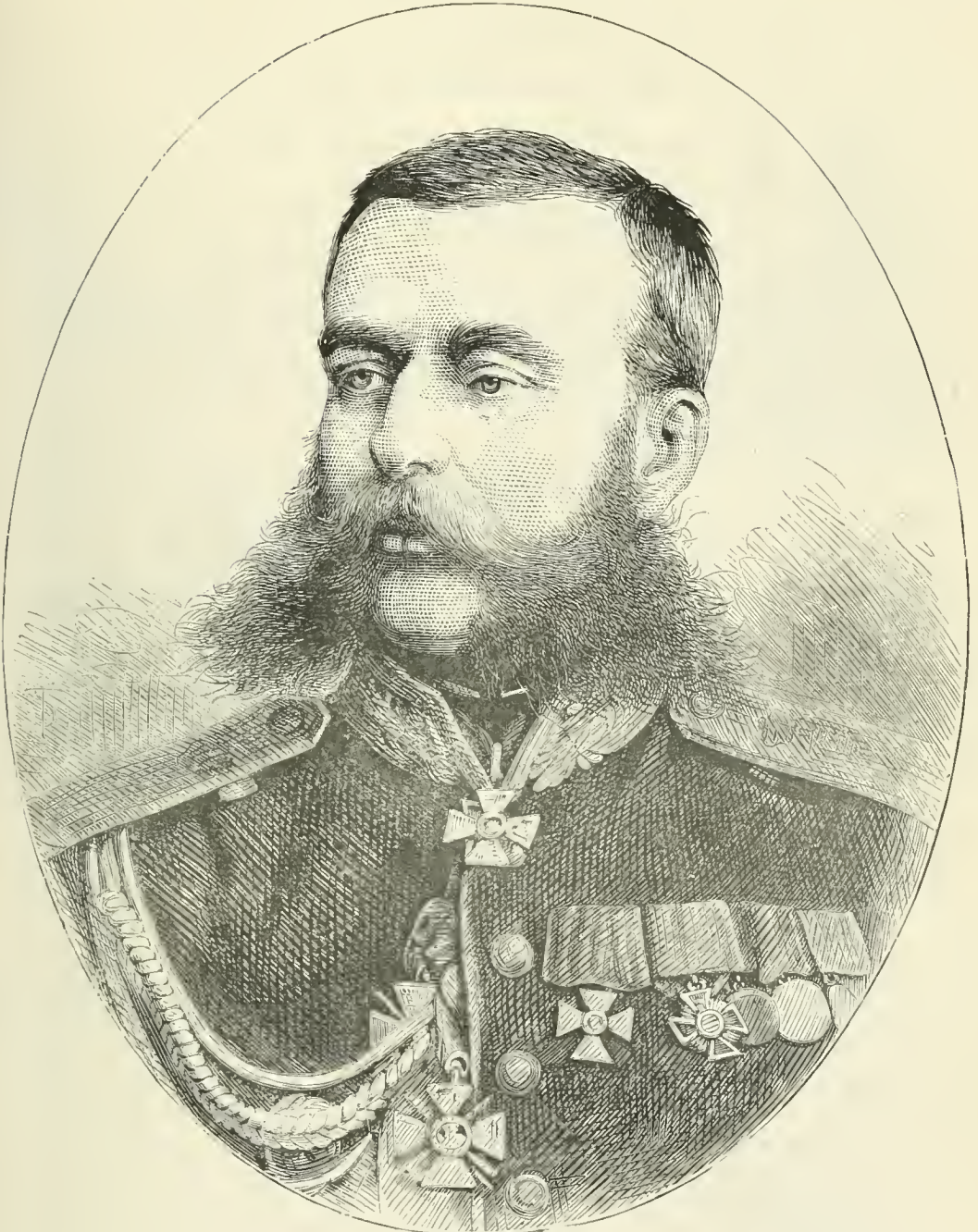
the Shipka Pass been used to reinforce the army of the Lom, very different results might have been attained. And even as regards the action of Osman Pasha, in seizing and fortifying Plevna, the brilliancy of his defence must not blind us to the grave



SKOBELEFF AT PLEVNA.

of indomitable Montenegro. Even in the war with Servia in 1876, although the Turkish forces were ultimately victorious, the triumph cannot be rated very high, considering the raw and untrained levies to which alone they were opposed.' Again, had 'the columns which, during weeks and weeks, were dashed in vain against

doubts which attend his strategy. It does not seem to be a great triumph of military genius to place a whole army in such a position that in the event of defeat there could be no retreat, and no other resource than unconditional surrender.' The war demonstrated that although there might be no deterioration in the fighting qualities of



GENERAL SKOBELEFF.

the Turkish soldier, there has been no reform in Turkey of the administrative system, on which the success of cam-

paigns depends, and no revival of that military genius to which the Turks owed their conquests in Europe.



HOUSE IN SAN STEFANO IN WHICH THE TREATY OF PEACE WAS SIGNED.

CHAPTER XV.

FOREIGN POLICY—1878-9.

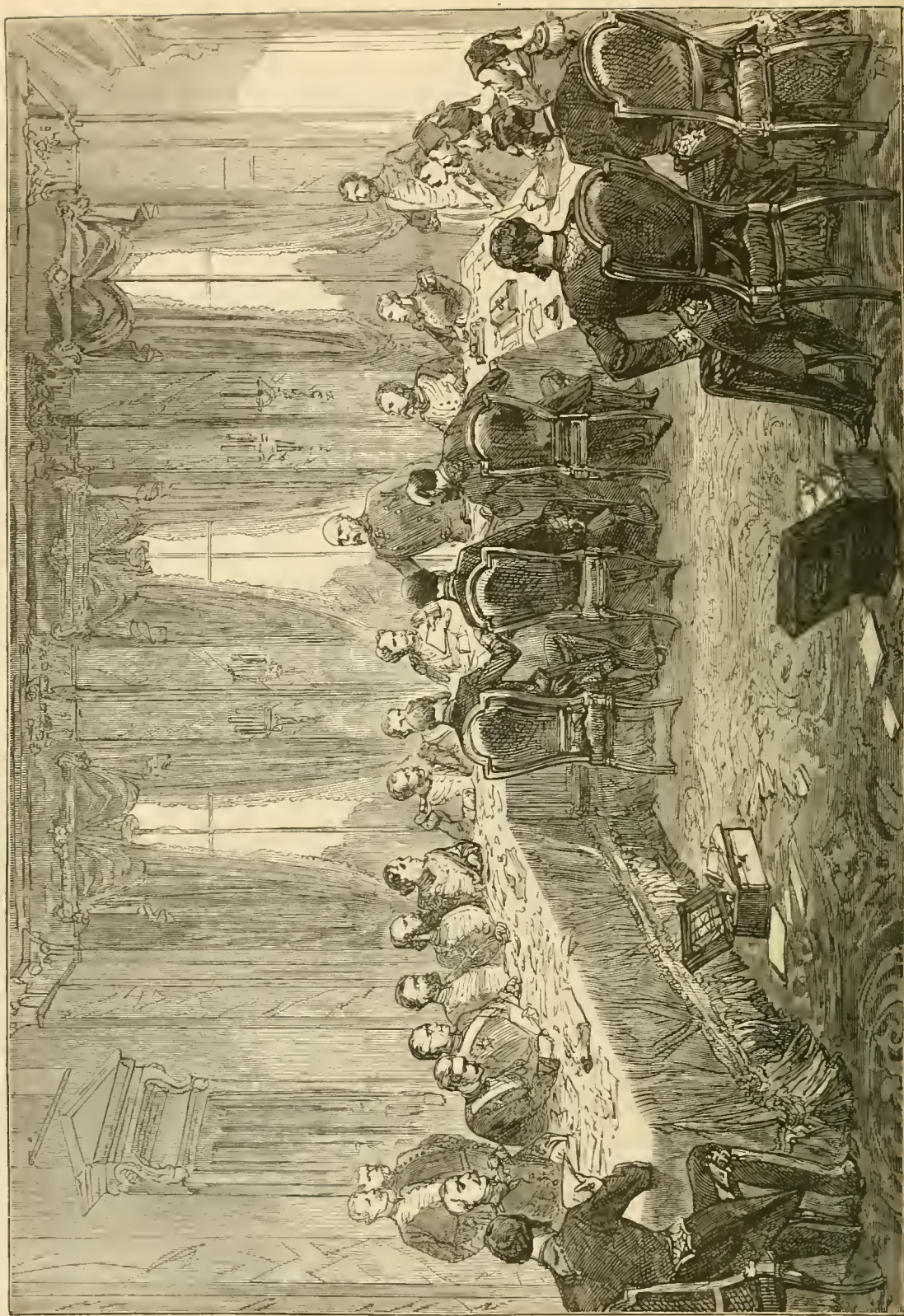
Calling out of the Reserve Forces—Circular to Foreign Courts—Results of the Berlin Congress—Reception of the English Plenipotentiaries in London—'Peace with Honour'—Despatch of Indian Troops to Malta—The Act condemned by Mr. Gladstone as unconstitutional—Dangers of Government Policy—Mr. Gladstone at Bermondsey—The Anglo-Turkish Treaty an 'Insane Covenant'—Debate on Eastern Affairs in the House of Commons—Speech of the ex-Premier—Work of the Berlin Congress Reviewed—English Hostility to Greece—Our Responsibilities in Asiatic Turkey—Lord Beaconsfield's Imperial Policy—Mr. Gladstone at Rhyl—Lord Beaconsfield at the Lord Mayor's Banquet—A 'Scientific Frontier' in India—The Frontier criticised by Mr. Gladstone—The Representation of Greenwich—Farewell Visit of the ex-Premier—Important Speech at Plumstead—'Personal Government'—The Afghan War—Its Origin—Responsibility for the War—It is debated in the House of Commons—The War eloquently condemned by Mr. Gladstone—Proposed Vote of Censure on the Beaconsfield Government defeated—Debate on the Greek Question—Mr. Gladstone advances the Claims of Greece—Speeches on Prerogative—On the Zulu War—The Speaker and the Privileges of Parliament—Corporal Punishment in the Army—Mr. Gladstone attacks the Financial Policy of the late Government—Mr. Gladstone's Seventieth Birthday.

TOWARDS the close of March, 1878, the chances of the meeting of the Berlin Congress seemed to be very shadowy, and the public uneasiness in England was intensified by the step which the Government took of calling

out the reserve forces of the country. In consequence of this decision of the Cabinet, Lord Derby resigned his position as Minister for Foreign Affairs. Explaining his reasons at length in the House of Lords, his lordship said that although the conclusions at which the Cabinet had arrived were of a grave and important nature, they did not, in his opinion, necessarily and inevitably lead to a state of war. Three days afterwards, the Marquis of Salisbury, the new Foreign Minister, issued a circular to Foreign Courts, in which he said, 'Neither the interests which her Majesty's Government are specially bound to guard, nor the well-being of the regions with which the Treaty deals, would be consulted by the assembling of a Congress whose deliberations were to be restricted by such reservations as those which have been laid down by Prince Gortschakoff in his most recent communication.' A long diplomatic correspondence ensued, but at length the Congress met at Berlin on the 30th of June, 1878, the English Plenipotentiaries being the Earl of Beaconsfield and the Marquis of Salisbury. One month later, the Treaty of Berlin was signed, and the Congress closed. Some modifications were effected on the original Treaty of San Stefano. The Balkan mountains formed the southern frontier of Bulgaria, and to Austria was entrusted the task of occupying Bosnia and the Herzegovina in the interests of Europe. Full liberty was left to Austria in regard to the organisation of the provinces. Montenegro received the seaport of Antivari, and a

considerable increase of territory. Servia's frontier was also extended; and the Porte was requested to negotiate a rectification of the Greek frontier. Russia was to receive that portion of Bessarabia detached by the Treaty of 1856, and to cede in return the Dobrudscha to Roumania, including Silistria and Magnolia. Batoum, Kars, and Ardahan, were ceded to Russia; and a war indemnity of £47,500,000 was to be charged after guaranteed loans and anterior hypothecations.

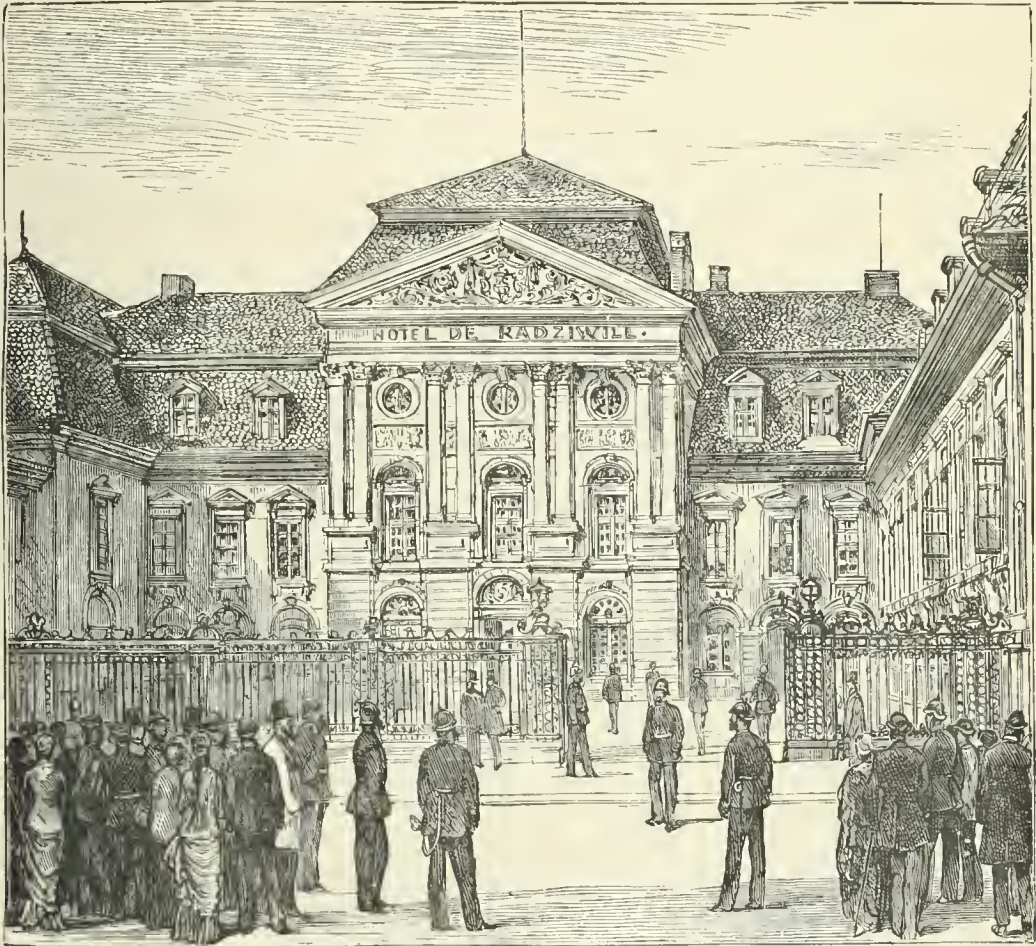
For their share in negotiating this treaty, the English representatives received a popular ovation on arriving in England, and rewards from the Sovereign followed. Addressing the crowd from a window of the Foreign Office on his arrival in London, Lord Beaconsfield said, 'Lord Salisbury and myself have brought you back peace, but a peace, I hope, with honour, which may satisfy our Sovereign and tend to the welfare of the country.' It has been pointed out, however, that at this very time the envoy of Russia (whose policy we believed ourselves to be circumventing) was entering the Afghan capital; so that, although there was peace on the Bosphorus, as a direct result of our Eastern policy war broke out in Afghanistan. The phrase 'peace with honour' became the watchword of the Conservatives, but it became also the occasion of much ridicule subsequently, in consequence of the disturbed state of Europe, and the difficulties which arose in the fulfilment of the Berlin Treaty. Certainly, if any Power had



SITTING OF THE BERLIN CONGRESS.

reason to congratulate itself upon the result of the Berlin Congress it was Russia, who had substantially obtained her demands. The Greeks, whom we ought to have supported, were prac-

capitulated arguments which he had used out of doors against the retrocession of Roumanian Bessarabia, and against other points of the Treaty. But he saw no ground for war, nor any



THE RADZIWILL PALACE, BERLIN, WHERE THE CONGRESS WAS HELD.

tically left in the hands of Turkey, with what result is well known.

Though Mr. Gladstone had retired from the leadership of the Liberal party, the Government found in him a sleepless critic of every development of its Eastern policy. During the debate on the calling out of the Reserves, he re-

asons for declining to attend the Congress.

The very day after Parliament had adjourned for the Easter recess it was announced that the Ministry had ordered the Indian Government to despatch some 7,000 native troops to Malta. This important proceeding

gave rise to every kind of controversy, political, legal, and constitutional. In deciding upon this step, Lord Beaconsfield had undoubtedly strained the Statute, which required that a vote of Parliament should provide for the outlay in the employment of these troops. His lordship, however, depended upon the action of the majority to endorse his policy; and this docility the majority continued to show under other circumstances, and upon other questions. The employment of the Indian troops was warmly debated in the House of Commons. Mr. Gladstone, in an animated speech, declared that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been guilty of an unconstitutional act in concealing in his budget a heavy item of expense which he knew was to be incurred. Government also ought to have consulted the House upon the expenditure before incurring it; they had violated the Bill of Rights and the Indian Government Act. The right hon. gentleman thus exposed the dangers of the Government policy:—

The Crown obtains from Parliament the right to raise 135,000 and odd men, and is strictly limited as to the use of those men. But within two or three hours, by telegram, she has in another quarter of the world 200,000 or 300,000 men, which, if the Government like, may be doubled, with no control from voting the number, and no control from voting the money, and no control from a Mutiny Act to expire next April. This vast force, having none of these restraints, and unlimited in respect of number and backed by a treasury filled with more than fifty millions a-year, is at the will of those gentlemen on the benches opposite, without their saying why or wherefore. Is that to be the state of things under which we live? I do not listen for a moment to the plea that there is no practical danger. Will we consent to part with the securities that the Constitution gives us? The question is not whether we will rush right into the midst of danger, but whether we

will tread within an inch of it. Do we think that liberty is a thing so safe at all times, and under all circumstances, that the sentinels of the Constitution may occasionally go to sleep? Is that the view entertained by the House of Commons? It may be that this division will prove that we have less liberty now than we had in 1865, or even in 1775. . . . I think it is our duty, from generation to generation, not to abandon or suffer to be impaired the ancient and ancestral liberties of the country, and to regard with the utmost jealousy every security which has been thought wise by the great sages of the community in past times for the purpose of guaranteeing the maintenance of the Constitution. The majority in favour of these proceedings will be an historical fact of cardinal importance, and it is our duty to run the risk of a vote. It will be a great evil and a national calamity, but there is one evil greater—one calamity deeper still, and that is, that the day should come when at any rate the minority of the House of Commons should shrink from its duty and fail to use every effort in its power to bring to the knowledge of the people the mode in which, and the circumstances under which, its liberties are being dealt with by its representatives.

The men who complained that Mr. Gladstone strained the Constitution by the Purchase Warrant supported in overwhelming numbers this far clearer violation of the Statute. There voted for the Government, 347; against, 226. The Ministerial majority (which had been puzzled by the publication in the *Globe* of the famous Anglo-Russian Agreement, and by the course of diplomacy generally) could not allow its faith in the Beaconsfield Administration to be shaken by anything—not even by this latest exhibition of a high-handed policy, in ordering the Indian troops to Malta. For a member to differ from this policy was almost to incur the imputation of caring nothing for the honour of his country. The Marquis of Salisbury compared his relative and predecessor, the Earl of Derby, to Titus Oates; and Mr. Han-

bury gravely brought a charge of treason against Mr. Gladstone for an article in the *Nineteenth Century*. The right hon. gentleman said he was not 'greatly concerned' in the matter, and the Conservative party itself thought Mr. Hanbury was going a little too far in his abortive motion.

On the 20th of July Mr. Gladstone addressed a meeting of Liberals in the Drill Hall, Bermondsey. In the outset he pointed out the importance of working on such a plan of organisation as that upon which the Southwark Liberals had based their action, and showed that the Liberal party had failed to pay such attention to this subject as it deserved. Too many amongst them were actuated by mere sectional views. There never had been a time when the differences between the various sections were more broadly pronounced, or more plainly declared. While they had the opportunity, and before the Dissolution, which could not be very long postponed, they ought to take measures for obtaining what they thought they did not now possess, viz., a fair representation in Parliament of the party to which they belonged. Glancing back over the legislation of the past five sessions, he contended that the Liberals were now fully justified in judging the Government by its acts; and the time had come when it would be well for the people to have the opportunity of expressing an opinion upon them. Coming to the Anglo-Turkish Treaty, Mr. Gladstone pointed out the serious obligations which devolved upon England

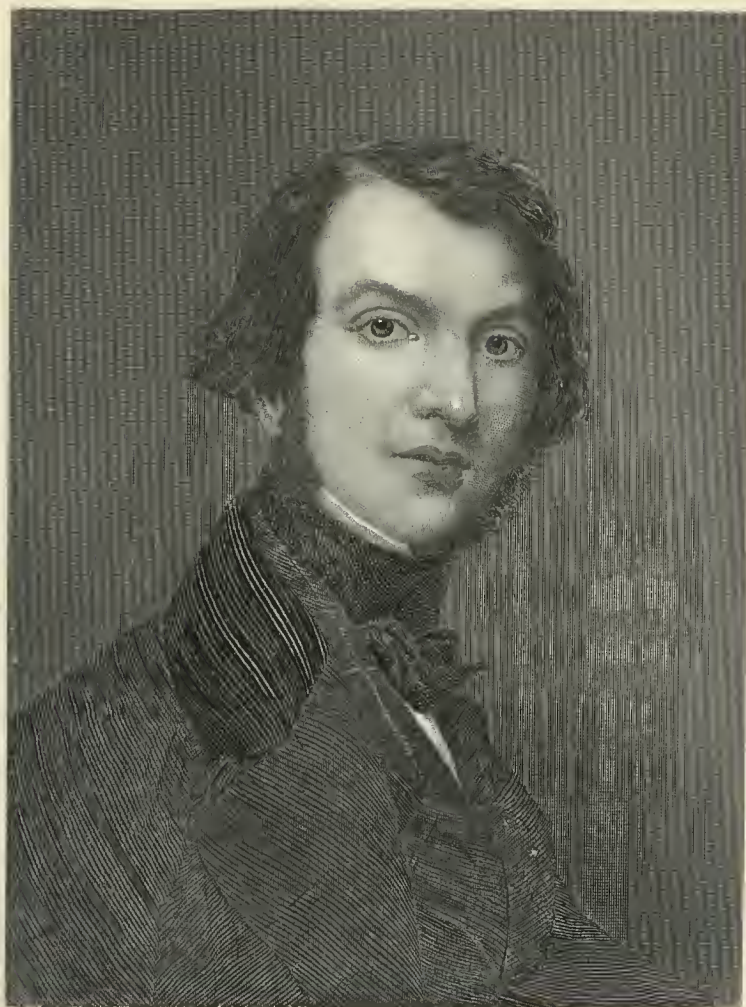
under it, and added, 'There is but one epithet which, I think, fully describes a covenant of this kind. I think it is an insane covenant. I have known well the most eminent statesmen of the last forty years. I have known them on both sides of politics. I was in my early life a follower of Sir Robert Peel and of the Duke of Wellington, and of Lord Aberdeen; and although I regret some things that I did, and have altered some opinions that I then held, yet, in point of honour and public duty, I am not in the least ashamed of any act of my public life. I do not think that the country ever had more honourable public servants; and, moreover, I will venture to say, particularly of Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen, that I have known under the name of Liberals men much less Liberal than they. But, gentlemen, what I wished to say is this, that having known them on the other side—and having known well and worked with such men as Lord Russell, Lord Palmerston, Lord Lansdowne, and many more now called to their account—I do not believe that there is one of those—I am perfectly confident that there never was one of those—men who, under any circumstances, would have been induced to put his hand to such an arrangement as that which, to our shame, as I think now, has gone forth under the name of the Anglo-Turkish Convention.' Stronger language, however, followed, as Mr. Gladstone described the course of the English Government upon the subject of the Treaty:—



COUNT SCHOUVALOFF, ONE OF THE RUSSIAN PLENIPOTENTIARIES AT THE BERLIN CONGRESS.

It is perfectly well known that if Russia is to attack India, which I for one believe to be a perfectly chimerical idea, she must attack India through the heart of Asia, and that is not through Asia Minor—it is on the other side of the Caspian, on the other side of Persia, far away from Asia Minor,

and our defending Turkey in Asia Minor against Russia has no imaginable connection with driving Russia off the road to India, so that the absurdity of the arrangement is gross; but it has another quality worse than its absurdity—its duplicity. I say that it has been a work of duplicity, and what I



John Stuart Mill

1806-1873

English Philosopher



M. WADDINGTON, ONE OF THE FRENCH PLENIPOTENTIARIES AT THE BERLIN CONGRESS.

tell you here I hope to re-state next week—that this is an act of duplicity of which every Englishman should be ashamed. Why, what have we been doing? Why has the country been kept in hot water since the Treaty of San Stefano was signed? Because we insisted that no part of that Treaty

could be established without the consent of Europe unless it affected the interior of the Turkish Empire, and we must have it brought before Europe. It was brought before Europe, accordingly, without reserve, and at that very time we ourselves, without the consent of Europe, were framing a secret

engagement with Turkey—which interfered at every point with the Treaty of San Stefano—an act of duplicity which, I am sure, has never been surpassed, and, I believe, has rarely been equalled in the history of nations.

Mr. Gladstone said he had heard the remark that the Turkish Convention was concluded because it was necessary to do something. Possibly it was necessary to do something for the credit of the Government, and it remained for the people to decide whether the credit of the Government ought to be sustained at such a price. He rejoiced to think that these most unwise, extravagant, unwarrantable, unconstitutional, and dangerous proceedings, had not been the work of the Liberal Party; but he grieved to think that any party should have been found in England to perform such transactions.

Shortly before the close of the session a great debate arose in the House of Commons, extending over the whole range of Eastern affairs, the Treaty of Berlin, the Anglo-Turkish Convention, the acquisition of Cyprus, the claims of Greece, &c. The Marquis of Hartington opened this debate by proposing the following resolution:—‘That, whilst this House has learned with satisfaction that the troubles which have arisen in the East of Europe have been terminated by the Treaty of Berlin, without a further recourse to arms, and rejoices in the extension of the liberty and self-government of some of the populations of European Turkey, this House regrets that it has not been found practicable to deal in a satisfactory manner with the claims of the kingdom of Greece, and of the Greek

subjects of the Porte; that by the assumption, under the Anglo-Turkish Convention, of a sole guarantee of the integrity of the remaining territories of Turkey in Asia, the military liabilities of this country have been unnecessarily extended; that the undefined engagements entered into by her Majesty’s Government in respect of the better administration of these provinces have imposed heavy responsibilities upon the State, whilst no sufficient means have been indicated for securing their fulfilment; and that such engagements have been entered into and responsibilities incurred without the previous knowledge of Parliament.’

Mr. Gladstone’s speech on this occasion, delivered on the second night of the debate, has been described as ‘a long and eloquent address, unsurpassable for its comprehensive grasp of the subject, its lucidity, point, and the high tone which animated it throughout.’ After some reference to the observations of the preceding speaker, Lord Sandon, Mr. Gladstone referred to the Premier’s attack upon him at Knightsbridge, observing that he reflected with considerable pleasure and comfort upon the fact that it gave a much better account of him than was given in a speech delivered by the same noble earl at Aylesbury about two years ago. He (the speaker) admitted that he had strongly denounced the Ministry, but he denied that the fact that he had declared the policy of the Government to be a dishonouring policy for the country constituted a personal provocation, or could be

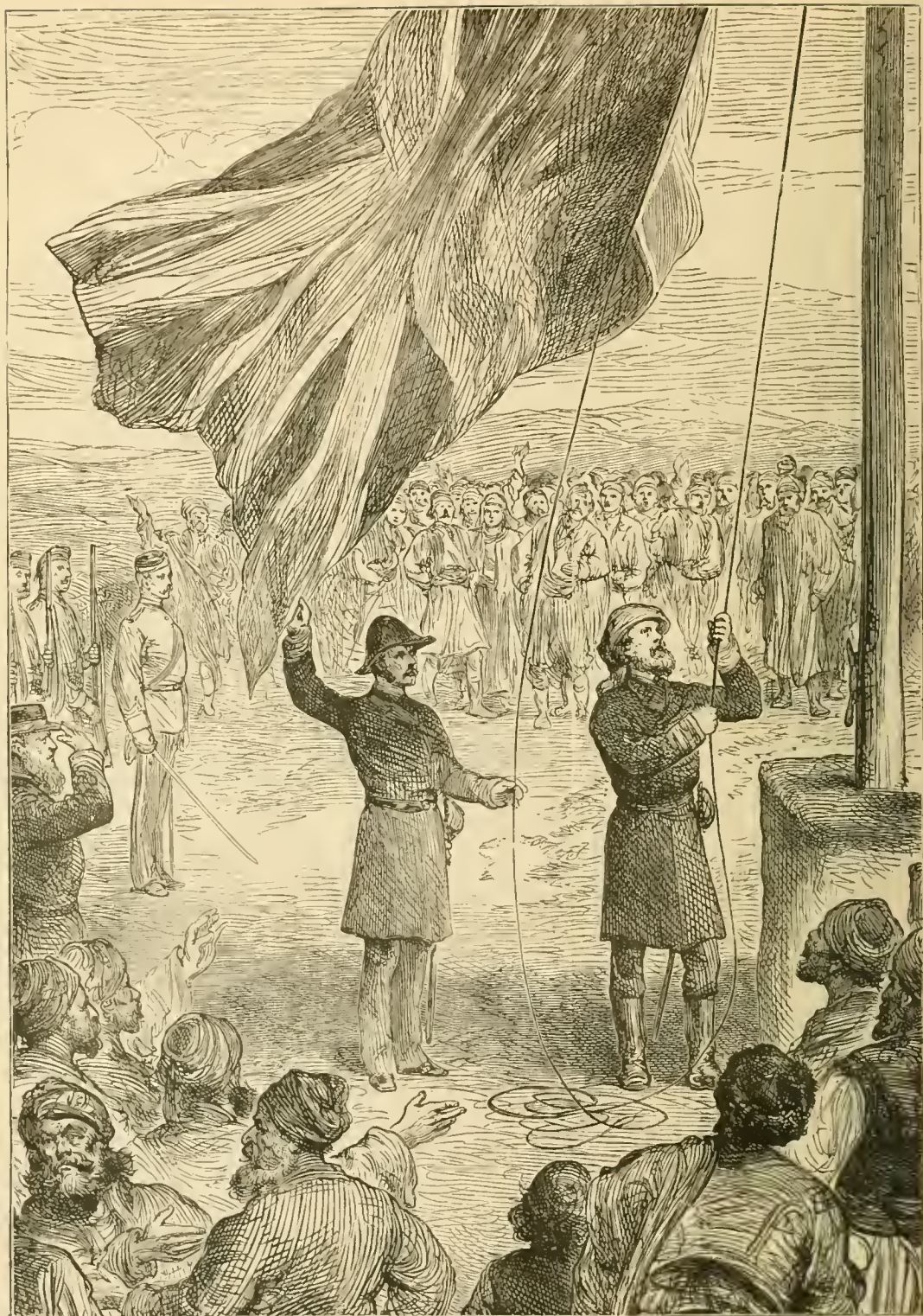
rightly regarded as a personal attack. If criticism of this kind was forbidden, they might as well shut the doors of the house. 'The liberty of speech which we enjoy, and the publicity which attends our political life and action are, I believe, the matters in which we have the greatest amount of advantage over some other countries of the civilised world. That liberty of speech is the liberty which secures all other liberties, and the abridgment of which would render all other liberties vain and useless possessions.'

Passing now to graver matters, Mr. Gladstone said that he had been unable to discern for many months past any danger to the existence of the peace which was re-established at San Stefano, excepting in the opinions and the warlike preparations of her Majesty's Government. Sketching in general outline the work accomplished by the Congress at Berlin, the right hon. gentleman said that before the late war there were not less than 17,000,000 of people who were subjects of the Ottoman Empire, in absolute or qualified subordination; and out of these not less than 11,500,000 had undergone a total change in their relations. After this it was a little difficult to lay down the doctrine that there had been no partition of Turkish territory. 'We have, indeed, been told that the rule of the Sultan in Europe has been concentrated exactly in the same sense in which a man's body is concentrated when his limbs have been amputated. It is reduced, curtailed; it is hemmed in on every side by absolute or qualified freedom. If that be

concentration, it is concentrated; but not otherwise.' Taking the whole of the provisions of the Berlin Treaty together, he thankfully and joyfully acknowledged that great results had been achieved in the diminution of human misery, and towards the establishment of human happiness and prosperity in the East. Yet he could not shut his eyes to the fact that the Slavs, looking to Russia, had been freed; while the Greeks, looking to England, remained with all their aspirations unsatisfied. Russia had obtained the sanction of Europe to her territorial conquests, and established, free from all European interference, her title to a large war indemnity. Discussing the conduct of the British Plenipotentiaries at the Congress, he found that, as a general rule, they took the side opposed to that of freedom:—

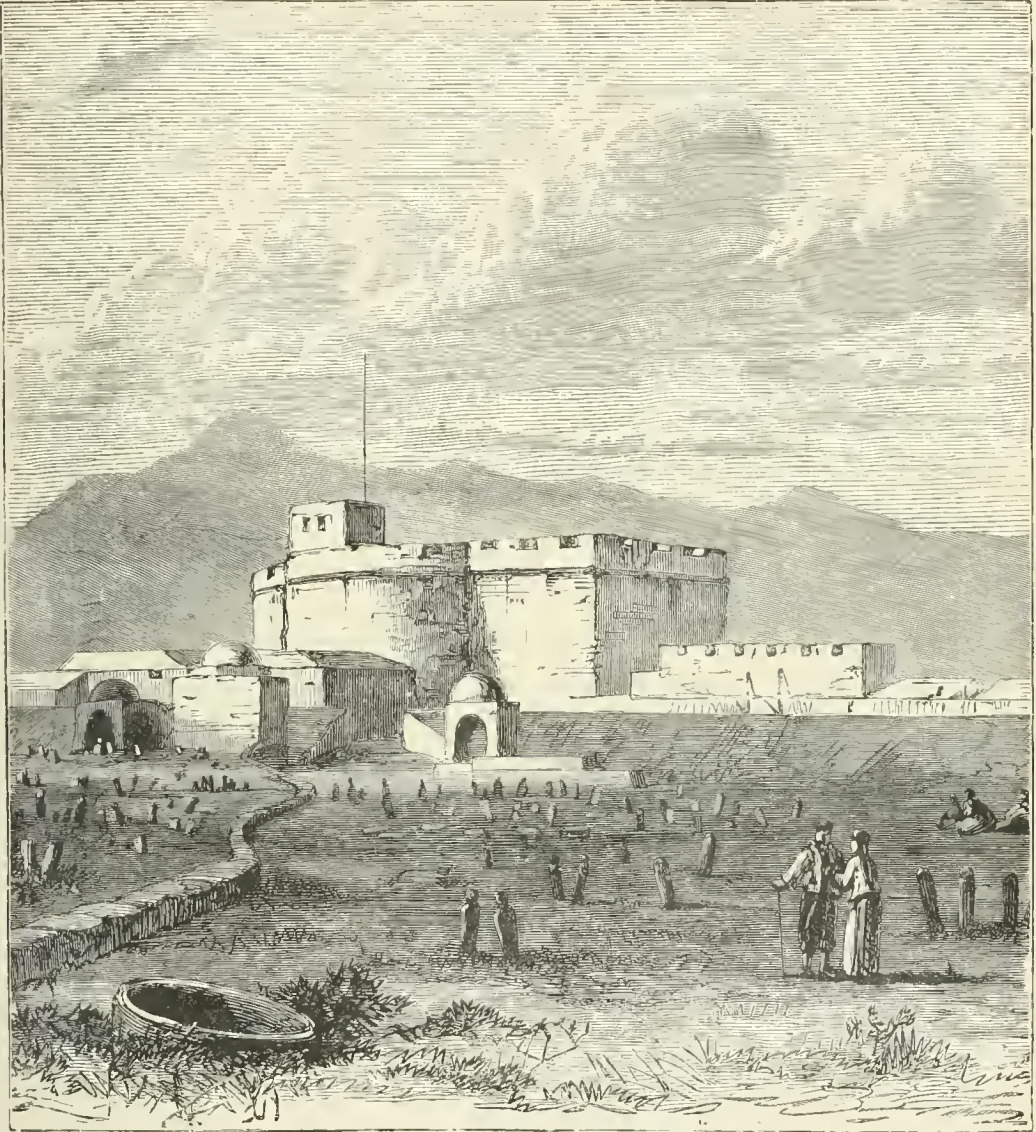
I say, sir, that in this Congress of the Great Powers the voice of England has not been heard in unison with the institutions, the history, and the character of England. On every question that arose and that became a subject of serious contest in the Congress, or that could lead to any important practical result, a voice had been heard from Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury which sounded in the tones of Metternich and not in the tones of Mr. Canning, or of Lord Palmerston, or of Lord Russell. I do not mean that the British Government ought to have gone to the Congress determined to insist upon the unqualified prevalence of what I may call British ideas. They were bound to act in consonance with the general views of Europe. But within the limits of fair difference of opinion, which will always be found to arise on such occasions, I do affirm that it was their part to take the side of liberty; and I do also affirm that as a matter of fact they took the side of servitude.

Mr. Gladstone complained that there had been a persistent hostility, limited only by the more favourable desires of others, on the part of England to the



HOISTING THE BRITISH FLAG AT NICOSIA, CYPRUS.

pretensions of Greece. With regard to the agreement made between Lord Salisbury and Count Schouvaloff, he months before in the face of Europe, or with that perfect good faith which ought to prevail in all the transactions



GATE OF FAMAGOSTA, CYPRUS.

should be glad to know in what manner the Government reconciled the conclusion of that agreement with the distinct professions upon which they had been standing for three or four

of the Powers. Coming to the Anglo-Turkish Convention, the right hon. gentleman said it appeared to him that the acquisition of Cyprus was the Alpha and the Omega of that Con-

vention. With regard to the English responsibilities in Asiatic Turkey devolving upon us through the Convention, he asked what were the reasons for this unheard-of, this mad undertaking. Not one of the leading English statesmen of the last forty years, from the Duke of Wellington downwards, would for one moment have consented to look at such a scheme as had been contrived and accomplished in the dark by the present Government. The cession of Cyprus violated both the letter and the spirit of the Treaty of Paris; and if Turkey was entitled to give Cyprus to England by secret treaty, was she forbidden to give over Mitylene to Russia by another and equally secret agreement? We had altered the Treaty of 1856, behind the back of Europe, by establishing a sole protectorate, and a single-handed right of intervention in Asiatic Turkey, and by assuming the administration and occupation of the island of Cyprus. The Powers of Europe had reason to complain of our conduct. Dealing next with the treaty-making power of this country, as bearing upon the dignity and the rights of Parliament, Mr. Gladstone said it had been endured because it had been uniformly used with moderation, with careful regard to precedent, with a just estimate of the rights of the people, and with due knowledge of the existing sense and convictions of the people. But when it ceased to be so used, it was a power that became intolerable. These most recent proceedings of the Administration, if persevered in, would un-

doubtedly end in raising controversies with respect to that power which all should be desirous to avoid. Mr. Gladstone thus concluded his speech:—

We are perplexed with the apprehension that as long as these proceedings continue to be sustained by a majority in this House, and as long as the country has had no opportunity of passing its final and conclusive judgment, they will be repeated and renewed, from time to time, as may seem good to the Ministers in power. More and more damage will thus be done both to the great name and honour of this country, and to the prerogatives and rights of Parliament, bound up, as they are, with the liberties of the people. First, we have the setting up of British interests, not real but imaginary. Then, we have the prosecution of those supposed British interests, by means of strange and unheard-of schemes, such as never occurred even to the imagination of statesmen of other days. Then we have those strange and unheard-of schemes, prosecuted in a manner which appears, as I conceive, to indicate a very deficient regard to the authority of the law of Europe, and to that just respect which is due to all foreign Powers. Then we have, associated with this grievous lack, a disregard, a neglect—it may, perhaps, even be said a contempt—for the rights of Parliament. Lastly, along with all this, we create a belief, rather strengthened than weakened by the evident absence of any eagerness on the part of her Majesty's Government to give us financial information, that the result of those operations of the Government, so unsound in their foundation, so wild in their aims, is likely to be an increase of responsibility, with no addition, but rather a diminution of strength; a loss of respect abroad; a shock to constitutional instincts and practices at home; and also an augmentation of the burdens which are borne with such exemplary patience by a too confiding people.

Notwithstanding this powerful speech, when the vote came to be taken it was found that the Ministerial phalanx was unbroken. The numbers were—For Lord Hartington's resolution, 195; against, 335. Amongst other descriptions of Mr. Gladstone's address, the *Spectator* said it was 'a terse and vivid specimen of statement, argument, and denunciation,' and added, upon the debate generally, that 'reason, pru-

dence, and patriotism have hardly ever in our time been voted down with so little show of argument, or even of plausible suggestion.' 'For the first time in a hundred years,' said the same journal in reviewing the session, 'at a very great crisis of English history, Parliament has been treated as Napoleon III. used to treat his Senate and *Corps Législatif*, as a mere supplement to the Crown and Administration, instead of as the keystone of the Constitution.' The Government was omnipotent; and the Conservative majority performed its bidding with unwavering patience and submission.

Lord Beaconsfield's Imperial policy proceeded apace.* Russia had been successful in Europe, but the Government conceived a plan by which they hoped to checkmate her in Asia. When we say that a war was forced upon Afghanistan, we are endeavouring to use the impartial language which we believe will be used by history. With regard to this unhappy country, England repeated her oppressive policy of forty years ago. Acting upon the impression that Shere Ali was the secret friend of Russia, we sought grounds for quarrelling with him. A

strong nation never lacks pretences of affront when it has to deal with a weak one, and England was not long in precipitating hostilities with the Afghans upon grounds miserably weak and inadequate. It was the war of 1838-41 which rankled in the minds of the rulers of Afghanistan, and made them steadily resolve to refuse British Residents, which they had a perfect right to do. The rejection of Sir Neville Chamberlain's Mission, so far from being unprovoked, was the reply of the Ameer to English policy, which had long projected an advance into his territory. In furtherance of this policy, on the part of Lord Beaconsfield's Government, the Viceroy was instructed to find some pretext for despatching a Mission to the Ameer. The result of our subsequent proceedings is well known. Even when the Ameer was ready to make concessions, the opportunity was harshly denied him. We went to war with Afghanistan; Shere Ali lost his life; we concluded the Treaty of Gandamak with his successor, Yakoub Khan, whereby the English Government secured its demands. But the old and ineradicable hatred of the Afghans to the British led—ostensibly

* Various are the renderings and definitions of an 'Imperial' policy; but we may supplement the observation of the *Spectator*, given above, by the following passage from Mr. S. Laing's address to his constituents, which was certainly representative of Liberal opinion generally on this matter:—'When I talk of an Imperial policy I attach a distinct meaning to the words. I mean a policy which in its fundamental ideas and modes of proceeding resembles that of the last French Empire, a policy which trades upon national vanity and national prejudices, and seeks by a series of national surprises to divert attention from domestic matters, and prop up

the fortunes of a dynasty or a Ministry.' Mr. Laing further remarked that since Lord Derby's retirement from the Cabinet, the history of England had 'read like the chapters of a sensational novel or the scenes of a stirring melodrama;' and he added that he had done what he could 'to assert the foreign policy of Canning against that of Castlereagh, of Gladstone against that of Beaconsfield.' These words were the more significant as coming from one who a few years before opposed Mr. Gladstone, and they demonstrated, moreover, a close approximation of sentiment amongst the various classes of Liberals throughout the country.



SHERE ALI, AMEER OF CABUL.

through other pretexts, of course—to the deplorable massacre of Sir Louis Cavagnari and his escort at Cabul.

With respect to the war waged with Shere Ali, Lord Lawrence—who in this case may be fairly taken as the

representative of those most thoroughly acquainted both with this and other Indian questions—appealed to the Government to arrest their action; but Lord Beaconsfield replied that the

of the Premier. Speaking at Rhyl, he condemned the Ministerial action which, having first made the Queen an Empress, then manipulated the prerogative in a manner wholly unex-



YAKOUB KHAN, AMEER OF AFGHANISTAN.

press was not the place in which to discuss these matters, although the Premier himself had conduced to this by his Parliamentary reticence. Mr. Gladstone, however, could not remain quiescent under the adventurous policy

ampled in this age, and employed it in inaugurating policies about which neither the nation nor the Parliament had ever been consulted.

The right hon. gentleman went on to say that he did not throw upon the

Government the full responsibility for those times of almost unexampled depression from which England suffered in 1878-9; but he contended that the erratic policy of the Government had greatly aggravated the hardness of those times. He asked how commerce could flourish when no exporter knew whether war might break out before his merchandise reached the port to which it was consigned; and he asserted that every £10,000,000 spent unproductively in needless military or naval expenditure really represented a loss of double the amount—for £10,000,000 productively invested would have produced another £10,000,000 worth of wealth and something more.

Mr. Gladstone's arguments, however, might as well have been addressed to empty air. The Conservative majority did not feel—or felt it by comparison only in an infinitesimal degree—the pressure of the times, and they had imbibed the idea that the honour of England must be protected. By many persons it was considered that it had never really been assailed; but the Beaconsfield Administration having on several occasions declared it to be in danger, there was no lack of readiness to vote men and money to defend it. So the order was given for distant peoples to be attacked, English blood to be spilled, the burdens of the people (already too heavy) to be swollen, and the future liabilities of this country to be enormously increased.

At the Lord Mayor's banquet, in November, Lord Beaconsfield explained, with regard to our Indian difficulties,

that the Government were not apprehensive of any invasion of India by its north-western frontier; but the frontier was a 'haphazard and not a scientific one,' and the Government were desirous of obtaining a really satisfactory frontier. It is difficult now to understand Lord Beaconsfield's desire to obtain a 'rectification of frontier' except on the ground of buttressing up his Administration, and, by keeping the nation in a fever of excitement, thus to prevent a fierce introspective light from being brought to bear upon his policy. Mr. Gladstone, in writing to the Bedford Liberal Association, pertinently asked the question, why, if an invasion from the north-west were considered impracticable, the frontier there should be described as unscientific, and how any foe could so embarrass and disturb our dominion as to put us to great expense on a frontier which it was impossible for him to invade? The right hon. gentleman thus continued:—'What right have we to annex by war or to menace the territory of our neighbours, in order to make "scientific" a frontier which is already safe? What should we say of such an act if done by another Power? Our frontier, we are told, causes anxiety to our Viceroy. I ask, which among the Viceroy's who have taken and quitted office, and sometimes life, with so much honour, since we reached our north-western frontier, have recommended such a rectification? Upon the whole, I must say that the great day of "sense and truth," instead of relaxing the reserve unhappily maintained,

has added a new, and, to all appearance, a dangerous, mystery to those which before prevailed; has left us more than ever at the mercy of anonymous paragraphs; and is, so far, likely to increase rather than dispel the gloom which is settling on the country. That we are bound to observe and promote the observance of the Treaty of Berlin there is no doubt. We should do it with better grace if we had not ourselves broken the Treaty of Paris, and violated the honourable understanding under which the Powers met in Congress, by the Anglo-Turkish Convention.' Mr. Gladstone went on to observe that the best barrier against Russia was to be found in the establishment of local liberties that men will value, and will fight for, and will not willingly surrender either to Russia or to any other Power. He also referred to the apparent inaction of the Government in relation to the report of the Rhodope Commission, and regretted their indifference to a commercial distress greatly intensified by their own reckless expenditure. But the only effective criticism upon the Government, he observed, would be the criticism of the polling booths.

To that appeal the Government did not submit themselves. England was shortly afterwards at war with Shere Ali, the Ameer having declined to receive an English mission. This was no new decision, however, as we have seen, nor ought it fairly to have been construed as an insult to us, seeing that the Ameer had always protested against receiving a British Envoy.

Mr. Gladstone having announced his intention of retiring from the representation of Greenwich at the next election, on the 30th of November he paid a farewell visit to his constituents. At a luncheon given at the Ship Hotel by the Liberal Association, the right hon. gentleman proposed the toast of 'Prosperity to the Borough of Greenwich Liberal Association,' and in doing so enlarged upon the necessity for Liberal union. The Liberals, owing to their dissensions, gave twenty-six votes to their opponents in 1874. Now when they remembered that Governments had been carried on for years with a smaller majority than twenty-six, they would see how important the subject of organisation became. With regard to the Birmingham plan, he warned Liberals against its precipitate or imperfect adoption. Whenever a minority only of the party in any town joined such an association, it was plain that that town was not yet ripe for the introduction of the new system; and if the plan continued to be forced under those circumstances, more harm than good must result from the false application of the principle. In the evening Mr. Gladstone attended a great public meeting in the Plumstead Skating Rink. On his entrance the whole audience rose and cheered for several minutes. An address was presented to the ex-Premier expressing regret at the severance of his connection with the borough of Greenwich, and the pride which the borough would ever feel at having been associated with his name and fame.

Mr. Gladstone began his reply by an allusion to Lord Beaconsfield's phrase of five years ago, respecting 'harassed interests.' At present he (the speaker)

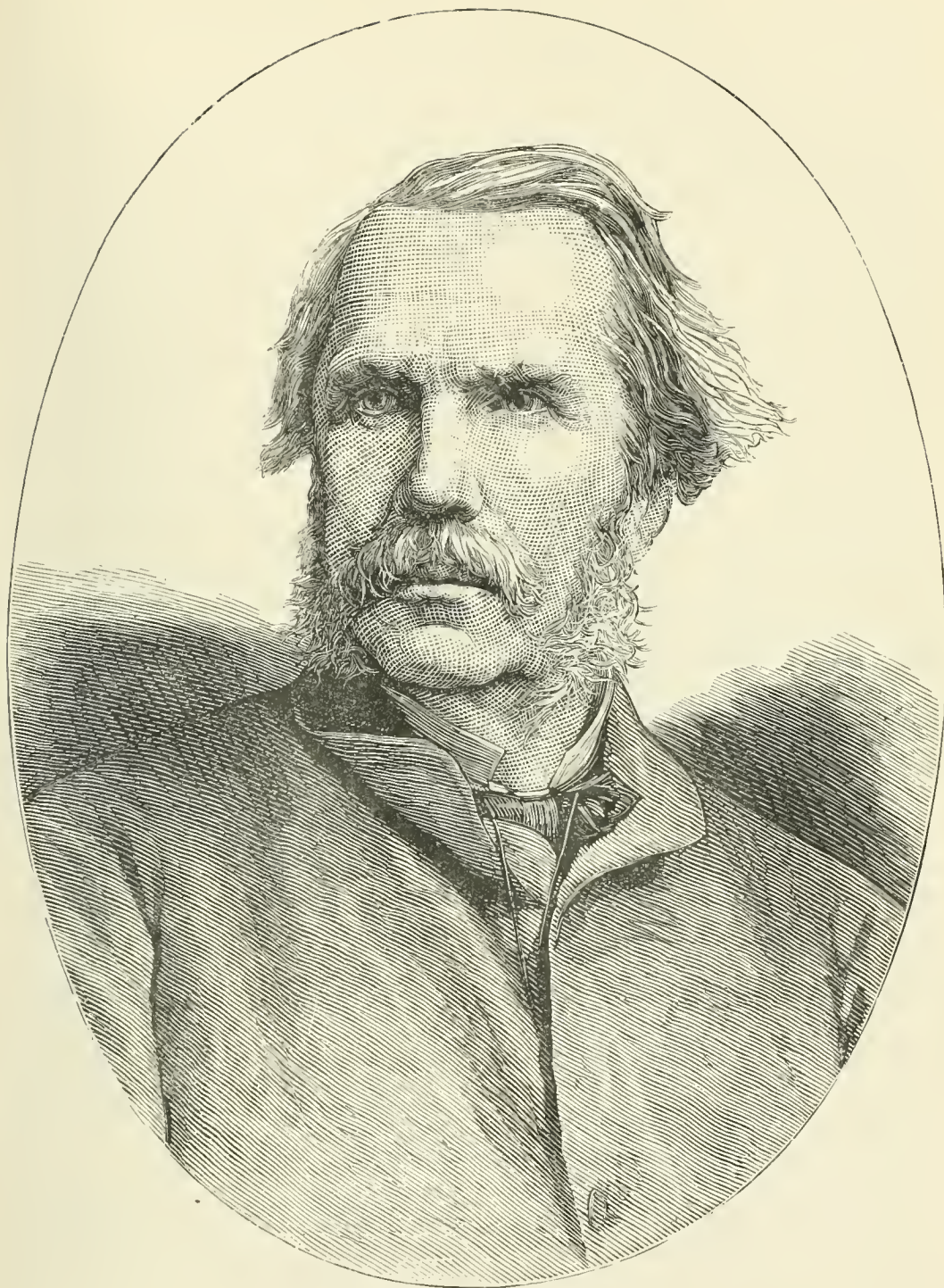
the words 'personal government' being taken to imply that the Sovereign desired to depart from the traditions of the Constitution, he charged her Ma-



THE KHYBER PASS, AFGHANISTAN.

knew of only one harassed interest, viz., the British nation. The question how the country was to be governed should occupy the people at the next election. Although he protested against

jesty's advisers with having insidiously begun a system intended to narrow the liberties of the people of England, and to reduce Parliament to the condition of the French parliaments before the



LORD LAWRENCE, VICEROY OF INDIA.

great Revolution. Replying to the charge that he and his supporters were the friends of Russia, Mr. Gladstone showed that it was the Government who had been the real friends of that Power, having brought her back to the Danube, from which she was driven in 1856; had left it in her power to make herself the liberator of Bulgaria; and, by the device of creating the province of Eastern Roumelia, had given her an opportunity for intriguing pretty effectively among that portion of the Bulgarians still under the rule of the Sultan.

The Afghan war was dwelt upon with great fulness. Mr. Gladstone, having expressed his fear that it was a wholly unjust war, pointed out that it had been waged by the Government in furtherance of a settled intention on its part to force the Ameer to receive European Residents in his cities, contrary to the treaty arrangements entered into with him, and in opposition to his known preference for native agents. He denied that the late Government had refused to give conditional assistance to the Ameer, and also that the Viceroy was instructed to postpone the subject. In 1874, as was proved from a despatch by Sir R. Pollock, the Ameer leaned as much as ever on the British Government. The Ameer gave as his reason for refusing to receive an English Mission at all four letters which had been addressed to him in a threatening tone by the Commissioner of Peshawur, at the instance of the Viceroy; and these letters were omitted from the Blue-book. If Russia sent a

Mission to Cabul, why had we not called Russia to account? asked Mr. Gladstone.

If an offence has been committed, I want to know whose has been the greater share of that offence? The Ameer was under no covenant that he was not to receive a Russian Mission; we were under a covenant with him not to force on him a British Mission. He was under no covenant not to receive a Russian Mission; Russia was under a covenant with us to exercise no influence in Afghanistan. If there was an offence, whose was the offence? The offence, if any, was committed by the great and powerful Emperor of the North, with his eighty millions of people, with his 1,400,000 or 1,500,000 soldiers, and fresh from his recent victories, and not by the poor, trembling, shuddering Ameer of Afghanistan, with his few troops, over which he exercises a precarious rule. But now, having received from the Czar of Russia the greater offence, we sing small to Russia, and ask her to withdraw her Mission; and when she says it is only a Mission of courtesy, we seemingly rest content, but we march our thousands into Afghanistan. Anything so painful and so grievous has not come under my notice.

The responsibility for this war he threw absolutely upon the Cabinet; but Parliament would shortly be asked what it thought of these transactions, and he was not sanguine as to the reply. However, the appeal to Parliament was not the final appeal. Mr. Gladstone maintained that we had departed from the manners of our forefathers; the policy of the present Government was not that which had been adopted by Lord Chatham and Mr. Burke, and by Lord Derby when he appealed to both Houses of Parliament in 1857. Mr. Gladstone thus forcibly concluded his address:—

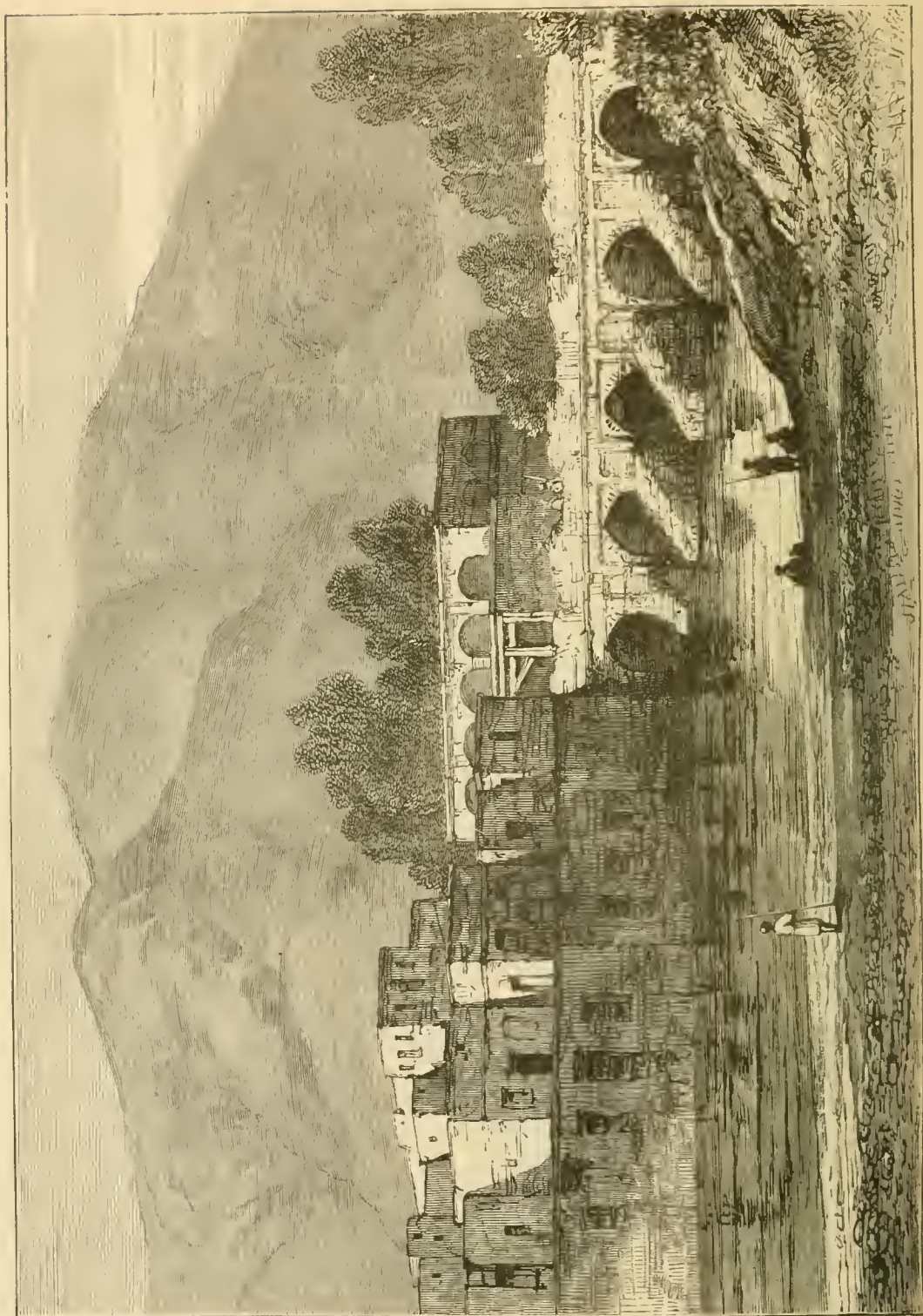
This question cannot be settled by injunctions to be dumb; it cannot be settled by the production of garbled evidence; it cannot be settled by a chorus of leading articles written to-day, and forgotten, or contradicted, or disavowed, to-morrow; it cannot be settled by military success—for, thank God, the

arbitrament of the sword is not the supreme or the sole arbitrament of the affairs of civilised nations; it cannot be settled by Parliamentary majorities. But that responsibility, which at this moment is an undivided responsibility, resting upon ten or twelve men, will next week or the week afterwards very likely be divided between them and the two Houses of Parliament, and within no long period—it may be within a very short period—the people of England will have to say whether they will take upon themselves their share of that responsibility. And remember that, if they do, their share will be the largest of all. They are the tribunal of final appeal. Upon them, upon every constituency, upon every man in every constituency, who gives his sanction to an unjust war, the guilt and the shame will lie. No; there is something a great deal higher than all those external manifestations by which we are apt to be swayed and carried away; something that is higher, something that is more inward, something that is more enduring. External success cannot always silence the monitor that lies within. You all know the noble tragedy of our great Shakspeare, in which Lady Macbeth, after having achieved the utmost external success, after having waded through blood to a crown, and that crown at the moment seemingly undisputed, yet is so troubled with the silent action of conscience residing within the breast that reason itself is shaken in its seat, and she appears at night wandering through the chambers of her castle. What does she say? There she had nothing to warn her from without, nothing to alarm her. Her success had been complete. She had reached the top of what some think to be human felicity, and what all admit to be human authority. What does she say in that condition? ‘Here’s the smell of the blood still; all the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand.’ And the physician appointed to wait on her, in the few simple pregnant words of the poet, says, ‘This disease is beyond my practice.’ Yes, gentlemen, the disease of an evil conscience is beyond the practice of all the physicians of all the countries in the world. The penalty may linger; but, if it lingers, it only lingers to drive you on further into guilt, and to make retribution when it comes more severe and more disastrous. It is written in the eternal laws of the universe of God that sin shall be followed by suffering. An unjust war is a tremendous sin. The question which you have to consider is whether this war is just or unjust. So far as I am able to collect the evidence, it is unjust. It fills me with the greatest alarm lest it should be proved to be grossly and totally unjust. If so, we should come under the stroke of the everlasting law that suffering shall follow sin; and the day will arrive—come it soon or come it late—when the people of England

will discover that national injustice is the surest road to national downfall.

A brief sitting of Parliament was held in December, when a long debate ensued upon the war in Afghanistan. Mr. Whitbread moved the following amendment to the Address:—‘That this House disapproves the conduct of her Majesty’s Government, which has resulted in the war with Afghanistan.’

Mr. Gladstone followed up his vigorous speech to his constituents by one quite worthy of it from his place in the House of Commons. There were three points, he said, on which the public decision as to the nature of this war ought to rest. First, the extraordinary confusion and inconsistencies of the evidence on which the Government had framed their case for this unjust and disastrous war; secondly, the extraordinary and prolonged secrecy in which a policy had been enveloped, the earlier disclosure of which would have put Parliament on its guard, and elicited remonstrances which must, in all probability, have stopped the war; thirdly, the direct evidence of injustice in relation to the origin of the war, the deliberate breach with the policy of forbearance towards Afghanistan, the alarming menaces addressed to the Ameer of Afghanistan both by words and deeds, the mildness of the remonstrance with Russia, into whose arms we had driven the Afghan prince, and the severe retribution which we were visiting upon the *protégé*, whilst we complacently accepted the explanations of the patron, on condition, of course, that we were permitted to flog the *protégé*



THE BRIDGE AT CABUL

without interference from the patron. The right hon. gentleman then drew a striking picture of the miseries and perils to which the last Afghan war had led, and pressed home, with re-

submission, followed precedent, and disappeared? In that case, how long should we have to keep an army of occupation? The principal official documents contained the most gross



GENERAL SIR F. P. HAINES, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY IN INDIA.

newed force, the chief conclusions of his Plumstead speech. In answer to Lord John Manners, who had declared that the war must be prosecuted until Shere Ali had made due submission, Mr. Gladstone asked what would be done if the Ameer, instead of making

mis-statements of facts, involving reckless negligence. There was no ground whatever for alleging that at the Pesbawur Conference it became evident that the Ameer was dissatisfied with his relations with us. So far from being discontented, he begged us to let things

alone. Such was the position of affairs up to the end of 1876; and if the papers relating to the Peshawur Conference had been laid before Parliament shortly after its close, he ventured to say we should have had no Afghan war. When the Ameer was ready to make concessions, the opportunity was denied him, the Conference was hastily closed, the promises of Lords Mayo and Northbrook were revoked, measures of hostility were adopted, Quettah was occupied, and our native agent was withdrawn from Cabul. Lastly, not the least discreditable act of the English Government was their treating the reception of the Russian Mission as an offence, and their visiting it with punishment at the very time when they had accepted the transparent pretext of Russia that their Mission to Cabul was within the meaning of the arrangement made with the late Government. The Russians forced the Mission upon Shere Ali, who unwillingly accepted it. The Russians, however, asked permission before sending their envoy; but we did not do so, and the Ameer's subordinates had no authority to let our Mission pass. Now Ministers called that an insult which was merely the result of the grossest blundering. Further, they had tamely acquiesced in Russia's new and unfounded claim to send to Cabul missions of courtesy under the convention with the late Government. Mr. Gladstone, in his peroration, spoke with perhaps even more than his usual earnestness and eloquence upon the historical and moral aspects of the question:—

You have made this war in concealment from Parliament, in reversal of the policy of every Indian and Home Government that has existed for the last twenty-five years, in contempt of the supplication of the Ameer, and in defiance of the advice of your own agent, and all for the sake of obtaining a scientific frontier. We made war in error upon Afghanistan in 1838. To err is human and pardonable. But we have erred a second time upon the same ground and with no better justification. This error has been repeated in the face of every warning conceivable and imaginable, and in the face of an unequalled mass of authorities. May heaven avert a repetition of the calamity which befel our army in 1841! . . . I remember a beautiful description of one of our modern poets of a great battle-field during the Punic Wars, in which he observed that for the moment Nature was laid waste, and nothing but the tokens of carnage were left upon the ground; but day by day and hour by hour she began her kindly task, and removed one by one and put out of sight those hideous tokens, and restored the scene to order, to beauty, and to peace. It was such a process that the Viceroy of India had been carrying on for years in Afghanistan. I now ask—is all this to be undone? The sword is drawn, and misery is to come upon this unhappy country again. The struggle may perhaps be short. God grant that it may be short! God grant that it may not be sharp! But you, having once entered upon it, cannot tell whether it will be short or long. You have again brought in devastation and again created a necessity which, I hope, will be met by other men, with other minds, in happier days; that other Viceroys and other Governments, but other Viceroys especially—such men as Canning, Lawrence, Mayo, and Northbrook—will undo this evil work in which you are now engaged. It cannot be undone in a moment, although the torch of a madman may burn down an edifice which it has taken the genius, the skill, the labour, and the lavish prodigality of ages to erect. . . . I should have hope of this division if I really believed that many hon. members had made themselves individually masters of the case which is disclosed in the recesses of those two volumes of Parliamentary papers. They have not done, and cannot do this, and, therefore, this vote will go as other votes have gone. You will obtain the warrant of Parliament and the triumph of military success for the moment. That military success has not been quite so unchecked up to the present, but it has in substance corresponded to that which led us on in 1838, and blinded us to the perilous nature of the step which we were taking. Be that as it may, however, you will probably obtain sanction and the warrant which you seek. The responsibility, which is now yours alone, will be shared with you by the

majority of this House; but many who will decline to share in it will hope for the ultimate disapproval and reversal of your course by the nation. But even if the nation should refuse such reversal, those members of this House who oppose your course will believe that they have performed a duty incumbent upon men who believe that truth and justice are the only sure foundations of international relations, and that there is no possession so precious, either for peoples or for men, as a just and honourable name.

This powerful speech greatly impressed both sides of the House, but the majority—not, it was believed, without some compunction—endorsed the policy of the Government. In the course of the debate, Mr. Leatham made a witty comparison. The Cabinet, he said, reminded him of the gentleman who, seeing his horses run away, and being assured by his coachman that they must drive into something, replied, ‘Then smash into something cheap!’ The discussion closed with very able speeches by Lord Hartington and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the vote of censure was defeated by 328 votes to 227. On a motion by the Government that the revenues of India should be applied for the purposes of the war, Mr. Fawcett moved an amendment to the effect that it would be unjust that the revenues of India should be applied to defray the extraordinary expenses of the military operations being carried on against the Ameer of Afghanistan. Mr. Gladstone seconded the motion, and observed that it was the people of England who had had all the glory and all the advantage which had resulted from the destruction of the late Government, and the accession to office of the present Administration; and it was they who must

measure all the *pros* and the *cons*, and who must be content, after having reaped benefits so immeasurable, to encounter the disadvantage of meeting charges which undoubtedly the existing Administration would leave behind it as a legacy to posterity. For Mr. Fawcett’s amendment there voted 125; against, 235—majority for the Government, 110.

Though it may possibly be true that England gained her ends in the Afghan war, and succeeded in humiliating Russia, it is not surprising that one result of her policy has been to provoke Russian advances in Central Asia. Should Russia never rest until she has strongly established herself upon the Afghan frontier, it will, in that event, be impossible to expect the aid of the Afghans, in view of the hostile policy which has been, with such injustice, pursued towards their country.*

Early in the session of 1879 the Greek question came before the House of Commons on the following motion by Mr. Cartwright:—‘That, in the opinion of this House, tranquillity in the East demands that satisfaction be given to the just claims of Greece, and no satisfaction can be considered adequate that does not ensure execution of the recommendations embodied in Protocol 13 of the Berlin Congress.’ Mr. Gladstone, in supporting this motion, said he was sanguine enough

* As to the value of our scientific frontier, it has been pointed out that, so far as it is from lessening the risk of invasion by way of Afghanistan, it has already cost the Indian Government the services of four good brigades. On the Candahar, Khurum, and Khyber routes we have a total army of 33,000 men to be maintained and accoutred.

to believe that even in the present House of Commons there might be found a disposition on the part of many hon. members to encourage the first legitimate aspirations on the part of the Hellenic races after freedom, and he hoped that the declaration of the Government would be such as to give satisfaction to the House and to the country. The Treaty of Berlin contained recommendations which were valuable and important in the interests of the liberty and happiness of Greece, and, so far as he knew, there was yet no evidence whatever that the English Government—the whole of whose traditions were connected, inseparably connected, with freedom—had acted energetically in support of the provisions of that treaty. The Porte had gone back upon its usual resources of craft, and inert but obstinate resistance, and every device that ingenuity could suggest had been used to evade giving effect to the recommendations of the Treaty of Berlin. Our Government had given a pledge to the Government of Greece to support and to advance, within reasonable limits, the territorial claims of Greece. That pledge, down to the present time, remained entirely unredeemed; but there was time for us to redeem it. It certainly was not redeemed at the Congress. There was now no one of the European Powers antagonistic to the claims of Greece. France laboured, and had always consistently and energetically done so, to promote them, and their complete success depended upon the conduct of her Majesty's

Government. He (Mr. Gladstone) wished to convey to the House his opinion that the claims on the part of the Greek Kingdom and the Greek races were a very strong claim indeed. We had now got rid of the superstition that all these Greek and Christian populations of Turkey would fling themselves into the arms of Russia. The time that had elapsed for the fulfilment of our promise to Greece was already too long, and there was no justification for it. After reviewing the greatly improved condition of Greece—with its free press, an increasing population, a trade and a marine enormously augmented, and a flourishing University—Mr. Gladstone said, 'I do not contend that the civilisation of Greece is effective for all purposes; on the contrary, the Greeks are behind-hand, and have so much to do that their resources may be strained in the accomplishment of their objects. The Government will not give countenance, I hope, to coloured and unfair representations of the condition of Greece, but will join us in deprecating them.'

The character of England was undoubtedly tied to the redemption of its pledge given to Greece, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer said the matter was one which was engaging, and which would continue to engage, the earnest sympathy and full attention of her Majesty's Government, and he trusted that this assurance would satisfy the House. The motion was rejected, and the fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of Greece was thus postponed to a later date.

In the course of a debate raised by Sir Charles Dilke, towards the close of July, on the obligations of Turkey as she may be, is yet strong on the principles on which she rests. She has the assertions made by the



THE ZULU WAR: FORT PEARSON, LOWER TUGELA, FROM THE WEST.

under the treaty of Berlin, Mr. Gladstone again earnestly enforced the claims of Greece. The right hon. gentleman observed that 'Greece, weak Turkish Government: she has the strong sympathy of the populations concerned: she has the assertion of the uselessness of these populations to

the Sultan ; she has on record the engagements by this country, now some thirteen months ago, promising our careful consideration, which is well known to mean the favourable consideration of some of her territorial claims.' The then course of England upon the Greek Question furnished a very unsatisfactory chapter in her history. Our duty to the Hellenic race was clear, and more strenuous efforts should have been made for its fulfilment. So long as this question remained unsettled, war might at any moment have broken out between Turkey and Greece. But there are even wider aspects in which this Greek question may be viewed. Panhellenism would unquestionably be a powerful counteracting force in Eastern Europe to Panslavism. The dream, no doubt, is sanguine, but a Greece which should include the present territory, together with Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, and the Archipelago as far as the shores of Anatolia, has always received the sympathy and adhesion of a large section of Greek patriots. Such a programme an English Ministry might at present find it difficult to support ; but Greece had, notwithstanding, reasonable ground of complaint over the defeat of her hopes at the Berlin Congress.

Several other discussions of importance, in which Mr. Gladstone took part, arose during the session. In the middle of May, Mr. Dillwyn introduced a motion affirming the necessity of more strict observance of the mode and limits of the action of the Prerogative, in order to prevent the growing abuse

and extension of it by her Majesty's Ministers, under cover of the supposed personal interposition of the Sovereign. Commenting upon the chequered history of the resolution, Mr. Gladstone said that to put such a motion ultimately on the paper in the morning, and to ask the House to vote it in the evening, was so entirely contrary to the rules of Parliamentary procedure that he declined to have anything to do with it. There was no connection, he further pointed out, between the abuse of the Prerogative and the supposed intervention of the Sovereign. Though he had not been backward in assailing the undue use of the Prerogative under the existing Government, in every case it had been sustained by large majorities, and the censure, if there was to be any, ought to be directed against the majority, which had assumed the responsibility.

In the debate on the Zulu war, Mr. Gladstone expressed consideration and sympathy for Sir Bartle Frere in the difficulties in which he was placed ; and though he did not agree with him in his views upon South Africa, he was convinced that when he returned to this country he would continue to attract to himself the admiration of his fellow-countrymen. He further maintained that our relations with Cetewayo must be regulated by his relations to ourselves, and not by his cruelties to his own people ; and he agreed that when the safety of the colony was assured, the Government ought to be guided by considerations of moderation and mercy. He believed, however

that it might be difficult for the Government to make any declarations at that time.

The Speaker having ordered notes to be taken, for his own private use, of the proceedings and debates of the House, the Home Rulers interpreted his action as being aimed specially against themselves. Mr. Parnell accordingly brought forward a resolution that this proceeding was without precedent, was a breach of the privileges of Parliament, and a danger to the liberty and independence of debate. Rising during the discussion, Mr. Gladstone said that he had sat in the House during the rule of five different Speakers, and this was the first occasion upon which he could recollect the submission of a motion to the House impugning in any way the conduct of the gentleman who filled the chair. It was a very grave occasion; but he noticed that there had been withdrawn from the motion the words that the act of the Speaker constituted a danger to the liberty of debate. Now, the Speaker either possessed their confidence or he did not; and while no one could regard with pleasure an occurrence of this kind, it brought with it this satisfaction, that in the discharge of his weighty duties the Speaker would find his hands not weakened but strengthened. Strange, indeed, would be their position if the House now made a condemnation of the practice which had undoubtedly been within the knowledge of many of the leading members of the House from time to time, and had never yet attracted a word of dis-

approval. The best thing to do would be to subject the motion to a direct negative. Addressing the Speaker direct, the right hon. gentleman said there could be but one sentiment, viz., that he was desirous of discharging his functions in the most efficient manner; and they therefore desired to reciprocate that feeling by every declaration in their power. The House demonstrated, by 292 votes to 24, its confidence in the Speaker.

On the consideration of the Report of the Army Discipline Bill, Lord Hartington moved a resolution to the effect that no bill could be satisfactory which provided for the permanent retention of corporal punishment. In the course of the debate, Mr. Gladstone, arguing for the abolition of the punishment of flogging, said the Government had never contradicted the statement that at one time they had arrived at the decision to abolish flogging, nor had they once stated that the punishment was necessary for the maintenance of discipline. After what had recently occurred, it could not be retained long, and, believing this degrading punishment to be contrary to our recent policy of raising the character of the army in every possible way, he gave his cordial support to the resolution.

In the end, notwithstanding, the retention of the punishment was voted by 289 votes to 183.

The financial policy of the Government—intimately connected as it was with its course on foreign affairs—was formally arraigned upon Mr. Rylands's

motion on the national expenditure. Mr. Gladstone, in supporting it, said that the Ministry was not now charged with not meeting the necessities of the year by imposing additional taxation, but with the great increase in the

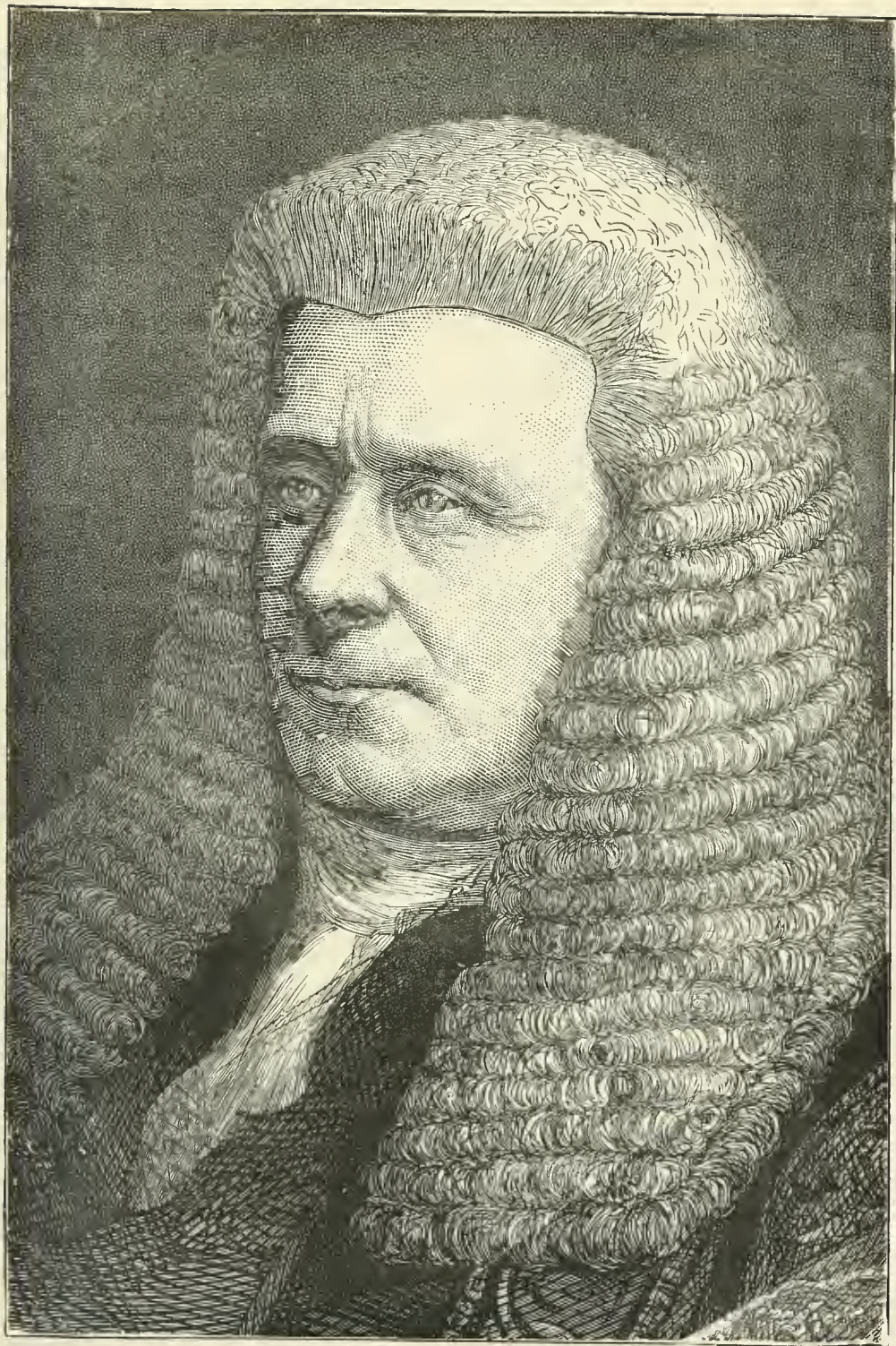
from first to last, vigorously denouncing the foreign policy of the last few years, and asserting that it had neither increased the power of the country nor improved our relations with a single country in the world. He further



THE CRYPT, ST. STEPHEN'S, WESTMINSTER PALACE.

national expenditure. He objected to it both in regard to quantity and quality; and under the first head he showed that the augmentation of the military charges amounted to over six millions, while with regard to the reduction in the present year's estimates, he characterised it as 'a death-bed repentance.' He next proceeded to challenge the causes of the expenditure

objected to the mode of balancing the public accounts, by which he maintained that the real deficiency was concealed from the country. The Exchequer bonds were an essential part of the deficiency of the year, and as to the estimated surplus of £1,900,000, it had no existence at all. The Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to have presented an estimate of the expenses



THE RT. HON. H. B. W. BRAND, M.P., SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.
122 (From a Photograph by Messrs. Elliott and Fry.)

of the Zulu war : and in speaking of it in a mere general way as a charge which could not be calculated, he had departed from universal precedent. By bringing in two budgets every year, Sir Stafford Northcote was destroying the control of Parliament over the expenditure and income, and was reversing the best financial precedents of our history. So also his *via media* of meeting the deficiency by Exchequer bonds was a financial revolution, and was at daggers drawn with the principles of Sir Robert Peel. The primary rules of that great financier were to make proper estimates for the charge of the year, and to bring the income of the year up to the charge ; to let the public have the benefit of the bulk of the surpluses when they occurred ; and, if new wants arose, to meet them, not by increased taxes, but by savings in other directions. In conclusion, Mr. Gladstone observed, ' If the country approves this financial revolution, that as I have shown by hard facts and figures is in progress, the country is its own master, and can return again a Parliament like-minded with the present, to perpetuate an Administration under which we enjoy such bounteous store of financial as well as other blessings. I do not undertake to predict what this Parliament will do, or what the nation will do, in considering its own interest, and in making provision for its own future ; but, unless I am mistaken, the doctrines that are now promulgated on the part of the Government are financial delusions, and, if so they be, I can only

say I am convinced of this, that the longer they last, the more complete sway they obtain for a time under the administration and influence of the party opposite, the sharper will be the reaction when it comes, the more complete the reversal of your momentary triumph, and the more severe the retribution politically inflicted upon the party that has invented these erroneous doctrines, and that has too fatally carried them into effect.' At a later stage in the consideration of the budget, Mr. Gladstone contrasted the financial history of 1860 with that of 1879, and showed that the former afforded no justification for the budget of the later year. In 1860 new taxes were imposed, and there was, therefore, a real distribution of charge between the present and future ; but the budget of 1879 imposed no new taxes, so that no fair parallel could be drawn between them. In 1860, so far from there being remissions of taxation almost exceeding the new taxes by two millions and more—as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated—Mr. Gladstone pointed out that while £2,415,000 had been remitted, the war rates of tea and sugar had been continued, the income-tax had been raised by 5d., other duties had been increased, and in all fresh taxes had been imposed to the amount of £8,775,000, leaving a balance of £6,360,000 of increased taxation in that year. This was the justification for borrowing money on terminable annuities for the fortifications ; but no such plea could now be advanced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. Gladstone's denunciations of the Beaconsfield Government have to some appeared unmeasured and unwarrantable; but those who thus judge him forget that, whether rightly or wrongly, his predecessors traversed every political and financial principle to which he has steadfastly adhered through a public career extending over nearly half a century. Those who most differ from him on questions of foreign policy cannot deny that, with regard to financial and domestic measures, the country has exhibited a confidence in him rarely paralleled in our political annals. The great acts of his two Administrations, and his beneficent fiscal reforms, stand almost alone; and they appear all the nobler and the greater when contrasted with the policy of his predecessors.

On the 29th of December, 1879, Mr. Gladstone completed his seventieth year. Birthday addresses of congratulation were presented to him on the occasion by his friends at Liverpool, and by the Liberal Association at Greenwich. The addresses thanked him for his long and eminent public services, and expressed a hope that the result of the coming elections would show the majority of the people to be on the side of truth. The *Times*, writing upon Mr. Gladstone's birthday, said:—'Yesterday was a memorable day in Mr. Gladstone's life. It was his seventieth birthday, and it was natural that it should be celebrated with cordiality among his friends and supporters. On such an occasion he cannot but command the general sym-

pathy and goodwill of the whole public, without reference to political opinions. He is a man of whom the country must, for many reasons, always be proud. His powers, alike of mind and of body, and his brilliant achievements in the varied spheres of political, social, and literary life, must be regarded as among the marvels of human nature. Whether men agree with him or not, they must all recognise in him one of the greatest forces that have ever appeared in the world of politics; his performances as a scholar must at least be allowed to transcend those of the great majority of professed scholars; and he is capable of taking excursions into almost any field of mental culture, and distancing all but its choicest representatives. On the whole, few men who have done so much work have reached the age of threescore and ten, and still fewer can congratulate themselves on having rendered such real services to their country. Mr. Gladstone's career up to the time he became Prime Minister, and an important part of his career in that capacity, conferred great and permanent benefits upon the nation, and the gratitude felt towards him on this account affords him a lasting source of strength and influence. He has just proved, by the most extraordinary oratorical vigour ever displayed, that all this intense and sustained labour has not perceptibly broken his physical powers; and his keenest opponents could not refuse a tribute of admiration to so brilliant a feat of energy and endurance. Englishmen have always a ready

sympathy for manly qualities, and this admiration Mr. Gladstone has fairly extorted from them. In short, at such a grave moment in the life of so great a public man, the people at large could not but desire to forget for the moment all the differences which have separated them, and to join in cordial congratulations and in the best wishes for the

happiness of what must needs be Mr. Gladstone's declining years.'

Articles couched in a similar strain appeared in many of the leading daily and weekly journals. The veteran who had successfully passed through one electoral campaign was destined in a few months to appear in another and a yet more remarkable one.

CHAPTER XVI.

MR. GLADSTONE AT HAWARDEN.

Mr. Gladstone and his Family at Hawarden—The Premier and the Public—Hawarden Church and Village—Mr. Gladstone in Church—Festivities to the Hawarden Tenantry—The Premier's Lecture on Dr. Hook—Mr. Gladstone's Favourite Occupations—Reception of the Bolton Liberal Association—Presentation on his Sixty-ninth Birthday—Mr. Gladstone and Bishop Wilberforce—Letter on Church Matters—The Premier's Life at Hawarden—Memorable Reception on his Return from Midlothian.

THE Castle of Hawarden, near Chester, has already become historic from its manifold associations with the Premier. It is to this beautiful place, with its attractive park and grounds, that Mr. Gladstone has retired at the close of each session, in order to recuperate his energies, and renew that health which is a source of wonder to all. We shall endeavour to gather together some reminiscences of Hawarden in connection with the right hon. gentleman, which cannot, we think, fail to be interesting to our readers. Many are the pilgrimages which have been made to Hawarden by enthusiastic admirers of Mr. Gladstone, who have been anxious to see the place where—with such rest from public affairs as he can obtain—the eminent statesman has led the life of a country gentleman. The grounds have usually been thrown open to the public, who have been allowed to wander through the park, and to visit the picturesque spots round the old castle. The new building is a handsome and commodious structure. Every Sunday, winter or summer, Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone—accompanied by such members of their family as may be at home—may be seen issuing from the portals of the castle, and making their way on foot

to Hawarden church. Here, too, visitors may frequently see Mr. Gladstone proceed to the reading desk, where he reads the lessons with an impressiveness which might be expected from his earnest convictions and the magical power of his voice. On other days Mr. Gladstone may be descried trudging forth from the castle, with axe over his shoulder, bent upon his favourite occupation of wood-cutting.

As a testimony to the interest which the Premier and his benevolent wife take in the village of Hawarden, we may quote an article which appeared a few years ago in the *Guardian*. The writer, who had visited Hawarden, said—

‘It must be a satisfaction to readers of the *Guardian* to know, on many grounds, that church-work is vigorously carried on at Hawarden. Rarely have I visited a more faithfully worked parish, rarely have I seen such gratifying signs of church life, healthy activity, and parish usefulness. Nay, there is much more. Of the schools, of the Literary Institute, of the most useful little Horticultural Society; of the little coffee-house, the “Welcome,” Mrs. Gladstone's gift to the village, and quite a model of its kind; of the Home for Orphan Boys and Girls,

within the castle precincts—this is Mrs. Gladstone's also—we cannot stay to tell. Hawarden has a real parish church, not a fancy one. It has quite a character of its own, and its saint—St. Daniel (of course Daniel is spelt Welsh in Wales, but I couldn't compass it, and so left it in Welsh)—is one I am little acquainted with on the English side of the border.

'Let me first affirm, in any undoubted manner which will best impress the fact on the readers of *Church Bells*, that Hawarden *has* a parish church; and, next, that the people of Hawarden use it. It is plainly announced as "free, open, and unappropriated." Hence the large body of worshippers of all grades, ages, dresses, statures, and complexions, whom it was my delight to find in church at seven o'clock even-song on Good Friday, and whose simple and hearty worship it was truly a delight to share. God grant that no deadly spirit of modern "progress" may damp the warmth of this worship, that no conventionality may invade with its chilling blast its hearty services.

'It was, of course, pleasing to find the Rev. Stephen Gladstone so steadily at work, and to hear a sermon from the Rev. Malcolm MacColl, just then on a visit to Hawarden. But that was not all. As the people here knew well, the "use" in this place is for Mr. Gladstone, when he is at home, to read the Lessons in church. And he did: and who that heard his reading of Is. liii. and of 1 Peter ii. on that Good Friday evening could ever forget it? Certainly the writer cannot. Then

here were, in addition, daily prayers, and an instruction to communicants after the Good Friday service; and the service on Easter Eve, in the newly decorated church, simply yet effectively treated, with the daffodils or "Lent lilies" in pleasing profusion and happy alternation with some mossy greenery, gave some little foretaste of the morrow. Then, on Easter morn, there were celebrations at six, at seven, and at eight o'clock, the last choral, and all, apparently, well attended—Mr. Gladstone himself being present at the 8 a.m. service. Morning Prayers came at eleven, with full services, followed by short sermon from Mr. Gladstone the rector; the Lessons being read, as before, by Mr. Gladstone the Premier.

'Of course visitors were numerous, and the church was crowded. The village itself by midday began to look too like a fair—at least, too like it for an old-fashioned Churchman like the writer. But the quiet reality of the work, as it appeared to one from even so short a visit, was most cheering and encouraging. The rector of Hawarden and his assistant-clergy evidently mean work, and they find plenty to do. There is a reverent and hearty service; a parish church which the people are learning to claim as *theirs*; and the happy relation of village life—of neighbours who are not strangers, and of a tenantry who esteem sincerely both squire and rector—that gives one hope for Hawarden, and, indeed, for interests much wider than any which may be confined within the limits of Hawarden parish and church.'

On the 26th of October, 1875, there were some interesting proceedings at Hawarden. On that day about 550 of the cottage tenantry were feasted in a tent in the Castle grounds, in honour of the marriage of the heir, Mr. William H. Gladstone, whose health, with that of his wife, was warmly received. Mr. Gladstone afterwards addressed those present, remarking that there was nothing more characteristic of the country in which we lived than a meeting of this description. On the following day Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone entertained a second batch of upwards of 400 tenants.

Nor has the intellectual and social welfare of the villagers been neglected, and amongst other valuable addresses which Mr. Gladstone has given, a deservedly high place must be awarded to a lecture he delivered in the Boys' School, Hawarden, upon the late Dr. Hook, Dean of Chichester. Dr. Hook was greatly beloved by Mr. Gladstone and the various members of his family, and dwelling upon the Dean's character, the right hon. gentleman said:—"He proved his religious stability by holding his ground without change of any kind, except that as his mind became more matured he became more Liberal. He held rigidly by the laws and constitution of the Church of England, and all must feel that that Church and the particular form of religion had a very great ornament in Dr. Hook. He was a man of extraordinary natural mental abilities, which were largely cultivated and improved by his marvellous assiduity. He was eminently

what was called a "John Bull." He inherited from his ancestors and imbibed from the time in which he lived particular prejudices. In those times, sixty years ago, it was part of the duty of every Englishman to hate the French, and Dr. Hook, wishing to do his duty as an Englishman, hated the French. As it was part of every Englishman's creed then to hate the Pope, Dr. Hook hated him also. He had prejudices of that kind, but they were all upon the surface, and his character was such that had either a Frenchman or the Pope ever stood in any need, and Dr. Hook could have helped him, he would have done it with all his heart and soul. But it was not of this that he wished to speak. These were on the surface of his character. What he wanted to point out to them was the character of the man. It was the qualities of the man's heart, it was the feature which marked his conduct, which, in his opinion, rendered him an admirable pattern to us, and one that was nothing less than delightful to contemplate.

"The *Pall Mall Gazette* was not a journal likely to lean with any undue prejudice towards a clergyman, yet in a review of Dr. Hook's biography in that paper the reviewer said, "This is one of the most interesting biographies we have met with for a long time. The character of the man himself, so strong, fresh, and original, lends a charm to every page, which is often wanting in the biographies of most eminent men." It was that character which he (the lecturer) desired, in a

very imperfect and hasty manner, to set before his hearers, and the qualities which he set before them were those which they would all readily appreciate—his intense reality, sincerity, transparency, truthfulness, and directness, from which he never deviated. They might sometimes find bits of temper

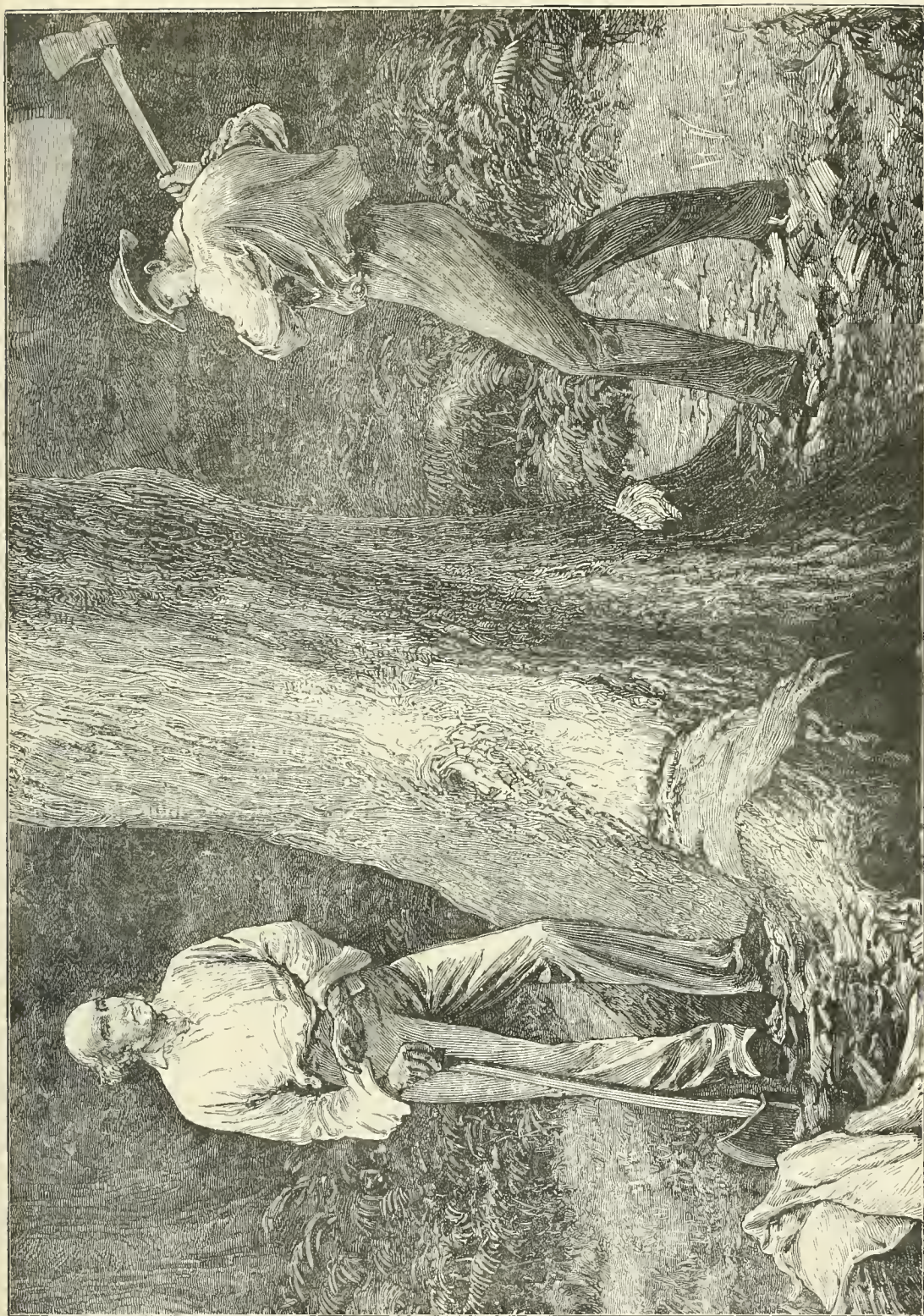
to make him a model deserving of careful observation; but along with these he had an immense fund of sympathy, an extraordinary power of loving, a desire to love and be loved, and to these he added an indefatigable diligence; and in the rear of his character, he was a great lover of



MRS. GLADSTONE'S ORPHANAGE, HAWARDEN.

to which a minute critic might make objection, but they never found him going one inch to the right or left from the straightforward line of sincerity, truthfulness, and true manhood; and these were, after all, the qualities that most of all required to be held up to admiration, to be studied and to be imitated. These were not his only great qualities, although if they had been they would have gone far

geniality and what is called fun. All these qualities combined in Dr. Hook in one harmonious whole, which gave to his life qualities which he would call nobleness. In a passage which occurred in a sermon which Dr. Hook had preached when he became Dean of Chichester he had shown where he found the secret of his nobleness, and that was in doing his duty thoroughly, however exalted or however



A HOLIDAY AT HAWARDEN.

lowly, in that sphere of life in which it had pleased God to place him.'

After sketching the career of Dr. Hook, from his education at Winchester to his appointment as Dean of Chichester, Mr. Gladstone mentioned as a proof of the deep yet familiar esteem in which he was held by the working classes, that long after he left Leeds—where he was vicar for many years—he went by the name of 't'owd Vicar.' The literary labours of Dr. Hook, the pure unselfishness of his character, and his ardent friendship for Lord Hatherley, were all next touched upon, and then Mr. Gladstone went on to remark that he regarded the subject of his discourse as a hero.

'As he had conceived the idea that Dr. Hook was a hero, he felt himself bound to ascertain what people said were the qualities of heroism. In Dr. Latham's dictionary a hero is described as a man eminent for bravery; but he was not quite satisfied with that definition, because some men were eminent for bravery whose bravery was simply animal bravery, and there were many other kinds of excellence besides bravery. He then turned to Dr. Johnson's dictionary, and found there two definitions of heroism, one a man eminent for bravery, and the second a man of the highest class in any respect. That seemed to be coming nearer to the mark; but even there he must make a further limitation. There were many means of developing greatness, which did not seem to him to constitute heroism. Mr.

Carlyle had written a book of extraordinary ability, called "Lectures on Heroes," and in this he named, among others, Napoleon. Now, he was not prepared to admit that Napoleon was a hero. He was certainly one of the most extraordinary men ever born. There was more power concentrated in that brain than in any brain probably born for centuries. That he was a great man in the sense of being a man of transcendent power there was no doubt, but his life was tainted with selfishness from beginning to end, and he was not ready to admit a man whose life was fundamentally tainted with selfishness was a hero. A greater hero than Napoleon was the captain of a ship which was run down in the Channel three or four years ago, who, when his ship was quivering and the water was gurgling round her, and the boats had been lowered to save such persons as could be saved, stood by the bulwarks with a pistol in his hand and threatened to shoot dead the first man who endeavoured to get into the boat until every woman and child was provided for.

'His (Mr. Gladstone's) true idea of a hero was this. A hero was a man who must have ends beyond himself, in casting himself, as it were, out of himself, and must pursue those ends by means which were honourable and lawful, otherwise he might degenerate into a wild enthusiasm. He must do this without distortion or disturbance of his nature as a man, because there were cases of men who were heroes in a great part, but who were so excessively

given to certain ideas and objects of their own that they lost all the proportion of their nature. There were other ecclesiastical heroes, who, by giving undue prominence to one idea, lost the just proportion of things and became simply men of one idea. A man to be a hero must pursue ends beyond himself by legitimate means. He must pursue them as a man, not as a dreamer. He must not give to some one idea a disproportionate weight which it did not deserve, and forget everything else which belonged to the perfection and excellence of human nature. If he did all this he was a hero, even if he had not very great powers, and if he had great powers, then he was a consummate hero. Such a man, he contended, was Dr. Hook, and he certainly deserved the best title which he had given him. He was a man who made heroic sacrifices, which had earned for him a secure and lofty place as a soldier in the annals of the bloodless warfare of the Gospel, and he was held as a benefactor in the fond recollection of tens of thousands of his fellow-countrymen.'

'The ex-Premier, Mr. Gladstone,' wrote the *Wrexham Guardian*, on the 19th of May, 1876, 'has been occupying his retirement with other labours than political or literary. An enormous beech-tree was lately drawn from Hawarden Park by seven horses belonging to Messrs. Bracegirdle and Son, timber merchants, Northwich, to the Wrexham goods station of the Connah's Quay Railway, for transit to Manchester. It was felled by Mr. Glad-

stone, who, notwithstanding that it measured thirteen feet in circumference, accomplished his laborious but agreeable task in less than six hours. The tree contained over 200 cubic feet, and weighed nearly nine tons. Experienced "fellers" tell us that the ex-Premier did his work in a thorough business-like manner, and quite to the satisfaction of the purchasers.'

On the 6th of August, 1877, Mr. Gladstone was visited at Hawarden Castle by the members and friends of the Bolton Liberal Association, numbering about 1,400. He at once gave them permission to see the grounds, but at first declined to address them. Subsequently, however, he informed them that he and his son were about to fell a tree in the park, and he would then reply to any vote of thanks they might wish to propose to him. About four o'clock, Mr. Gladstone and his son, clad in rough working suits with slouch hats, proceeded to a large ash-tree about fifteen feet in circumference, in a distant part of the park, and set to work to fell it in presence of the whole body of spectators. Before beginning, they threw off hat, coat, and neckerchief, till they had on only check shirts and rough light pants; and as the chips flew at the stroke of their axes, the admiring excursionists picked up some of the fragments, and carefully treasured them as mementoes of their visit. As some relief to the monotony of waiting, the excursionists sang several glees, and, as the ex-Premier paused to breathe awhile, crowds gathered round him with a

view to shaking hands. Mr. Gladstone granted the favour to the ladies of the company, but refused it to the men. The excursionists proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone for their kindness in allowing the use of the park, and for their presence on the occasion. Mr. Gladstone replied to the vote, leaning on his axe, and expressed his pleasure at seeing so

handle of ebony, and the axe was enclosed in a polished ornamental oak case. Accompanying the axe was an address, signed on behalf of the subscribers, expressing admiration of the right hon. gentleman's policy as a statesman. Mr. Gladstone sent the following reply to the address:—'The axe of which you announce the despatch has reached me in due course



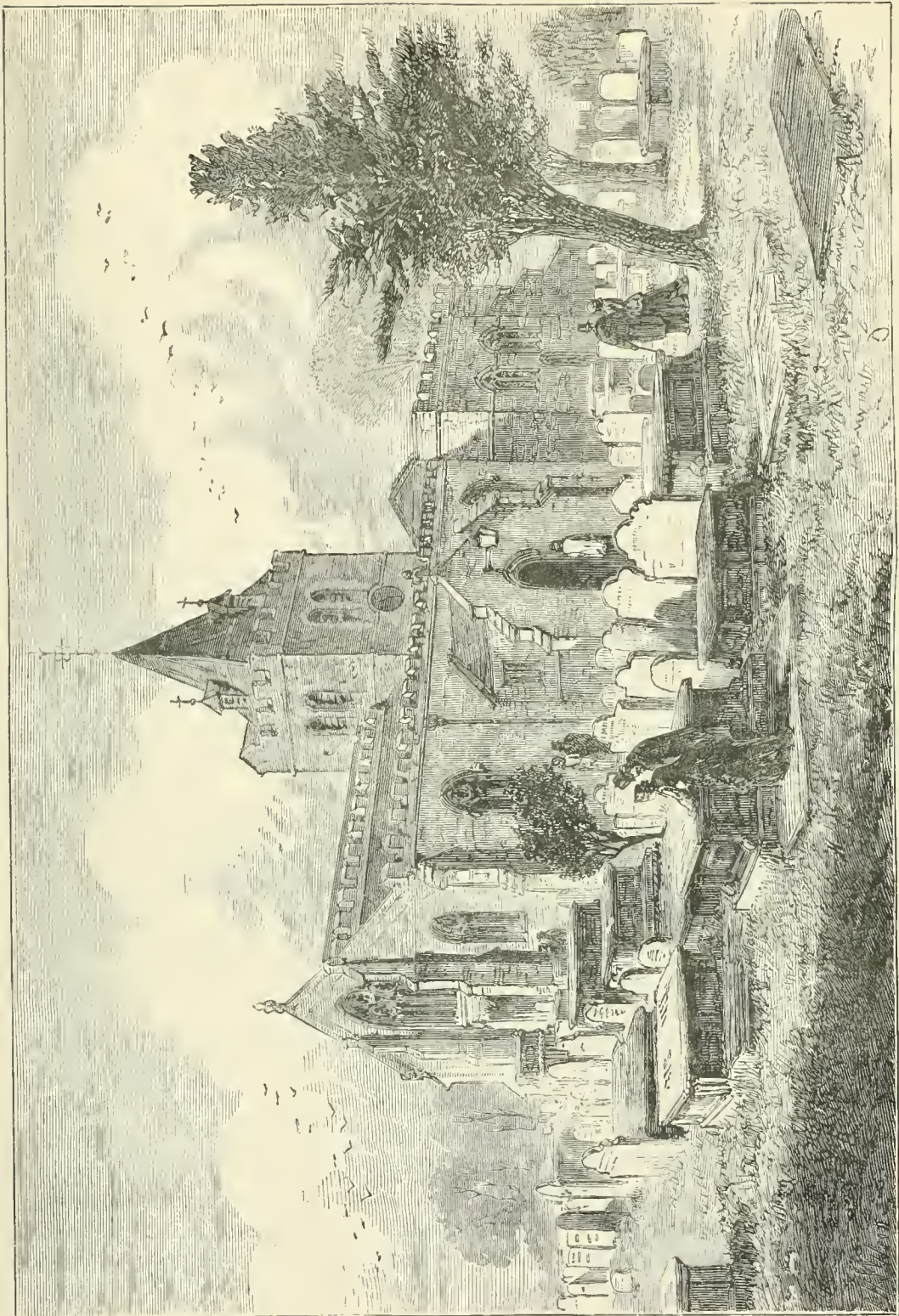
THE REV. W. F. HOOK, D.D. (From a Photograph by Messrs. Russell and Sons, Chichester.)

many persons present enjoying the fresh air and the scenery of the park. He went on to speak at length of the contrast between life in town and country, and said he trusted that the time would come when the contrast would not be so great as now.

When Mr. Gladstone completed his sixty-ninth year, on the 29th December, 1875, he received on the occasion a silver axe, of the size of an American axe, bearing the inscription, 'Presented to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., by a few admiring friends.' The head of the axe was of solid silver, the

this afternoon. I beg you to accept and to convey to the subscribers my thanks for this beautiful and tasteful gift. Its qualities are of themselves a lesson, for it is strong, solid, of intrinsic value, not easy to be injured, and not intended to injure anything else.—I remain, dear Sir, yours very faithfully and obediently, W. E. GLADSTONE.'

Some very entertaining passages in relation to Hawarden appear in Canon Ashwell's 'Life of Bishop Wilberforce.' This distinguished prelate was a very frequent visitor at Hawarden



HAWARDEN CHURCH.

Castle. The Rev. Samuel Wilberforce, D.D., son of the philanthropist William Wilberforce, was born in the year 1805, and was educated at Oriel College, Oxford. In 1830 he was appointed Rector of Brightstone, and subsequently became Archdeacon of Surrey, Canon of Winchester, and Dean of Westminster. In 1845 he was consecrated Bishop of Oxford, over which see he presided for many years. At the time of his death—which resulted from a fall from his horse while riding over the Surrey hills—he was Bishop of Winchester. The deceased prelate was an able man all round, and equally distinguished in the Senate as in the pulpit.

The following entry in the Bishop's diary, dated October 23rd, 1855, was made while he was staying at Hawarden:—‘Walked with Gladstone and R. Phillimore. Much talk with Gladstone as to the Supreme Court of Appeal. His weighty objections to my plan. As to the Ecclesiastical Courts Bill, would *in limine* complain of the treatment of having bills involving these great constitutional principles of the Church brought in, unsettling all things with no reasonable hope of carrying them. Would have the bishops say, Show us your measure, and before we enter upon it, inform us what relation it bears to your other sessional measures. Is it, with the exception of the war, &c., to be *the* measure which you mean to press forward with the whole force of your government? If not, we must protest against this way of dealing with such

subjects. He and Phillimore very strong against the seven chancellors. First, an entire alteration for insufficient purpose of all our proceedings. Secondly, an entire variation from the whole Canon Law of Western Christendom of all time. Thirdly, because it is an attempt to throw the English and Irish Establishments into a sort of hotchpot; with the view, no doubt, of strengthening, but with the high probability by storing up an opposition of weakening, the Irish branch, and certainly injuring the English. Further, as to the Supreme Court, he would place, 1st, the old bill of the Bishop of London with Lord Derby's suggested amendments, *i.e.*, a reference which would not be binding to the Bishop of the Province who should be bound to hear theological arguments thereon, and return their opinion; 2ndly, a repeal of the Act of William IV., so as simply to return to the old law; 3rdly, standing still; 4thly, the letting the lay court as a lay court decide the individual, and trying to guard the precedent. Gladstone looks forward to clerical chancellors when the clergy are educated for it hereafter.’

Mr. Gladstone wrote the following letter, dated Hawarden, March 26, 1856, to the Bishop of Oxford, on the death of his son, Herbert:—‘My dear Bishop of Oxford,—We learned the sad news through your letter to Mrs. Herbert, and I cannot avoid writing a line to assure you that we are sharers in your grief. You are called to great powers and great duties, but also to

great trials and sorrows. I remember perceiving from a sermon you preached at the consecration of a church near Belvoir, how deep was the old wound in your heart; none there knew how often and in many ways it would be re-opened. But an office such as that you bear, and in the times in which you bear it, may well require to raise any man to the height of its work, and its power is an undoubted discipline. It is difficult to express anything of sympathy and to refer to the fountain of help without seeming to teach; therefore, let my words be few, and as through the grace of God your strength has been equal to your day, so may it yet be, and even more abundantly. We shall perhaps hear of you when we come to town; no long repose, I know, can be permitted you. Do not think of answering this, which I have written on my wife's part and my own. Ever affectionately yours, W. E. GLADSTONE.'

Some further extracts from the Bishop's diary may be given, seeing that they refer most closely to the subject of these memoirs. Being at Netherby, the seat of Sir James Graham, Dr. Wilberforce wrote:—'Sir James Graham—very high estimate of Gladstone. In the highest sense of the word Liberal—of the greatest power—very much the first man in the House of Commons; detested by the aristocracy for his succession duty: the most truly Conservative measure passed in my recollection. Just reading De Toequeville, and when I read his statement that unequal taxation was

the most effective of all the causes of the Revolution, I thought at once of Gladstone and the succession duty. He must rise to the lead in such a Government as ours in spite of all that hatred to him. Lord Melbourne said to the Queen: "Madam, you will not like Peel, but you will like Aberdeen; he is a gentleman." He has great tenderness for the sex. A most entirely good man. Very affectionate and true. Yielded doubtfully to Gladstone as to the competitive admission to offices. The present mixed mode of nomination and competition most mischievous—debauching from its wide extension of apparent patronage. I think we did wrong in not resigning at the breaking out of the war. Aberdeen was all for resigning. Gladstone was disposed to join him; the rest all against it, especially the Duke of Newcastle. He was led away by the idea that he was going to be a great War Minister. Gladstone must rise; he is young. He is by far the ablest man in the House of Commons, and in it, in the long run, the ablest man must lead.'

'They (Austria) look forward to be able to hamper Gladstone. Either he must support them, after his pamphlet about Naples, or he must oppose them, and then they can attack him for change of view, and damage his character; or he must approve in general, and disapprove of details. He is a wonderful man.'

At a later period, while staying at Hawarden, the Bishop wrote:—'Much talk with Gladstone. He is very strong against Palmerston and on the mischief

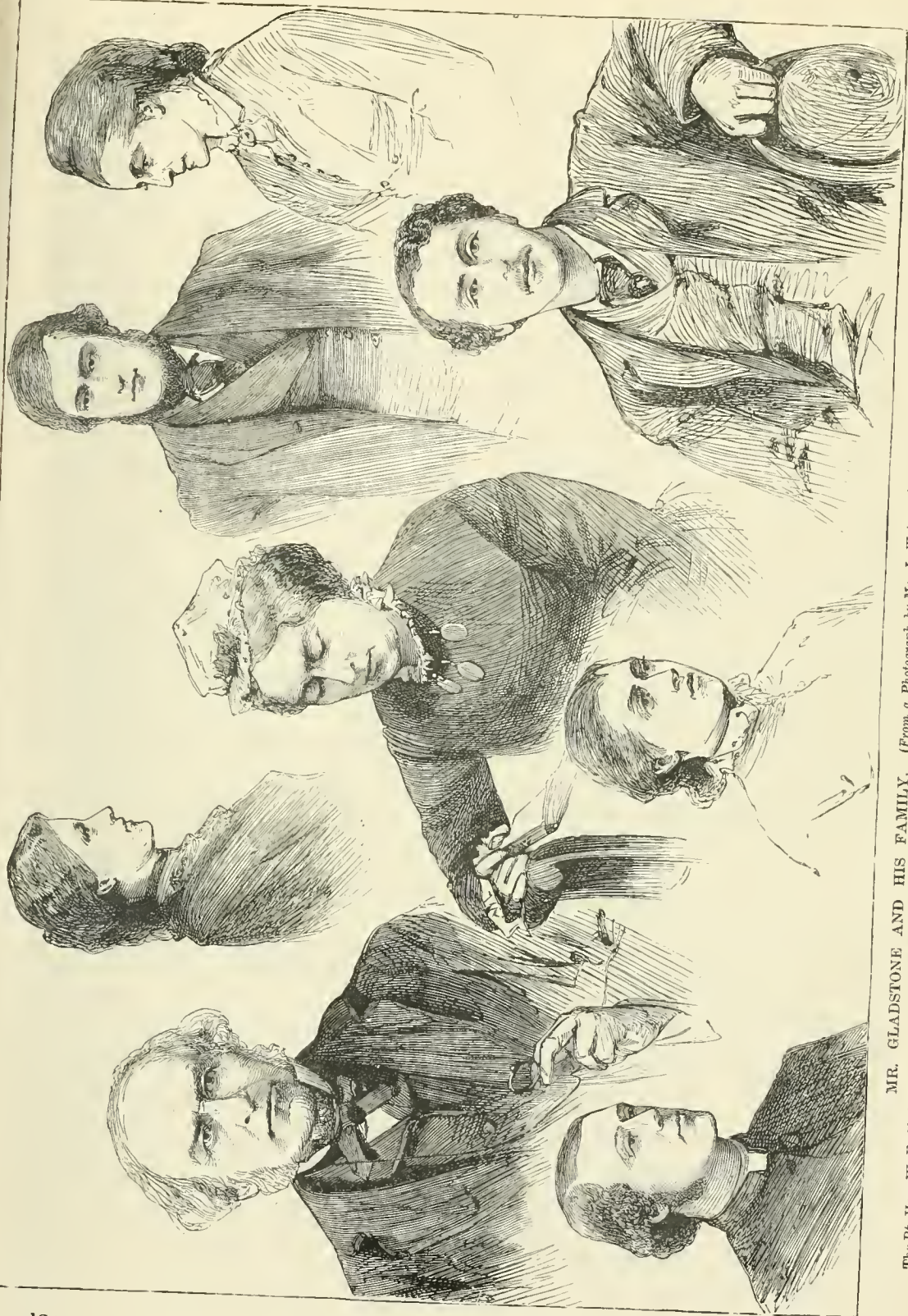
of the present Peelite position. It would be a great gain if I and Sidney Herbert and Graham could be taken out of the House and let them shake up the bag and make new combinations. If Lord Derby and Lord Aberdeen understood one another all would be easy. Palmerston has never been a successful Minister. Great lack of power, and, even stranger, a principle of false shame; cares not how much dirt he eats, but it must be gilded. Palmerston is strong in the House of Commons, but he does not understand the House of Commons.' From other extracts in the diary, Mr. Gladstone appears to have spoken strongly to the Bishop upon 'the tricks, the frauds, and the shuffling' which Lord Palmerston daily had recourse to in the conduct of political business.

In the month of November, 1857, Mr. Gladstone addressed an important letter to the Bishop of Oxford on Church matters. From this letter we make the following extracts:—'I sit down to answer your letter, although hurriedly, before sending on the paper to Lord Brougham. You lean, I see, to a purely lay tribunal, and I agree in preferring a court so constituted to the present one. But that is all. I do not think you could rely on the forbearance of such a court in treating doctrinal questions. Deal with them and decide with them it *must*. The scandal of its doing so, even when no such case is on the carpet, is enormous. The sentences could take effect on the Church, and bishops and clergy generally could concur in giving them

effect. It seems to me vain in logic and even demoralising in practice to contend that such sentences may so pass and take effect, and yet not in any real sense commit the Church.

'It is neither Disestablishment,' continued Mr. Gladstone, 'nor even loss of dogmatic truth, which I look upon as the greatest danger before us, but it is the loss of those elementary principles of right and wrong on which Christianity itself must be built. The present position of the Church of England is gradually approximating to the Erastian theory that the business of an Establishment is to teach all sorts of doctrines and to provide Christian Ordinances by way of comfort for all sorts of people, to be used at their own option. It must become, if uncorrected, in lapse of time a thoroughly immoral position. Her case seems as if it were like that of Cranmer—to be disgraced first and then burned. Now what I feel is, that the constitution of the Church provides the means of bringing controversy to issue: not means that can be brought at all times, but means that are to be effectually, though less determinately, available for preventing the general devastation of doctrine either by a positive heresy, or by that thesis I have named above, worse than any heresy.

'Considering that the condition of the Church with respect to doctrine is gradually growing into an offence to the moral sense of mankind, and that the question is, shall we get if we can the means of giving expression to her mind? I confess that I cannot be



MR. GLADSTONE AND HIS FAMILY. (From a Photograph by Mr. J. Watnough Webster, 33, Bridge Street Row, Chester.)
 The Rt. Hon W. E. Gladstone. Mrs. W. E. Gladstone. Mr. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. Hon. Mrs. W. H. Gladstone.
 Miss Gladstone. Miss Helen Gladstone. Mr. Herbert Gladstone, M.P.

repelled by fears connected with the state of the Episcopal body from saying yes. Let me have it if I can. For, regarding the Church as a privileged and endowed body, no less than as one with spiritual prerogatives, I feel these two things: If the mind of those who rule and of those who compose the Church is deliberately anti-Catholic, I have no right to seek a hiding-place within the pale of her possessions by keeping her in a condition of voicelessness in which all are entitled to be there, because none are. That is, viewing her with respect to the enjoyment of her temporal advantages: spiritually, how can her life be saved by stopping her from the exercise of functions essential to her condition? It may be said, she is sick; wait till she is well. My answer is, she is getting more and more sick in regard to her own function of authoritatively declaring the truth; let us see whether her being called upon so to declare it may not be the remedy, or a remedy at least. I feel certain that the want of combined and responsible ecclesiastical action is one of the main evils, and that the regular duty of such action will tend to check the spirit of individualism, and to restore that belief in a Church which we have almost lost. The bishops will act much better from acting in the way proposed, and the very law which commits it to them so to act will in itself not only do much for the ecclesiastical principles of our constitution, but still more I believe for the healthiness of our moral tone.'

A few years ago an article, which attracted a good deal of attention at the time, was published in one of the weekly journals, describing the mode of Mr. Gladstone's life at Hawarden. Touching first upon the interior of the castle, the writer remarked that, 'Oriental jars and costly cabinets of Japanese lacquer are scattered about the handsome rooms with tasteful carelessness, and here and there are specimens of art needlework, in the revival of which Mrs. Gladstone is known to take great interest. But the peculiarity of the house is the vast flood of books, which no one apartment can contain. Out of one library into another, and into drawing-room and dining-room, books have flowed in a resistless stream, pushing other things aside, and establishing themselves in their place. There are books new and old, rare and common, choice editions and ordinary manuals of reference, ponderous tomes of controversial theology and snappish little pamphlets on the currency, with other equally light and pleasant subjects. Over all reigns that air of easy and natural luxury which forms the principal charm of the English country-house proper, as distinguished from the comfortless vastness of foreign *châteaux* and the pretentious splendour of the suburban villa of the *nouveau riche*. The castellan, however, is no admirer of nooks and snuggeries, loving most to get through his morning reading in an especially large apartment, garnished with moveable bookshelves—a transparent hive for a working bee—amid abundant air and

floods of sunshine. "Air and light," and plenty of them, are among his prime conditions of existence.'

The occupant of the castle, Mr. Gladstone himself, was thus described by the writer:—'As the hermit of Hawarden steps across his cell, he presents few indications of advancing age. He loves to disclaim any intention of again taking a "leading part" in the history of his country. He is, he says, "too old" to again advance into the forefront of the battle, and for the future he wishes nothing more than such space as the Fates may allow of lettered ease. But there is no evidence of either mental or physical decay. The grey hair has become thinner; the face a shade paler than of old; but the square shoulders have not shrunk, the expression is eager as ever, and the figure is still erect. More striking yet is the youthful feeling of the great Liberal leader. The statesman who could form and almost carry out in its integrity a colossal scheme for giving "justice to Ireland" flings off the weariness of toil, and takes refuge, after a morning spent in congenial occupation, in pleasant converse with his visitors. Mr. Gladstone has ever been an "early man." Since his retirement in Flintshire, he is, if possible, earlier than before. Shortly after eight o'clock in the morning he walks down to prayers at the village church. Early devotion and breakfast over, the remainder of the morning, till the gong sounds at two o'clock, is devoted to work—to reading, writing, meditation, or to the performance of

arithmetical feats which no Cabinet minister has ever surpassed. Luncheon over—it may interest the gentleman who wrote to Mark Twain concerning the importance of fish as "brain-food," and was recommended to "begin with a couple of whales," to know that the great finance Minister drinks bitter beer with his luncheon—there is more reading, or, if there be visitors in the house, pleasant gossip, or, if the weather be tempting, long walks to be taken or tough oaks to be hewn.

'Loving air and exercise, Mr. Gladstone is a singularly temperate man in his meat and drink. Still, he is only abstemious, not ascetic. A glass or two of claret at dinner, and sometimes a glass of port, that nectar of orators, satisfy his very moderate requirements for stimulant. For the information of intending orators it may be well to add that a single egg, newly laid, beaten up in sherry, and secured in a tiny glass jar, is the fortifier with which he supplies himself when about to make one of his great speeches of three or four hours' duration. Constitutionally full of "dash" and "go," Mr. Gladstone is yet, like his friend Mr. Bright, deficient in that sporting instinct supposed to be inherent in the Briton, and, if induced to be present at a fox-hunt, would undoubtedly sympathise with the fox. He takes small account of Nimrod and his kind; he cares not to "witch the world with noble horsemanship;" nor is he a son of Nimshi, to affright the peaceable rustics by driving "furiously."

The "interviewer" thus commented

upon Mr. Gladstone's favourite recreation:—'Sawing wood has long been known as an excellent exercise, but it is dull work compared with the pleasure of striking at a huge tree, putting out of the question the possibility of mentally coupling with each well-aimed blow the destruction of a political opponent. In wood-cutting *déshabillé* so little does the lord of the soil look

comedy-part on his own or his son's lawn. It would be incorrect to say that on the occasion of popular celebrations, of local fancy-fairs and cottage-gardening shows, Mr. Gladstone plays down to the level of his audience. On the contrary, he exhibits just sufficient sympathy to raise them to enthusiasm, and no more.'

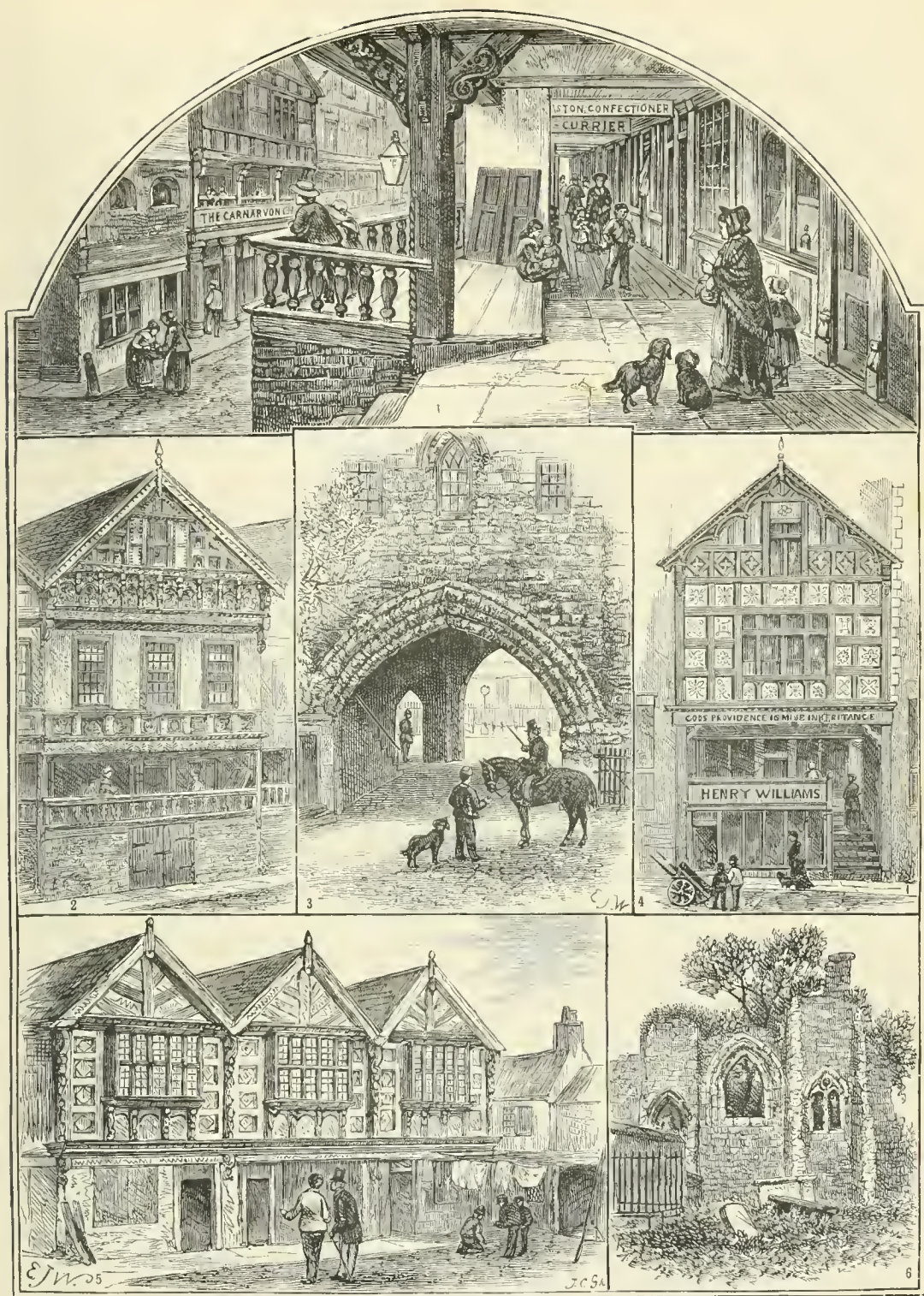
After this came an amusing de-



VIEW OF CHESTER FROM THE WALLS.

like himself that he has often been accosted by "practical" hands, and received, meekly as is his wont, a lesson from them, the practical hand remaining all the while ignorant of the manner of man he was addressing. In his moments of mental and physical relaxation, the Napoleon of oratory (whose heavy artillery is always brought up at the right moment) and the champion of amateur woodmen vanish in the genial host, whose high spirits break out at every moment, and who is never more rejoiced than when he can play a

scription of Mr. Gladstone's reception of a Lancashire deputation. 'The portals of Hawarden Park are opened widely enough and its proprietor is untiring in receiving deputations and speaking to excursionists and demonstrations of a local character. It is but a little while since the Leigh and Tyldesley Liberal Societies were received in Hawarden Park with a few words from Mr. Gladstone, and then roamed over the demesne at their will. They occupied the older castle in force. They pulled springs off the



VIEWS IN CHESTER.

1. The Rows ; 2. Bishop Lloyd's House ; 3. Abbey Gate ; 4. God's Providence House ; 5. Stanley's House :
6. Ruins of St. John's Chapel

trees. Some of the more adventurous spirits essayed to climb the low wall which separates the garden from the park, clawing its ivy covering somewhat rudely in the attempt. At one moment it looked as if the pretty flower-garden, with its bright patches of scarlet geranium, yellow calceolaria, and blue forget-me-not, were about to undergo an invasion; but a few of the sterner spirits recalled the too daring invaders, the flowers remained intact, and the ivy was only slightly damaged. Then the staunch supporters of the Liberal cause lit their short pipes, and by circulating over the sloping lawn added greatly to its liveliness, if not to its beauty. About two o'clock all of the "Leigh brigade" that could be got down out of the trees and weaned from the attractions of the Glynne Arms collected close to the house, and equipped with a formidable band, opened fire with a selection of popular airs. Dancing soon commenced, and was kept up with some spirit until it was known that Mr. Gladstone would shortly address the Liberals of Leigh. Then ensued waiting and impatience, as ever and again the brass band set up a wail, as if imploring the host to come out.

'At last he emerged from behind his own marble bust, advanced to the low wall, and after reiterating his welcome, proceeded to address his Lancashire guests in a style which somewhat bewildered them. After a few remarks on the old castle, he pointed out that they were in Flintshire in Wales, and "the Welsh were a very good people;"

adding that he 'should be glad to bear testimony to their good qualities even if they were Tories, but was still more delighted to do so as they were sound Liberals.' The Lancashire "lads" looked at one another and shouted on principle, but they did not quite "see it." Mr. Gladstone continued that "the Welsh very rarely committed crimes of violence—hardly ever those of the first magnitude—and that the judges on circuit were often presented with white gloves." Young Lancashire looked puzzled, and could not quite bring it home to its mind that it was being "chaffed." Young Lancashire laughed and cheered nevertheless. The host then went on to describe the beauties of the park, alluded to the various points of view, and particularly directed attention to a magnificent oak-tree on the right, and a superb beech with massive foliage drooping gracefully on the opposite side, as if doing homage to the superior powers of endurance possessed by its rival. "We are very proud of our trees," continued Mr. Gladstone, "and are therefore getting anxious, as the beech has already shown symptoms of decay. We set great store by our trees." "Why, then," roared a Lancashire lad, "do you cut 'em down as you do?" The *riposte* was swift and sudden—the rapier-thrust of Valentine to the bludgeon-blow of Orson. "We cut down that we may improve. We remove rottenness that we may restore health by letting in air and light. As a good Liberal you ought to understand that." Lancashire set up a roar

of delight, and the discomfited interrogator came in for many a flier from his companions, who had not been bold enough to "bell the cat."

'Having now satisfied his own sense of humour and that of his auditors, the member for Greenwich continued in high good humour to banter the "lads" on their taste for music in general, but avoided all reference to the brass band from which he had suffered during the day. During the whole of the speech, or rather the pleasant talk on the lawn, Mrs. Gladstone remained by the side of her husband, nursing her grandchild, and when she was alluded to as his "missis," a ringing cheer went up from the assembled lads, and the lasses were fairly beside themselves with joy. A Welsh shower damped the conclusion of the fête; but the six hundred drifted out of the park, and trudged away to the railway-station at Queensferry in a high state of enthusiasm, one ancient gentleman complaining that the crowd had kept him from approaching his idol. "Ah shou'd ha' loiked to ha' shook hands wi' 'im, and ah could ha' died 'appy," murmured the elderly "lad," as he "made a bee line" for the Glynne Arms.'

Mr. Gladstone had a memorable reception at Chester and Hawarden on his return from his first Midlothian campaign, on the 8th of December, 1879. A writer in the *Daily News* thus described the scene:—"Mr. Gladstone's train was timed to arrive at Chester at half-past five o'clock in the evening; long before that hour an immense concourse of spectators had

assembled in the square in front of the general station. It was intended to give the right hon. gentleman an enthusiastic welcome on his arrival, and it was further intended that a torch-light procession should accompany him some distance on his way to Hawarden. For this purpose several hundred torches had been ordered from London, but they had not arrived, and at four o'clock no lights had been obtained. Some one happily suggested tarred rope, and lengths of rope were obtained from a shipwright's yard, and cut into 2-ft. lengths. These, dipped in petroleum, made capital torches. When the station was reached, the crowd had the utmost difficulty in getting inside. There was a delay of half an hour in the arrival of the train, and the time was spent in perfecting the arrangements. A passage was formed from the station doors to the arrival platform, at the end of which stood Mr. W. H. Gladstone, M.P., Sir Thomas Frost, President of the Chester Liberal Association, Lady Frost, and a large number of the leading citizens of Chester.

'As soon as Mr. Gladstone was espied ringing cheers were given, and when he and Mrs. Gladstone had been presented with two pretty bouquets of flowers by Lady Frost and Mrs. F. A. Dickson, they were closed in upon and half carried to their carriage, which was in waiting. When Mr. Gladstone appeared outside the station there was a scene of indescribable enthusiasm. As far as the eye could reach the streets were studded with human heads, and

countless upturned faces shone in the glare of hundreds of torches. The cheers were again and again renewed, and it was some time before the carriage could be started. Mr. Gladstone repeatedly bowed to the plaudits of his admirers. Thousands of spectators lined the streets and the rows, and the cheers were loud and continuous as the procession marched through City Road, Forgate Street, Eastgate Street, and the Grosvenor Road; in fact, the entire city had turned out to do honour to Mr. Gladstone, and the scene as the procession passed through the quaint and narrow streets of Chester, lit up by hundreds of flambeaux, the people cheering from every coign of vantage, and handkerchiefs waving from every window, was one to be remembered. In Eastgate Street a countryman elbowed his way through the crowd, and grasping Mr. Gladstone's hands, said, "God bless thee, owd mon;" another shouted, "You'll be Premier again after this."

At the City Wall a stoppage took place, when Mr. Gladstone briefly addressed the enormous crowd which had gathered round his carriage. The few words of thanks for the magnificent reception of himself, his wife, and his daughter and his son, having been concluded, the procession moved on, but it was again compelled to make a stoppage at the extreme end of Saltney, three miles from the Chester general station. Here Mr. Gladstone once more bade the crowd good-night, and heartily thanked them for their kindly greeting, amid loud cheers. The right hon. gentleman and his family then drove off to Hawarden Castle.

These references to the domestic life and the occupations of Mr. Gladstone in his country home will not, we trust, go unappreciated by the reader. Such glimpses of an eminent statesman are not without their lessons, while they possess unquestionable interest for all his countrymen.

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